Plate III.

Britannia crownd by Virtue, tramples on Tyranny & Oppreſſion.
In the distance, the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

London Jan.ʸ 1ˢᵗ 1779. Publiſhd as the Act directs. by A. Donaldson St. Pauls Churchyard.

LIVES
OF THE
BRITISH ADMIRALS:
CONTAINING A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY,
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS.

BY DR. J. CAMPBELL.

WITH A CONTINUATION DOWN TO THE YEAR 1779,

INCLUDING THE

NAVAL TRANSACTIONS OF THE LATE WAR, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE RECENT DISCOVERIES IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE.

WRITTEN UNDER THE INSPECTION OF

DOCTOR BERKENHOUT.

THE WHOLE ILLUSTRATED WITH CORRECT MAPS; AND FRONTISPIECES ENGRAVED FROM ORIGINAL DESIGNS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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21

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

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LIVES

A NEW MAP of NORTH AMERICA, from the best AUTHORITIES, By John Lodge

British Statute Miles, 69 to a Degree.

100 200 300 400 500

Longitude West from London. 145 140 135 130 125 120 115 110 105 100 95

60 55 50 45 40 35 30 25 20

Arctic Circle

These Parts are unknown

NEW NORTH WALES

Nabs R.

Churchill R.

Rapid R.

Pikes R.

White R.

Village

Fondulac R.

Pt. Bourbon

Criftinaux

York R.

Bourbon R.

Bourbon Lake

L. of Forts

Muddy R.

Pt. Dauphin

Land of the Medows

Lake

Great Meadows

Ouinipique L.

Stags L.

Pt. Maurepas

Ox R.

Afsiniboils

Assenipoual Lake

Criftinaux Assenipoual

Sioux L.

WESTERN SEA

Discovered by Juan de Fuca

Discovered by Aguilar

River of the West

Mountain of bright Stones

Assiniboils R.

Snake

Red R.

Lake of the Woods

Ft Charles

NEW ALBION

C. Blanco

C. Mendocin

Snowy Mountains

Teguayo & Quivira

Pikes Lake

Mantons R.

Missisagan L.

Red L.

Eastern

Lake

Mississipi R.

The Head of this River is unknow

Thus far the Mississipi has been discended

Hinkaneton

Missouri R.

Panis

Ajoues

Moingo

Ft. where S.t Francis Drake was 5 Weeks

New Years Haven

White Padoucas

Black Padoucas

Panimalia

Buffa

Mea

Octatas

Kansez

Kanse

C. Conception

Carmel R.

Martyrs R.

Norte R.

NEW CALIFORNIA

S.t Jerome

S.t Laurence

S.t Clara

S.t Domingo

Sta Fe

S.t Lazarus

Isletta

Copas

Socorro

S.t Gregory

Calixteo

Osages

Panias

S.t Mary's I.

S.t Denis

Cocomari

Hope R.

S.t Estevan

S.t Peter

S.t Mathias

S.t Philip

S.t Barchol.

S.t James

S.t Mathew

Good

S.t Andrew

Apostles

La Barrancas

Casagrande

S.t Antony

Apaches of Sexen Rivers

Gudodaguitos

Blue Mts

C. Blanco

Augustin I.

Gulf of California

S.t Salvador

Apacheria

S.t Ignatio

Conception

Quicaro

Sonora

Real of Juan

Janus

Ft

S.t George

The Pass

Birds I.

Cedros I.

Bay Little Known

S.t Joseph

Martial

Bacanora

Tonichi

Rio grand R.

Sumas

S.t Paul

Colorado R.

Rio Zizne R.

Ainais

Thebaide

Santiago

R. S.t Thomas

Loreto

Torim

Rotam

Tubuaca

Real nuero

Assumption

S.t John Ft

Farellon Is.

Eclues

Corimpio

Real of Frayles

S.t Xavier

S.t Philip

S.t Jerom

Cinaloa

Parral

Nueca R.

Fort Rae

Shelvocks I.

Fishers B.

Candelaria

Culiacan

New Biscay

Mines

Saneca

R. Bravo

Conchita

NEW LEON

S.t Joseph

Durango

Chiametlan

Panuco

C. S.t Lucar

BAFFINS BAY
GREENLAND
Cumberland I.
Efkimeaux
Repulse Bay
C. Hope
Wager Bay
Strait uncertain
North Main
C. King Charles
Main Rear B.
Terra Nova
Good Fortune I.
C. Elizabeth
Resolution Is.
C. Farewell
Chesterfield Inlet
Pt. T. Rowe's Welcome
Barren I.
Nottingham I.
Hudson's Straits
C. Walsingham
C. Hope
C. Chudley
Rocks
Sadley Is.
Rankins Inlet
Mansel I.
C. Southampton
HUDSONS
C. Smith
Very doubtful Sea
South Bay
Davis's Inlet
St. Anns B.
Nabs R.
Pt. of Wales's Ft.
C. Churchill
BAY
Bakers Dozen
Amakamaka
proposed Limits of Hudsons Bay
OR
Esquimaux R.
LABRADOR
Efkimeaux
York Ft.
C. Tatnam
Wm. Penns Mt.
Warners Is.
Pt. Lookout
Richmond Ft.
Charles
Bell Lt. Straits
Quirpon I.
York R.
Flamborough Factory
Forts
Efkimeaux
L. Atchikow Nipi
NEW BRITAIN
Penguin I.
Bay of Islands
NEW FOUNDLAND
New Severn R.
Aubbs
JAMES's BAY
Slude R.
Factory
Mr. Shadock
Missisavin L.
Bernabas L.
St. Johns R.
Antelope I.
Gulf of St. Laurence
Assenipoual Lake
Albany R.
Christinaux Lake
Henley
Albany Ft.
WALES
Moose Ft.
St. Johns L.
Tadousac
Lady Mts.
Sioux L.
Peray R.
Northern Mountains
Lake of the Woods
Lake Alemipigon
Long Lake
Lake Mauvais
Lake Superior
L. St. Ann
Eastern Sioux
Outaouac
Pt. to Apostles
Lake Huron
Lake Ontario
Sauteurs
Mary's Pt. & Falls
Messesagues
Nipissin
Utawas R.
The Cedar Hills
Galette
Fort Frontenac
Champlain L.
Isagan L.
Outagamis
Lake Erie
Fonchartrain Ft.
Miamis
Mascoutens
Miamis
Ajoues
Buffaloes Meadows
Kansez
Missouri T. R.
Osages
Mines
Illinois R.
Pickawillances
Delawares
Twightwees
Wawiachtanos
Lt. Shannoas
Ohio R.
Walkens
Cherokees
NORTH CAROLINA
Paniassas Osages
Mentos R.
Cherokee
Chickasaws
Alkansas
SOUTH Creek Indians
Choctaws
Natchitoches
Ainais
Tacorens
Pensylvania
Philadelphia
Lancaster
Susquehanna R.
Maryland
Virginia
Chesapeak Bay
Norfolk
Albemarle Sd
C. Hatteras
C. Look out
C. Fear
Port Royal
Savannah
St. Simons I.
St. Andrews Ft.
St. William
St. Augustine
EAST FLORIDA
WEST FLORIDA
New Orleans
Apalachicola Ft.
Bermudas I.
LUCAYOS
Great Lucaya I.
Elenthera
Cat I.
Tropic of Cancer
Cape Florida
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Sable I.
Halifax
Annapolis
Canso
St. Johns
Placentia
St. Peters Bank
St. Georges Bank
Bretons I.
Cape Race
Cape Ray
Miramichi B.
Gaspe
Nicolet
Prov. of Segadahoc
Penobscot B.
Kennebec R.
Casco B.
Piscataway
Boston
Connecticut R.
Rhode I.
Long I.
New York
Amboy
Hampton
Elizabeth Is.
Bay of Fundy
Cape Sable
Cape Breton
Gulf of St. Laurence
Lake Champlain
Lake Ontario
Lake Erie
Lake Huron
Lake Superior
Lake of the Woods
Lake Alemipigon
Lake Mauvais
Long Lake
Lake Winipigon
Lake Assenipoual
Lake Christinaux
Lake Outagamis
Lake Michigan
Lake St. Clair
Lake Nipissin
Lake Tadousac
Lake St. Peters
Lake St. John
Lake Nicolet
Lake Champlain
Lake Ontario
Lake Erie
Lake Huron
Lake Michigan
Lake Superior
Lake Mauvais
Lake Alemipigon
Lake of the Woods
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Lake Mauvais
Long Lake

LIVES
OF THE
ADMIRALS:
INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. XX.

Containing the Naval Hiſtory of GREAT BRITAIN, from the acceſſion of her majeſty queen Anne, to the union of the two kingdoms.

WE are now come down to that reign, under which the nation was extremely happy at home, and her reputation carried to the greateſt height abroad. A reign that will always be remembered with honour, and make a ſhining figure in our hiſtories, as long as hiſtories ſhall laſt: a reign, in the beginning of which all party animoſities were buried in oblivion, and the Tories ſeemed as ſenſible of the neceſſity of a war, as the Whigs, and as ready to carry it on; which was the true reaſon why it was proſecuted for ſo many years with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs as had never attended our arms ſince the glorious days of queen Eliſabeth; and which ought therefore to convince us, that we are never to hope a thorough domeſtic ſettlement, with an effectual ſupport of our juſt claims to reſpect and freedom of commerce abroad, until

there is a new and undiſſembled coalition of parties, founded not in private views, but ariſing from public ſpirit, and all men are taught to think that he is a public enemy, who avows any other or narrower intereſt than that of his country.

Queen Anne acceded to the throne on the eighth of March, 1701-2, in the flower of her age, if we conſider her dignity, being then about thirty-eight[a]. She had ſhewn a very juſt moderation in her conduct from the time of the Revolution, and knew how to temper her relation to the ſtate, with that which ſhe bore to her family; of which ſhe gave a remarkable inſtance in the latter part of her life, by procuring the iſland of Sicily for her couſin the duke of Savoy.

She opened her reign by a very wiſe and well-conſidered ſpeech to her privy-council, in which ſhe declared, how ſenſible ſhe was of the unſpeakable loſs the nation had ſuſtained by the death of the late king, and the burden it brought upon herſelf, which nothing, ſhe ſaid, could encourage her to undergo, but the great concern ſhe had for the preſervation of the religion, laws, and liberty of her country: and that no pains ſhould be wanting on her part, to defend and ſupport them, and to maintain the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. She expreſſed plainly her opinion for carrying on the preparations againſt France, and ſupporting the allies; and, ſaid, ſhe would countenance thoſe who concurred with her in maintaining the preſent conſtitution and eſtabliſhment[b].

In purſuance of this declaration, the queen wrote to the ſtates-general to aſſure them, that ſhe would follow exactly the

[a] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 309. Oldmixon's hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 273. Boyer's life of queen Anne. Conduct of Sarah, ducheſs dowager of Marlborough, p. 121.

[b] It is very remarkable, that the conduct of the queen at the beginning of her reign was ſuch, as gave the higheſt ſatisfaction to all parties; for ſhe avoided the error of Nero, by not either ſcrewing up the ſtrings of government too high, or letting them run too low. It had been happy for her, and for her ſubjects, if ſhe had ſteadily purſued this conduct through the courſe of her reign, inſtead of putting herſelf into the hands of one party firſt, and then of another; both which had very ill conſequences, with reſpect to her majeſty's quiet, and to the good of her ſubjects. This reflection I thought neceſſary here, becauſe, by inſerting it, I ſhall avoid being obliged to ſay ſomething like it, on ſeveral other occaſions.

ſteps

ſteps of her predeceſſor, in the ſteady maintenance of the common cauſe againſt the common enemy: and as a farther proof of her ſincerity, ſhe appointed the earl of Marlborough, whom the late king had ſent ambaſſador and plenipotentiary to the ſtates, captain-general of her forces, and gave him a blue ribband[c]. She likewiſe declared Sir George Rooke vice-admiral of England, and George Churchill, Eſq; admiral of the blue[d], in the room of Matthew Aylmer, Eſq; afterwards lord Aylmer, whom we have mentioned already, and of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak very honourably hereafter. Theſe ſteps were ſufficient to demonſtrate the reality of the queen's intentions; and therefore we have all the reaſon in the world to believe, that her majeſty had a very good deſign in placing her conſort, George prince of Denmark[e], at the head of the admiralty; though to do this it was found requiſite to remove the earl of Pembroke, then lord high-admiral, who was actually preparing to go to ſea. It is true, a large penſion was offered him; but his lordſhip anſwered, with great generoſity and public ſpirit[f], that however convenient it might be for his private intereſt, yet the accepting ſuch a penſion was inconſiſtent with his principles; and therefore, ſince he could not have the honour of ſerving his country in PERSON, he would endeavour to do it by HIS EXAMPLE[g].

The

[c] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 313. Lediard's life of John, duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 94. London Gazette, N°. 3792. [d] London Gazette, N°. 3810. [e] Boyer's life of queen Anne. Complete hiſt. of Europe for the year 1702, p. 154. London Gaz. N°. 3812. [f] Burnet's hiſt. of his own times, vol. ii. p. 313.

[g] The advancement of the earl of Pembroke to this eminent dignity of lord high-admiral of England, was not owing at all to court favour, but merely as I have hinted before, to the expediency of laying that board aſide, and lodging the power of it in a ſingle hand. There were few of our nobility who could have been competitors for ſuch an office, and none with juſtice who could be preferred to the earl of Pembroke. He had much prudence, which tempered great vivacity in his conſtitution, and zeal for the ſervice of his country, which was very obſervable in all his actions, though he did not make ſo much ſhew of it, as others might do in words. He had a ſteadineſs of mind, not to be ſhaken by power or titles, and a virtue ſo heroic, as not either the vices of theſe, or of worſe times could corrupt. He ſhewed, on this occaſion, his loyalty as well as ſpirit; for though he refuſed a penſion, yet, through the courſe of her reign, he ſerved the queen with the ſame chearfulneſs and fide-

The new lord high-admiral had a council appointed him by his commiſſion, *viz.* Sir George Rooke, Sir David Mitchell, George Churchill, Eſq; and Richard Hill, Eſq; who were to aſſiſt him with their advice, and alſo in the execution of his office [h]. How far all this was legal, has been, and, I believe, ever will remain, very doubtful; but at that time no body queſtioned it, and therefore we ſhall proceed to ſhew what was done under it, obſerving, as near as may be, the order of time in which events fell out, and that method in relating them, which is moſt likely to ſet them in a proper point of light [i].

The firſt expedition in the new reign, was that of Sir John Munden, rear-admiral of the red, which was intended for intercepting a ſquadron of French ſhips, that were to ſail from the Groyne, in order to carry the new vice-roy of Mexico to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies. This deſign was concerted by the earl of Pembroke; and Sir John was made choice of, on account of the proofs he had given of both courage and conduct, as well as zeal and diligence, in the ſervice. He ſailed on the twelfth of May, 1702, with eight ſhips of the third rate, the Saliſbury, a fourth rate, and two frigates; when he was at ſea, he communicated his orders to his captains, which hitherto had

lity, as if he had retained his poſt; and therefore, in 1708, when prince George of Denmark died, her majeſty reſtored him to it. A full proof of her removing him at this time, from no other motive than that of making way for her conſort, who had been ſeveral times mentioned for that high poſt in the late reign.

[h] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 313. Oldmixon, vol. ii. London Gazette, N°. 3812.

[i] It is not eaſy to find a reaſon why, ſince the illegality of this commiſſion was ſo quickly ſuſpected, it ſhould afterwards lie ſo long aſleep, and then be revived again, as ſoon as complaints were made to parliament of the conduct of the navy. Thoſe who adviſed this commiſſion, and thoſe who drew it, were certainly very much to blame; and ſince this is a charge of a high nature, and againſt great men, I think myſelf obliged to explain it particularly. As king William's creating a lord high-admiral, was a benefit to the public, ſo queen Anne's commiſſion was an injury to it. For by appointing prince George of Denmark a council, ſhe eſtabliſhed again that evil which king William took away; and whereas, the powers of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty were ſettled by an expreſs act of parliament, here was a new board eſtabliſhed, veſted with like powers; but thoſe unknown to the law, which could take notice only of the lord high-admiral, notwithſtanding that this council of his was appointed by his commiſſion.

been abſolutely ſecret. On the ſixteenth he found himſelf on the coaſt of Galicia; whereupon he ſent the Saliſbury and Dolphin to gain intelligence, in which they failed. He then ſent them a ſecond time, and they brought off a Spaniſh boat and a French bark, with ſeveral priſoners, who aſſerted, that there were thirteen French ſhips of war, bound from Rochelle to the Groyne; and therefore Sir John iſſued the neceſſary orders for keeping his ſquadron between them and the ſhore, that he might be the better able to intercept them. Theſe orders were iſſued on the twenty-ſeventh, and the very next day he diſcovered fourteen ſail between cape Prior and cape Ortugal, cloſe under the ſhore, to whom he inſtantly gave chace; but they outſailed him very much, and got into the Groyne before he could poſſibly come up with them. Theſe dates are ſettled from the minutes of the court-martial, which will be hereafter mentioned.

Upon this he called a council of war, wherein it was concluded, that (ſince the accounts they had received from their priſoners agreed perfectly well, and ſeemed to make it clear, that there were no leſs than ſeventeen of the enemy's ſhips of war in the harbour, which was ſtrongly fortified, and had a narrow and dangerous entrance), it was therefore moſt expedient for them to follow the latter part of their inſtructions, by which they were directed, in caſe they could do nothing on the coaſt of Spain, to repair into the Soundings, there to protect the trade, and to give notice of their return to the board of admiralty immediately. This Sir John accordingly did, about the middle of June; but then the ſquadron being much diſtreſſed for proviſions, it was found neceſſary, on the twentieth of that month, to repair into port [k].

The

[k] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 613. where he obſerves, that after chacing theſe fourteen ſail into the Groyne, Sir John Munden called a council of war, in which his captains took into conſideration;

" I. The intelligence from a perſon who belonged to a French merchant-
" ſhip, from Rochelle, and ſome Spaniards taken from the ſhore; the former
" affirming, that when he came from Rochelle, he left there twelve ſhips of
" war in the road, ready to ſail to the Groyne with the firſt fair wind; that one
" of them had ſeventy guns, one fifty, and all the reſt ſixty; and that the

" Faulcon

The miſcarriage of this deſign made a very great noiſe: it was diſcovered that only eight of the twelve ſhips that had been chaced into the Groyne, were men of war, and that the reſt were only tranſports: it was alſo ſaid, that Sir John Munden had called off the Saliſbury, when ſhe was actually engaged with a French man of war, and that he had diſcharged the priſoners he had taken very precipitately. To quaſh theſe reports, and to explain the whole affair to the world, (which, is, to be ſure, the beſt method in all ſuch caſes), the high-admiral prince George iſſued his commiſſion for a court-martial, for the trial of Sir John Munden, at which ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, for their own ſatisfaction, were preſent.

This court ſat on board her majeſty's ſhip the Queen at Spithead, on the thirteenth of July, 1702, where were preſent Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, admiral of the white, preſident, and the captains following, *viz.* Cole, Myngs, Leake, Greenhill, Turvill, Swanton, Good, Mayne, Kerr, Clarke, Ward, Cooper, Bridges, Maynard, Crow, Littleton, and Hollyman, who being all ſworn, and having examined the ſeveral articles exhibited againſt rear-admiral Munden, gave their opinion, that he had fully cleared himſelf from the whole matter contained in them; and, as far as it appeared to the court, had complied with his inſtructions, and behaved himſelf with great zeal and diligence in the ſervice. But, notwithſtanding this acquittal, it was thought neceſſary [1] to lay

" Faulcon (a fourth rate taken from us the laſt year) was going thither before " them.

" II. That the Spaniards are very poſitive the duke of Albuquerque was at the " Groyne with two thouſand ſoldiers, and that there were already in that port, " three French ſhips of war of fifty guns each, and twelve more expected from " Rochelle; and ſince both theſe accounts ſo well agreed, and it was judged " there were ſeventeen ſhips of war in the port, that the place was ſo ſtrongly " fortified, and the paſſage thereinto very difficult, it was unanimouſly deter- " mined, that they could not be attempted there with any probability of ſucceſs; " and that, by remaining in the ſtation, they could not have any proſpect of " doing ſervice: ſo that it was judged proper to repair into the Soundings for " protecting the trade."

[1] In the London Gazette, N°. 3835, we find the following article: " Wind- " ſor, Auguſt 9th. The queen having required the proceedings, upon the trial of " Sir John Munden, rear admiral of the red ſquadron, to be laid before her, " and having conſidered all the circumſtances relating to the expedition to Co- " runna; her majeſty finding that Sir John Munden has not done his duty pur-

" ſuant

lay him aſide, that the ſtrictneſs and impartiality of the new adminiſtration might the better appear [m].

Biſhop Burnet indeed charges Sir John Munden roundly with ſtupidity and cowardice, and blames Sir George Rooke ſtill more, for having recommended ſuch a man [n]. But Mr. Oldmixon, who was of the ſame party with the biſhop, is pleaſed to ſuggeſt, that it was not ſo much for any fault he had committed, but becauſe he was not in Sir George Rooke's good graces, that Sir John Munden was diſmiſſed [o]. For my own

" ſuant to his inſtructions, does not think fit to continue him in her ſervice, and " has therefore declared her pleaſure, that his royal highneſs the lord high admiral of England, ſhould immediately diſcharge him from his poſt and command in the royal navy, and his royal highneſs has accordingly given the neceſſary orders for it." See Sir John Munden's juſtification of himſelf in a letter to a worthy friend, dated Auguſt 9th, 1702, in the appendix to the firſt vol. of the annals of queen Anne, p. 5.

[m] Complete hiſtory of Europe for 1702, p. 275.

[n] This is ſo harſh a charge, that I find myſelf obliged to ſupport it, by citing the biſhop's own words, which are theſe:

" Advice was ſent over from Holland, of a fleet that had ſailed from France, " and was ordered to call in at the Groyne. Munden was recommended by " Rooke, to be ſent againſt this fleet, but though he came up to them, with a " ſuperior force, yet he behaved himſelf ſo ill, and ſo unſucceſsfully, that a " council of war was ordered to ſit on him. They, indeed, acquitted him; " ſome excuſing themſelves, by ſaying, that if they had condemned him, the " puniſhment was death; whereas, they thought his errors flowed from a want " of ſenſe, ſo that it would have been hard to condemn him for a defect of " that, which nature had not given him. Thoſe who recommended him to the " employment, ſeemed to be more in fault." But Mr. ſecretary Burchet, who was better acquainted with all the proceedings on this affair, than the biſhop could poſſibly be, delivers his judgment in theſe words: " This was a very " unlucky accident; yet the ſame misfortune might have happened to any " other good officer as well as Sir John Munden, who (to do him juſtice) had, " during his long ſervice in the fleet, behaved himſelf with zeal, courage, and " fidelity; and though himſelf and all the captains in his ſquadron, did unanimouſly conclude, that at leaſt twelve of the fourteen ſhips which they chaced " into the Groyne were men of war, their number agreeing exactly with the " intelligence from ſeveral perſons taken from the ſhore; yet, even in that " caſe, it is reaſonable to think, that he would have given a very good account " of this affair, could he poſſibly have come up with them." Naval hiſtory, p. 613.

[o] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 289. It is very remarkable, that though theſe two writers flatly contradict one another; yet they agree in having each a ſtroke at Sir George Rooke; but as their poiſons are oppoſite, ſo they very happily prove antidotes to each other.

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part, I am inclined to believe what the president and council of war declared upon their oaths, that this officer did his duty as far as he possibly could, and it would be a very great satisfaction to me, if I could account as well for every miscarriage that I shall be obliged to relate in the course of this work [p].

On the fourth of May 1702, her majesty declared war against France and Spain [q]; and I mention it, because this declaration was thought necessary before the grand fleet sailed; the design of which, as far as I am able to judge, has been hitherto very imperfectly accounted for. The great view of king William, (for it was by him the Cadiz expedition had been concerted), was to prevent the French from getting possession of the Spanish West Indies; or at least to prevent their keeping them long, if they did. With this view he resolved to send a grand fleet, under the command of the then high-admiral the earl of Pembroke, with a body of land forces under the command of the duke of Ormond, on board, to make themselves masters of Cadiz. By this means, and by the help of a squadron he had sent into the West Indies, and which was to have been followed by another, as soon as Cadiz was taken, he hoped this might be effected; and he knew very well, if this could be once done, an end would be put to all the French designs, and they must be obliged to terminate the matter, to the satisfaction, at least, of the maritime powers [r].

The scheme was undoubtedly very well laid, and the secret surprisingly well kept; for though the preparing of so great an armament could not be hid, yet the intent of it was so effectually concealed, that not only France and Spain, but Portugal too, that crown being then in alliance with France and Spain, had equal cause to be alarmed; which had consequences very favourable to the grand alliance in all those countries, as will hereafter fully appear. In some cases, delay does as much as dispatch in others. All the maritime provinces in the Spanish

[p] Mercure historique et politique pour l'anne 1702, vol. ii. p. 201, 234. The truth seems to be, his acquittal was an act of justice, the removing him a stroke of policy. At the beginning of the former war king William rewarded a well-timed temerity. At the opening of this queen Anne punished an ill-timed caution. [q] London Gazette, N°. 3807. Complete history of Europe for 1702, p. 137. [r] The more this scheme is considered, and the better it is understood, the more it will be admired.

and

and French dominions were alarmed, the Italian ſtates were intimidated; in ſhort, it every where emboldened thoſe who were inclined to the high allies to declare, and on the other hand heightened the fears of thoſe who, but for them, would have eſpouſed the intereſt of king Philip.

After the queen's acceſſion, Sir George Rooke (as we obſerved) was declared admiral of this fleet, vice admiral, and lieutenant of the admiralty of England, and lieutenant of the fleets and ſeas of this kingdom [r]; the duke of Ormond remained, as before, general of the land-forces, and the Dutch having joined the fleet with their ſquadron, which had alſo its quota of troops on board, the admiral hoiſted the union flag on board the Royal Sovereign on the thirtieth of May, 1702; and on the firſt of June, his royal highneſs the prince of Denmark dined on board the admiral, and took a view of the fleet and army, which was ſoon in a condition to ſail [s]. Beſides Sir George Rooke, there were the following flags, *viz.* vice-admiral Hopſon, who carried a red flag at the fore-top-maſt-head of the Prince George; rear-admiral Fairbourne, who carried the white at the mizen-top-maſt-head of the St. George; and rear-admiral Graydon, who carried the blue flag in the ſame manner in the Triumph. There were five Dutch flags, *viz.* two lieutenant-admirals, two vice-admirals, and a rear. The ſtrength of this fleet conſiſted in thirty Engliſh, and twenty Dutch ſhips of the line, excluſive of ſmall veſſels and tenders, which made in all about 160 ſail. As to the troops, the Engliſh conſiſted of 9663, including officers, and the Dutch of 4138, in all 13801 [t].

On

[s] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 313, 330. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 289. Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. x. London Gazette, No. 3816, 3820. See alſo an impartial account of all the material tranſactions, of the grand fleet and land forces, from their firſt ſetting out from Spithead, June 29th, till his grace the duke of Ormond's arrival, at Deal, November 7th, 1702, in which is included a particular relation of the expedition at Cadiz, and the glorious victory at Vigo, by an officer that was preſent in thoſe actions, London, 1703. 4to.

[t] That this was a very great force, and that the public had reaſon to frame ſanguine expectations to themſelves, as to its ſucceſs, all the world muſt allow: but, on the other hand, our expectations ought never to prejudice us ſo far, as to reſolve not to be ſatisfied with a juſt account of their diſappointment. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that Sir George Rooke ſpoke coldly of the expedition before he ſailed; and this he tells us, to prove that Sir George intended to do the enemy no hurt. But the miſchief lies here, that Sir George ſuſpected they ſhould do

On the nineteenth of June, the fleet weighed from Spithead, and came to an anchor at St. Helen's. On the twenty-ſecond, the two rear-admirals, Fairbourne and Graydon, were detached with a ſquadron of thirty Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, with inſtructions firſt to look into the Groyne, and in caſe there were any French ſhips there, to block them up; but if not, to cruize ten or twelve leagues N. W. off Cape Finiſterre, till they ſhould be joined by the fleet[u].

On the tenth of Auguſt the fleet reached the rock of Liſbon, where the next day they held a council of war. On the twelfth they came before Cadiz, and anchored at the diſtance of two leagues from the city, Sir Thomas Smith, quarter-maſter-general, having viewed and ſounded the ſhore on the backſide of the iſle of Leon, in which Cadiz ſtands, and reported, that there were very convenient bays to make a deſcent: the duke of Ormond vehemently inſiſted in a council of war, upon landing in that iſle, in order to make a ſudden and vigorous attack upon the town, where the conſternation was ſo great, that in all probability the enterprize would have ſucceeded; but ſeveral of the council, eſpecially the ſea-officers, oppoſing the duke's motion, it was reſolved, that the army ſhould firſt take the fort of St. Catharine, and Port St. Mary, to facilitate thereby a nearer approach to Cadiz[w].

The next day the duke of Ormond ſent a trumpet with a letter to don Scipio de Brancacio, the governor, whom the duke had known in the Spaniſh ſervice, in the laſt confederate war: but in anſwer to the letter, inviting him to ſubmit to the houſe of Auſtria, Brancacio declared, he would acquit himſelf honourably of the truſt that was repoſed in him by the king[x]. On the

no great good, becauſe this expedition was of a doubtful nature: for on the one hand they were enjoined to ſpeak to the Spaniards as friends, and at the ſame time were ordered to act againſt them as foes.

[u] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 619. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1702, p. 279. London Gazette, N°. 3821.

[w] Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 290. Annals of queen Anne, vol. i. p. 79. London Gazette, N°. 3842, 3843.

[x] The reader will be better ſatisfied as to this matter, if he conſults the collections of Lamberti, tom. ii. p. 251. When the duke of Ormond ſummoned fort St. Catharine, he declared, that if the governor did not accept his terms, he ſhould be hanged, and none of his ſoldiers receive quarter. To this the governor

the fifteenth of Auguſt, the duke of Ormond landed his forces in the bay of Bulls, above a mile on the left of St. Catharine's fort, the cannon of which fired on his men all the while, but with little execution [y]. The firſt that landed were twelve hundred grenadiers, led by brigadier Pallant, and the earl of Donnegall; they were obliged to wade to the ſhore, and were all very wet when they reached it. In the mean time captain Jumper in the Lenox, and ſome Engliſh and Dutch light frigates, kept firing on the horſe that appeared near the coaſt, and they were ſoon after repulſed by the Engliſh foot [z].

The duke of Ormond, as ſoon as the troops were landed, ſent to ſummon fort St. Catharine; but the governor replied, he had cannon mounted, with powder and ball ſufficient to receive him. On the ſixteenth the whole army marched to a camp marked out for them near La Rotta, a town within a league of the place, where they landed, from which moſt of the inhabitants were fled; but ſtrict orders being given againſt plundering, many of them returned; and, had the Spaniards given due attention to the duke's declaration, publiſhed at his firſt coming on the Spaniſh coaſt, they needed not to have been in any conſternation.

The duke of Ormond having left a garriſon of three hundred men in La Rotta, marched on the twentieth of Auguſt towards Port St. Mary's. Some ſquadrons of Spaniſh horſe, about ſix hundred in number, fired upon the duke's advanced guards, and killed lieutenant-colonel Gore's horſe, amongſt the dragoons,

vernor anſwered with great ſpirit and juſtice, "That if he muſt be hanged, it was "all one to him, whether by the duke of Ormond, or the governor of Cadiz; "and therefore he deſired leave to ſend to him for his orders, which was re- "fuſed." Theſe quick proceedings, inſtead of drawing the Spaniards to declare for the houſe of Auſtria, rendered them averſe to it. At leaſt, this was Sir George Rooke's ſentiment, who did all he could to ſerve the common cauſe without provoking the people of that country, whom his inſtructions directed him to protect.

y The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1702, p. 312, 313. Burnet, vol. ii. London Gazette, N°. 3845.

z Mercure hiſtorique et politique, pour l'anne 1702, vol. ii. p. 433. The prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt was the principal mover of this expedition. He perſuaded the miniſters at Vienna, London, and the Hague, having firſt perſuaded himſelf, the Spaniards in general were zealous for the houſe of Auſtria. The conſequences by no means made this good, as the duke and admiral found.

but retired on the approach of the Engliſh grenadiers, of whom a detachment under colonel Pierce, of the guards, were ſent to take fort St. Catharine; which they did, and made a hundred and twenty Spaniards priſoners of war[a]. The duke entered Port St. Mary's, attended by moſt of the general officers, *viz.* Sir Henry Bellaſis, lieutenant-general; the earl of Portmore, Sir Charles O'Hara, and baron Spaar, majors-general; colonel Seymour, colonel Lloyd, colonel Matthews, colonel Hamilton, and colonel Pallant, now brigadiers-general: and notwithſtanding the ſtrict orders the duke had iſſued againſt plunder, there was a very great failing in the execution of them, for which Sir Henry Bellaſis and Sir Charles O'Hara were put under arreſt[b]. When they came to England, Bellaſis was diſmiſſed the ſervice; and though O'Hara eſcaped public cenſure, he did not private.

Mr. Methuen, her majeſty's envoy in Portugal, in a letter to the duke of Ormond, dated Auguſt the firſt, gave this wholeſome advice concerning the conduct of the army: that the point of greateſt importance, was, to inſinuate to the Spaniards, and ſhew by their proceedings, that they came not as enemies to Spain, but only to free them from France, and give them aſſiſtance to eſtabliſh themſelves under the government of the houſe of Auſtria. It being found too difficult to approach Cadiz while the Spaniards were in poſſeſſion of Matagorda fort, over againſt the Puntal, it was ordered to be attacked, and a battery of four pieces of cannon erected againſt it; but upon every firing, the guns ſunk into the ſands, and after a fruitleſs attempt, the deſign was given over, and the troops ordered to imbark, which was done accordingly, with intention to make the beſt of their way home[c]. The Spaniards did indeed endeavour to diſturb them in their retreat, but with very little ſucceſs; a detachment of Engliſh and Dutch troops, under the command of colonel Fox, having quickly repulſed them, with the loſs of a few of their horſe, who were the moſt forward in the attack,

[a] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 331. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 290. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 620, 621.

[b] Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 30. London Gazette, N°. 3847.

[c] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 622, 623. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1702, p. 349. London Gazette, N°. 3850, 3858.

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which diſcouraged the reſt ſo, that few or none of our people were loſt in getting aboard their ſhips [d].

In moſt of our hiſtorians, the Cadiz expedition is treated as not much to the reputation of the nation in general, and of Sir George Rooke in particular. As to the diſorders at St. Mary's, of which we ſhall hear much more in another place, they did not at all affect Sir George Rooke, who had nothing to do with them, nor was ever charged with them. That he did not purſue with great eagerneſs the burning the ſhips, or deſtroying the place, has indeed been imputed to him as an act of bad conduct. Biſhop Burnet charges him with it flatly, and ſays, that, before he went out, he had in a manner determined not to do the enemy much hurt [e]. I believe this prelate ſpoke as he thought; but as to Sir George, I am thoroughly perſuaded that when he went out, and while he was out, he intended nothing more or leſs, than to obey his inſtructions.

As to the ſpirit of theſe, we may eaſily gueſs at it from the paſſage in Mr. Methuen's letter, before cited, which very fully ſhews, that this expedition was originally concerted on a ſuppoſition, that the Spaniards had a natural affection for the houſe of Auſtria, and would join with us in their favour againſt the French. But in this it ſeems we were miſtaken; and yet it was not thought proper to make this concluſion too haſtily, eſpecially after what paſſed at Port St. Mary's, which, conſidering the diſpoſition of the nation, might be preſumed to have provoked the Spaniards to a degree not to be appeaſed by all the fine words we gave them in our manifeſto [f]. A candid reader will therefore eaſily diſcern the true reaſon of Sir George's conduct. He thought it madneſs to expoſe the lives of the queen's ſubjects,

[d] The truth of the matter was, that the confederates found Cadiz in a much better ſituation than they expected, themſelves worſe received than they hoped, and the general officers ſo much divided in their opinions, that a retreat was thought more adviſable than any other meaſure in a council of war. If Sir George Rooke, before he put to ſea, foreſaw any of the difficulties they then met with, few people at this time of day, I believe, think ſuch a foreſight a diſcredit to him, either as a ſtateſman or an admiral. As to his own conduct, he was called to an account for it before the houſe of lords, and, as we ſhall ſee elſewhere, defended it ſo well, that no imputation could be fixed upon him.

[e] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 330.

[f] The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1702, p. 316.

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where they might be ſpared to better advantage; and therefore was not over fond of burning towns, and cutting throats, to convince the Spaniards of our hearty affection for them; which, however, was the language of our declarations and his inſtructions [g]. Mr. Oldmixon therefore concludes, after a candid relation of facts, very juſtly, and like a man of honour, that however the nation's expectations might be diſappointed in the Cadiz expedition, yet there was nothing blameable in the conduct, either of the duke of Ormond or Sir George Rooke [h]. Foreign writers do the ſame juſtice to our commanders, and even ſuch of thoſe authors as are viſibly in the French intereſt; ſo that if we decide according to evidence, it is impoſſible for us to join in that clamour, which diſcontented people raiſed upon this occaſion [i].

While the admiral was intent on bringing the fleet and forces ſafely home, providence put it in his power to do his country a more ſignal and effectual ſervice, than even the taking of Cadiz would have been. Captain Hardy, who commanded her majeſty's ſhip the Pembroke, was ſent to water in Lagos bay, where

g This is the ſubſtance of Sir George Rooke's defence before the houſe of lords, who inquired into this affair, and addreſſed the queen, that the duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke might lay the whole tranſaction before them, which was done in the beginning of the next year, and what I have offered in the text, is only to avoid repetitions. A more diſtinct account of the inquiry will afterwards be found in the memoirs of Sir George Rooke.

h Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 292. The reader will obſerve, that I lay hold of every opportunity of doing juſtice to our hiſtorians, and therefore, I hope will believe, that whenever I differ with them, it is purely out of reſpect to truth.

i The French hiſtorians ſay, that the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, whom the emperor had appointed general and commander in chief of ſuch Spaniards as ſhould manifeſt their fidelity to the houſe of Auſtria, did little or no ſervice by the violent memorials which he publiſhed, filled with perſonal reproaches and warm threats againſt ſuch as adhered to king Philip. At firſt, however, it is admitted, that the Spaniards did not ſhew any great zeal for their new prince; but after they were provoked by the barbarities committed at the port of St. Mary, they loſt all patience, and fought with ſuch bitterneſs and indignation, as is ſcarce to be expreſſed. The ſame hiſtorians ſay, that the duke of Ormond, and his forces, when they attacked Maragorda fort, were expoſed to a prodigious fire from the place, while they were able to form no better battery than two field pieces, and two ſmall mortars, the ground being ſo ſwampy, as not to bear heavy artillery. Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iii. p. 702. Limieres, tom. iii. p. 101. Larrey, tom. iii. p. 544.

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he underſtood from his converſation with the French conſul, who induſtriouſly ſought it in order to boaſt of their good fortune, that they had lately received great news, though he would not tell him what it was [k]. Soon after arrived an expreſs from Liſbon, with letters for the prince of Heſſe and Mr. Methuen; which, when he was informed they were no longer on board the fleet, he refuſed to deliver, and actually carried them back to Liſbon. In diſcourſe, however, he told captain Hardy, that the galleons, under the convoy of a French ſquadron, put into Vigo the ſixteenth of September. Captain Hardy made what haſte he could with this news to the fleet, with which, however, he did not meet until the third of October, and even then the wind blew ſo hard, that he found it impoſſible to ſpeak with the admiral till the ſixth, when he informed him of what he had heard [l].

Upon this Sir George called a council of war immediately, compoſed of the Engliſh and Dutch flag-officers, by whom it was reſolved to ſail, as expeditiouſly as poſſible, to the port of Vigo, and attack the enemy. In order to this, ſome ſmall veſſels were detached to make a diſcovery of the enemy's force, which was done effectually by the Kent's boat; and the captain underſtood that Monſ. Chateau-Renault's ſquadron of French men of war, and the Spaniſh galleons, were all in that harbour; but the wind blowing a ſtorm, drove the fleet to the northwards as far as Cape Finiſterre, and it came not before the place till the eleventh of October [m]. The paſſage into the harbour was not

[k] Captain Hardy, on his arrival in England, was preſented to the queen, who was pleaſed to confer the honour of knighthood on him, in conſideration of his good ſervice, in gaining and giving to admiral Rooke the intelligence, which was the occaſion of the great ſucceſs at Vigo, London Gazette, N°. 3858.

[l] Memoirs pour l'hiſtoire d'Eſpagne, par le marquis de St. Philippe, vol. i. p. 185. This bad behaviour had a terrible effect, for it gave the Spaniards an idea, that they were to have to do with an impious, drunken, and debauched people, without morals, and without diſcipline.

[m] After reading this account, it muſt ſurprize any man to hear, that biſhop Burnet charges the admiral with want of diligence, neglect of duty, and a diſlike to this ſervice; when nothing can be plainer, than that he acted throughout the whole of this buſineſs, with all imaginable vigour; and that, if he had been inclined to do otherwiſe, he had the faireſt opportunities that could poſſibly have offered, for avoiding or delaying the attack.

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above three quarters of a mile over, with a battery of eight braſs, and twelve iron guns on the north ſide, and on the ſouth was a platform of twenty braſs guns, and twenty iron guns, as alſo a ſtone fort, with a breaſt-work and deep trench before it, ten guns mounted, and five hundred men in it. There was, from one ſide of the harbour to the other, a ſtrong boom compoſed of ſhips-yards and top-maſts, faſtened together with three-inch-rope, very thick, and underneath with hauſers and cables. The top-chain at each end was moored to a ſeventy-gun ſhip, the one was called the Hope, which had been taken from the Engliſh, and the other was the Bourbone [n]. Within the boom were moored five ſhips, of between ſixty and ſeventy guns each, with their broadſides fronting the entrance of the paſſage, ſo as that they might fire at any ſhip that came near the boom, forts, and platform [o].

The admirals removed the flags from the great ſhips into third rates, the firſt and ſecond rates being all too big to go in. Sir George Rooke went out of the Royal Sovereign into the Somerſet; admiral Hopſon out of the Prince George into the Torbay; admiral Fairbourne out of the St. George into the Eſſex; and admiral Graydon out of the Triumph, into the Northumberland. A detachment of fifteen Engliſh, and ten Dutch men of war, with all their fire-ſhips, frigates, and bomb-veſſels, were ordered to go upon the ſervice [p].

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[u] Quincy hiſtoire militaire de Louis IV. tom. iii. p. 717. Marquis de Santa-Cruz reflections militaires et politiques, tom. viii. p. 93, 94. Memoires pour ſervir a l'hiſtoire d'Eſpagne, par le marquis de St. Philippe, vol. i. p. 201—209.

[o] The French writers are very copious in their deſcription of the meaſures taken by the French admiral for the defence of the fleet; and indeed it muſt be allowed that the diſpoſition was as good as the place would admit. The count de Chateau-Renault was a very gallant and experienced officer; and if, as theſe writers ſay, his reputation was heightened by this accident, then it plainly proves, that our officers acted as well as men could be expected to act. Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iii. p. 717. Rapin Thoyras continue, tom. xi. p. 487. Memoires hiſtoriques, et chronologiques.

[p] It is perfectly clear from his manner of making this attack, that Sir George Rooke had the honour of his country as much at heart as any man could have; and it is very ſtrange, that among ſo many obſervations, no body ſhould take notice of the great prudence ſhewn in the forming this diſpoſition, and the courage and alacrity of the admirals in quitting the large ſhips, that they might have a ſhare in the danger, as well as in the reputation of this action. If it had miſcarried,

The duke of Ormond, to facilitate this attack, landed on the ſouth-ſide of the river, at the diſtance of about ſix miles from Vigo, two thouſand five hundred men; then lord Shannon at the head of five hundred men, attacked a ſtone fort at the entrance of the harbour, and having made himſelf maſter of a platform of forty pieces of cannon, the French governor, Monſ. Sozel, ordered the gates of the place to be thrown open, with a reſolution to have forced his way through the Engliſh troops. But though there was great bravery, yet there was but very little judgment in this action; for his order was no ſooner obeyed, than the grenadiers entered the place ſword in hand, and forced the garriſon, conſiſting of French and Spaniards, in number about three hundred and fifty, to ſurrender priſoners of war [q]. This was a conqueſt of the laſt importance, and obtained much ſooner than the enemy expected, who might otherwiſe have prevented it, ſince they had in the neighbourhood a body of at leaſt ten thouſand men, under the command of the prince of Brabançon. It was likewiſe of prodigious conſequence in reſpect to the fleet, ſince our ſhips would have been exceſſively galled by the fire from that platform and fort [r].

As ſoon, therefore, as our flag was ſeen flying from the place, the ſhips advanced, and vice-admiral Hopſon in the Torbay, crowding all the ſail he could, ran directly againſt the boom, broke it, and then the Kent, with the reſt of the ſquadron, Engliſh and Dutch, entered the harbour. The enemy made a prodigious fire upon them, both from their ſhips and batteries on ſhore, till the latter was poſſeſſed by our grenadiers,

miſcarried, we ſhould have had reflections enough on the admiral's miſtakes in this matter; and, methinks, it is a little hard to paſs in ſilence this extraordinary mark of his conduct, and leave it to be commended as it is by the Dutch hiſtorians only; as if they alone knew how to value merit, and we were concerned only to leſſen and traduce it.

[q] The duke of Ormond, though lame of the gout, marched all the way through bad roads, at the head of the troops. Lord viſcount Shannon who commanded the attack, diſtinguiſhed himſelf exceedingly, and all the officers and forces in general, behaved with the utmoſt ſpirit and intrepidity.

[r] The French writers ſay, that at the firſt appearance of the duke of Ormond's grenadiers, the Spaniſh militia, threw down their arms, and fled; and they likewiſe admit, that they forced their way on the opening the gate, as is aſſerted in our accounts.

who ſeeing the execution done by their guns on the fleet, behaved with incredible reſolution. In the mean time, one of the enemy's fire-ſhips had laid the Torbay on board, and had certainly burnt her, but that luckily the fire-ſhip had a great quantity of ſnuff on board, which extinguiſhed the flames when ſhe came to blow up: yet the vice-admiral did not abſolutely eſcape. Her fore-top-maſt was ſhot by the board, moſt of the ſails burnt or ſcorched, the fore-yard conſumed to a coal, the larboard ſhrowds, fore and aft, burnt at the dead eyes, ſeveral ports blown off the hinges, her larboard-ſide intirely ſcorched, one hundred and fifteen men killed and drowned; of whom about ſixty jumped overboard, as ſoon as they were grappled by the fire-ſhip. The vice-admiral, when he found her in this condition, went on board the Monmouth, and hoiſted his flag there[s].

In the mean time captain William Bokenham, in the Aſſociation, a ſhip of ninety guns, lay with her broadſide to the battery, on the left of the harbour, which was ſoon diſabled; and captain Francis Wyvill, in the Barfleur, a ſhip of the ſame force, was ſent to batter the fort on the other ſide, which was a very dangerous and troubleſome ſervice, ſince the enemy's ſhot pierced the ſhip through and through, and for ſome time he durſt not fire a gun, becauſe our troops were between him and the fort; but they ſoon drove the enemy from their poſt, and then the ſtruggle was between the French firing, and our men endeavouring to ſave their ſhips and the galleons. In this diſpute the Aſſociation had her main-maſt ſhot, two men killed, the Kent had her fore-maſt ſhot, and the boatſwain wounded; the Barfleur had her main-maſt ſhot, two men killed, and two wounded; the Mary had her bowſprit ſhot[t]. Of the troops there were only two lieutenants and thirty men killed, and four ſuperior officers wounded; a very inconſiderable loſs, conſider-

[s] Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 627. Complete hiſt. of Europe for 1702, p. 388. Oldmixon's hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 291.

[t] It is very apparent from this account, that the action was extremely warm, and that all who were concerned in it, did their duty; and if we conſider how many attempts of the ſame kind failed in the former reign, and with how ſmall a loſs this great action was atchieved, we ſhall be ſatisfied that all our admirals deſerved the higheſt commendations.

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ing that the enemy had fifteen French men of war, two frigates, and a fire-ſhip, burnt, ſunk, or taken; as were alſo ſeventeen galleons. As for the particulars of the enemy's loſs, and of what we gained by this great victory, they are accounted for at the bottom of the page [u].

This event gave a great deal of trouble to the Paris gazetteer: when he firſt ſpoke of this misfortune he affirmed, that all the plate was carried on ſhore, and ſecured, and that we had five men of war ſunk in the attack. Afterwards he retracted the firſt part of the tale, and owned that a little ſilver was taken; but then he added, that nine of our ſhips were wrecked in their return, and all their men loſt; which ſhews how great an impreſſion this loſs made on thoſe who had the direction of this

[u] French ſhips taken, burnt, and run aſhore.

Ships burnt.	No. of guns.
Le Fort,	76
L'Enflame,	64
Le Prudent,	62
Le Solide,	56
La Dauphine,	46
L'Enterprenant,	22
La Choquante,	8
	334
Le Favori, a fire-ſhip,	
Eight advice-boats,	

Taken by the Engliſh, and brought home.	
Le Prompt,	76
Le Firme,	72
L'Eſperance,	70
L'Aſſure,	66
	284

Taken by the Dutch.	
Le Bourbon,	68
Le Superbe,	70
La Sirenne,	60
Le Modere,	56
Le Voluntaire,	46
Le Triton,	42
	342

Total, ſhips, 21. guns, 960

Six galleons were taken by the Engliſh, and five by the Dutch, who ſunk ſix. As to the wealth on board the galleons, we never had any exact account of it. It is certain, that the Spaniſh and French ſhips had been twenty-five days in Vigo harbour, before the confederates arrived there, in which time, they debarked the beſt part of the plate and rich goods, and ſent them up the country. The galleons had on board when they arrived, twenty millions of pieces of eight, beſides merchandize, which was thought of equal value. Of the ſilver, fourteen millions were ſaved, of the goods about five. Four millions of plate were deſtroyed, with ten millions of merchandize; and about two millions in ſilver, and five in goods, were brought away by the Engliſh and Dutch.

gazette. Father Daniel gives a pretty fair account of this matter, and a late French hiſtorian very candidly owns, that by this blow the naval power of France was ſo deeply wounded, as that ſhe never recovered it during the war [w].

There were certain circumſtances attending this ſucceſs of ours at Vigo, which heightened its luſtre not a little. Our ſtateſmen had all along kept their eyes upon the galleons, and had actually fitted out a ſquadron on purpoſe to intercept them, under the command of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel. Orders likewiſe had been ſent to Sir George Rooke, by the earl of Nottingham, which never reached him; and after all their precautions, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel's ſquadron would ſcarce have been ſtrong enough to have undertaken ſo dangerous an enterprize. Yet biſhop Burnet, not at all dazzled with the brightneſs of this exploit, tells us, that Sir George Rooke performed this ſervice very unwillingly, and did not make the uſe of it he might have done; in which, no doubt, he was impoſed on, ſince the fact, upon which he grounds it, is certainly falſe [x].

Sir Cloudeſley Shovel arrived on the ſixteenth of October, as the troops were imbarking, and the admiral left him at Vigo, with orders to ſee the French men of war, and the galleons that we had taken, and that were in a condition to be brought to England, carefully rigged, and properly ſupplied with men. He was likewiſe directed to burn ſuch as could not be brought home, and to take the beſt care he could to prevent embezzlements; and having appointed a ſtrong ſquadron for this ſervice, the admiral, with the reſt of the fleet, and one of the Spaniſh galleons, ſailed home, and arrived in the Downs, on the ſeventh of November, 1702, from whence the great ſhips

[w] See the complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1702, p. 391.

[x] If Sir George Rooke had been ſo negligent as the biſhop makes him, we had certainly never heard of the Spaniſh fleet at Vigo at all; for though the biſhop ſays, that the admiral ſent to none of the ports, (whereas expreſſes were ſent to them all from Liſbon), yet the matter of fact is clearly this, that Sir George ſent captain Hardy to Lagos bay, and there he met with the only expreſs that was ſent from Liſbon; ſo that here we have a charge, not only without proof, but directly in the teeth of proof. Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 629. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 332. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 291, 292. Annals of queen Anne, vol. i. p. 134, 135.

were,

were, about the middle of the month, ſent round to Chatham [y].

Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, in the ſpace of a week, put the French men of war, and other prizes, into the beſt condition poſſible; took out all the lading from a galleon, which was made prize by the Mary, and brought along with him the Dartmouth, which had been taken from us in the laſt war, and was now made prize by captain Wyvill; but as there was another ſhip of that name in the navy, this prize was called the Vigo. He alſo took out of the French ſhips that were run on ſhore, fifty braſs guns, and brought off ſixty more from the forts and batteries; after which, on the twenty-fourth of October, he ſet fire to the ſhips he could not bring away. The next day he left Vigo, but it proving calm, he anchored in the channel between that port and Bayonne, where he ſent ſeveral priſoners on ſhore with a flag of truce, and had ours returned in their ſtead [z].

On the twenty-ſeventh of October, he was again under ſail, intending to have paſſed through the north channel; but the wind taking him ſhort, he was obliged to paſs through that which lies to the ſouth, where the galleon, which was the Monmouth's prize, ſtruck upon a rock, and foundered; but there being ſeveral frigates on each ſide of her, all her men were ſaved except two. He was the very ſame day joined by the Dragon, a fifty-gun ſhip, commanded by captain Holyman, which had been attacked by a French man of war of much greater force, and the captain and twenty-five men killed; but his lieutenant fought her bravely, and at laſt brought her ſafe into the fleet. In their paſſage they had extreme bad weather, and though the Naſſau had the good fortune to make a very rich prize, which was coming from Morlaix, yet that veſſel foundered the next morning, and the weather was then ſo bad, that the ſquadron ſeparated, every ſhip ſhifting for itſelf; though

[y] Columna roſtrata, p. 275. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 32. London Gazette, N°. 3865.

[z] This ſquadron ſailed from Spithead, the 29th of September, 1702. Sir George Rooke arrived in the Downs, November 7th; and Sir Cloudeſley ſailed the 25th of October, from Vigo, and arrived on the tenth of November, off the Iſle of Wight. See the Lond. Gaz. N°. 3861.

all

all had the good luck to get ſafe to England, but in a very ſhattered condition[a].

We have now attended the grand fleet throughout the whole expedition, and are next to mention what was performed by ſeveral detachments made for particular ſervices. Among theſe the ſquadron commanded by captain John Leake, claims the firſt notice. On the twenty-fourth of June, 1702, he received inſtructions from his royal highneſs, to proceed to Newfoundland, with a ſmall ſquadron, in order to protect the trade, annoy the enemy, and bring the homeward-bound ſhips under his convoy. He ſailed in purſuance of theſe inſtructions, and arrived in Plymouth Sound, on the twenty-ſecond of July, where having gained the beſt intelligence he could, as to the ſtate of our own affairs, and of thoſe of the enemy, he ſo effectually purſued the deſign on which he came thither, that by the end of October he found himſelf ready to proceed with the homeward-bound ſhips for England, having taken twenty-nine ſail of the enemy, and burnt two. Of theſe, three were laden with ſalt, twenty-five with fiſh, and one from Martinico with ſugar and molaſſes, eight of which fell into the hands of the Exeter, nine were taken by the Medway, four by the Montague, as many by the Litchfield, three by the Charles-galley, and one by the Reſerve. Beſides which, he burnt and deſtroyed all the fiſhing-boats and ſtages, &c. at Trepaſſy, St. Mary's, Colonet, great and little St. Lawrence's, and the iſland of St. Peter's at the entrance of Fortune-bay, being all very conſiderable eſtabliſhments of the French in Newfoundland, and of the greateſt importance for carrying on their fiſhery there, and breeding their ſeamen. At the latter of theſe places, there was a ſmall fort of ſix guns, which he totally demoliſhed; after all which extraordinary ſucceſs, he ſailed home ſafely, though the weather was bad, and arrived with the ſquadron under his command at Portſmouth, on the tenth of November in the ſame year[b].

In this, as in the former war, nothing gave us or the Dutch more diſturbance, than the expeditions made from time to time

[a] See the London Gazette, N°. 3862, 3863. where it is ſaid, that the remainder of the fleet came in, under the command of Sir Stafford Fairborne.

[b] See the London Gazette, N°. 3861.

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by the French ſhips at Dunkirk, where this year they had a ſmall ſquadron under the command of the famous monſieur de Pointis. This induced his royal highneſs to equip a particular ſquadron under the command of commodore Beaumont, which had orders in the latter end of the month of June, to ſail to the mouth of that port, to keep the French ſhips from coming out. The ſtates-general had, for the ſame purpoſe, a much ſtronger ſquadron, under the command of rear-admiral Vanderduſſen, for reaſons of great importance, as they apprehended; though it afterwards appeared, that the French kept ſeven or eight ſhips there purely to amuſe us and the Dutch, and to keep us in perpetual motion. According to the informations we had here, the French were ſometimes ſaid to have a deſign of intercepting our homeward-bound ſhips from Sweden and Ruſſia; according to others, they meditated a deſcent upon Scotland; and a great deal of pains and expence it coſt us, to guard againſt both theſe deſigns [c].

On the other hand, the Dutch, who always piqued themſelves on having the beſt and earlieſt intelligence, were thoroughly ſatisfied, that the Dunkirk ſquadron was not intended to attack us, but them; and that the true ſcheme of the French was, to make a deſcent upon Zealand; to which purpoſe they had likewiſe information, that a body of eight thouſand land-forces was aſſembled near Oſtend. Full of apprehenſions on this account, they re-inforced their ſquadron before Dunkirk to eighteen men of war of the line, and ſent vice-admiral Evertzen to command it. This officer found himſelf ſo ſtrictly tied up by his inſtructions, that he could not afford any aſſiſtance to our commodore, when, in purſuance to orders from home, he ſent to demand it. However, after ſeveral months fruitleſs attendance, and frequent informations given to the earl of Nottingham, that the French were at ſea, and gone here and gone there, it at laſt appeared, that commodore Beaumont had been all the while in the right, who affirmed in his letters, that they never ſtirred out of the harbour [d].

It

[c] The preſent ſtate of Europe for 1702, p. 317.

[d] Burchet's naval hiſt. p. p. 635. Memoirs of John du Bart, p. 315. Lond. Gaz. N°. 3857. In all probability, the French themſelves were the authors of

their

It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that, in the beginning of 1702, died the famous John du Bart. He was a native of Dunkirk, as ſome ſay, though others alledge that he was born at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, but being carried over a child, was bred up from his infancy in the ſea-ſervice at Dunkirk[e]. This is certain, that his mother was an Engliſh woman, and that he ſpent the firſt part of his life in ours and the Dutch ſervice; but having nothing but his merit to recommend him, he obtained very little, if any, preferment, which diſguſted him ſo much, that, upon the breaking out of the former war, he entered into the ſervice of France, and roſe there to the command of the Dunkirk ſquadron; in which poſt he rendered himſelf ſufficiently terrible to the Engliſh and Dutch, by taking more of their ſhips, than almoſt all the other French privateers together[f].

He was ſucceeded in command by the Sieur Pointis, who had taken Carthagena, and whom the French therefore thought it proper to reward; though it is certain he had not either the in-

theſe pieces of falſe intelligence, on purpoſe to alarm us and our allies, and to keep up the reputation of this formidable ſquadron. Thus much indeed was true, that the people in Scotland were in a great meaſure diſaffected, and the French, from time to time, promiſed them aſſiſtance from Dunkirk; but the condition of their marine was ſuch, as did not enable them to undertake any thing of importance; and indeed the whole ſtrength of the Dunkirk ſquadron was altogether inſufficient for performing any of the enterprizes that it was ſuppoſed to be deſigned for. In this, therefore, lay the error of our miniſtry, that they had not proper intelligence as to the force of that ſquadron, for this would have rendered it impoſſible for them to have been played upon as they were.

[e] See the complete hiſt. of Europe, for the year 1702, p. 480, 481.

[f] This du Bart performed moſt of his great exploits by mere dint of knowledge. He derived from nature a wonderful genius for maritime affairs, and improved this by a ſteady application to them. His perfect acquaintance with all the coaſts, enabled him to perform wonders; becauſe he, generally ſpeaking, had to do with men much inferior to him in this kind of ſkill. He was beſides, a moſt excellent ſeaman, and never truſted to the care of others, what it was in his power to ſee done himſelf. By this means, he kept his ſhips conſtantly clean, and in readineſs to go to ſea whenever an opportunity offered; and his ſagacity and ſucceſs placed him ſo high in the eſteem of Louis XIV. that he generally made choice of him for the execution of the moſt difficult enterprizes undertaken during his reign; ſuch as the convoying the prince of Conti to Poland, and the eſcorting the tranſports for the intended deſcent on England, in 1697.

duſtry

duſtry or the capacity of his predeceſſor. But if we had nothing but the inſtance of this year's trouble and expence, in which no leſs than thirty of ours and the ſtates-general's ſhips were employed in watching the Dunkirk ſquadron, it would be ſufficient to ſhew the abſolute neceſſity of keeping that port in its diſmantled ſituation, and never permitting the French to gain by plunder, the effects of other people's induſtry; for it is impoſſible any ſlight commerce carried on there, in times of tranquillity, can make the maritime powers the leaſt amends for the riſk they muſt run, on the breaking out of a war, ſhould this port ever be reſtored, and left in that condition at a peace [g].

I am now to ſpeak of admiral Benbow's expedition to the Weſt Indies, and of his unfortunate death, the memory of which I could, for the honour of my country, wiſh ſhould be buried in oblivion; but ſince that is impoſſible, I ſhall give the faireſt and fulleſt account of the matter that I am able, having taken all the pains that I poſſibly could, to be perfectly informed of every circumſtance relating to that affair, and ſhall be particularly careful to avoid concealing truth on the one ſide, and no leſs attentive not to exaggerate it on the other. We have already mentioned the cauſe and the manner of admiral Benbow's putting to ſea with his ſquadron, which conſiſted of two third, and eight fourth rates.

He arrived at Barbadoes on the third of November, 1701, from whence he ſailed to examine the ſtate of the French, and of our own Leeward-iſlands. He found the former in ſome confuſion, and the latter in ſo good a ſtate of defence, that he did not look upon himſelf under any neceſſity of ſtaying, and therefore ſailed to Jamaica [h]. There he received advice of two French

[g] I hint this, the rather becauſe ſome people have laid a great ſtreſs on our commerce, by means of that port, which, they would have us believe, turns in the main more to our advantage, than to that of the French. It is certain, however, that ſuch as are of this opinion, have little acquaintance with the maxims of the French government, or the attention that the preſent French miniſtry pay to things of this nature; there being perhaps no nation in the world where nicer inquiries are made into whatever regards commerce.

[h] See the Lond. Gaz. 3862, where it is ſaid, that all the ſeamen, as well as the admiral and officers, were ſo well accuſtomed to that climate, that

French ſquadrons being arrived in the Weſt Indies, which alarmed the inhabitants of that iſland and of Barbadoes very much. After taking care, as far as his ſtrength would permit, of both places, he formed a deſign of attacking Petit Guavas; but, before he could execute it, he had intelligence that Monſieur Ducaſſe was in the neighbourhood of Hiſpaniola, with a ſquadron of French ſhips, having an intent to ſettle the aſſiento in favour of the French, and to deſtroy the Engliſh and Dutch trade for negroes.

Upon this he detached rear-admiral Whetſtone in purſuit of him, and on the eleventh of July 1702, he ſailed from Jamaica, in order to have joined the rear-admiral: but having intelligence that Ducaſſe was expected at Leogane, on the north-ſide of Hiſpaniola, he plied for that port, before which he arrived on the twenty-ſeventh. Not far from the town he perceived ſeveral ſhips at anchor, and one under ſail, who ſent out her boat to diſcover his ſtrength, which coming too near was taken; from the crew of which he learned, that there were ſix merchant ſhips in the port, and that the ſhip they belonged to was a man of war of fifty guns, which the admiral preſſed ſo hard, that the captain, ſeeing no probability of eſcaping, ran the ſhip aſhore, and blew her up. On the twenty-eighth the admiral came before the town, where he found a ſhip of about eighteen guns hauled under their fortifications, which however did not hinder his burning her. The reſt of the ſhips had ſailed before day, in order to get into a better harbour, *viz.* Cul de Sac, but ſome of our ſhips, between them and that port took three of them, and ſunk a fourth. The admiral, after alarming Petit Guavas, which he found it impoſſible to attack, ſailed for Donna Maria bay, where he continued till the tenth of Auguſt, when having received advice, that Monſieur Ducaſſe was ſailed for Carthagena, and from thence was to ſail to Porto-Bello, he reſolved to follow him, and accordingly ſailed that day for the Spaniſh coaſt of Santa Martha [i].

On

they were in very good health, and not above ten men ſick in the hoſpital. See alſo Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. v. and the complete hiſtory of Europe for 1702, in the appendix. Annals of queen Anne, vol. i. p. 144.

[i] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, 1702. p. 657, where there is a very exact account of his proceedings, while on the coaſt of Hiſpaniola. See alſo an account

On the nineteenth in the evening, he diſcovered near that place, ten ſail of tall ſhips to the weſtward: ſtanding towards them, he found the beſt part of them to be French men of war; upon this he made the uſual ſignal for a line of battle, going away with an eaſy ſail, that his ſternmoſt ſhips might come up and join them, the French ſteering along-ſhore under their top-ſails. Their ſquadron conſiſted of four ſhips, from ſixty to ſeventy guns, with one great Dutch-built ſhip of about thirty or forty; and there was another full of ſoldiers, the reſt ſmall ones, and a ſloop. Our frigates a-ſtern were a long time in coming up, and the night advancing, the admiral ſteered along-ſide of the French; but though he endeavoured to near them, yet he intended not to make any attack, until the Defiance was got a-breaſt of the headmoſt.

Before he could reach that ſtation, the Falmouth (which was in the rear) attempted the Dutch ſhip, the Windſor the ſhip a-breaſt of her, as did alſo the Defiance, and ſoon after, the rear-admiral himſelf was engaged, having firſt received the fire of the ſhip which was oppoſite to him; but the Defiance and Windſor ſtood no more than two or three broadſides, before they luſt out of gun-ſhot, inſomuch that the two ſternmoſt ſhips of the enemy lay upon the admiral, and galled him very much; nor did the ſhips in the rear come up to his aſſiſtance with that diligence which might have been expected. From four o'clock until night the fight continued, and though they then left off firing, yet the admiral kept them company; and being of opinion, that it might be better for the ſervice if he had a new line of battle, and led himſelf on all tacks, he did ſo, and the line of battle then ſtood thus [k].

		Guns.
The Breda,	vice-admiral Benbow and captain Fog, -	70
The Defiance,	captain Richard Kirby, - -	64
The Greenwich,	captain Cooper Wade, - - -	54

account of the proceedings of vice-admiral Benbow, in the Weſt Indies, in the appendix to the complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1702, drawn up from his own journal, p. 515. Lond. Gaz. N°. 3865, 3878.

[k] Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 594. Columna roſtrata, p. 291. Oldmixon's hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 303.

		Guns.
The Ruby,	captain George Walton, - -	48
The Pendennis,	captain Thomas Hudſon, - -	48
The Windſor,	captain John Conſtable, - -	48
The Falmouth,	captain Samuel Vincent, - -	48

On the twentieth at day-break, he found himſelf very near the enemy, with only the Ruby to aſſiſt him, the reſt of the ſhips lying three, four, or five miles a-ſtern. They had but little wind, and though the admiral was within gun-ſhot of the enemy, yet the latter was ſo civil as not to fire. About two in the afternoon, the ſea-breeze began to blow, and then the enemy got into a line, making what ſail they could: and the reſt of the ſhips not coming up, the admiral and the Ruby plied them with chace-guns, and kept them company all the next night[l].

On the twenty-firſt, the admiral was on the quarter of the ſecond ſhip of the enemy's line, within point-blank ſhot; but the Ruby being a-head of the ſame ſhip, ſhe fired at her, as the other ſhip did likewiſe that was a-head of the admiral. The Breda engaged the ſhip that firſt attacked the Ruby, and plied her ſo warmly, that ſhe was forced to tow off. The admiral would have followed her, but the Ruby was in ſuch a condition that he could not leave her. During this engagement the rear-ſhip of the enemy's was a-breaſt of the Defiance and Windſor, but neither of thoſe ſhips fired a ſingle ſhot[m]. On the twenty-ſecond at day-break, the Greenwich was five leagues a-ſtern, though the ſignal for battle was never ſtruck night or

l Hence it appears, that if the Ruby had deſerted admiral Benbow with the reſt, he could have done nothing; but muſt have been obliged to return to Jamaica, which was what his captains aimed at; and if this could have been effected, they had in all probability carried their point, and the whole blame had been thrown upon the admiral; which ſufficiently demonſtrates the merit of the gentleman who commanded the Ruby, *viz.* the late Sir George Walton, who had, however, been tampered with in his turn by the other captains; but when he came to be ſober, and to conſider the matter better, diſcharged his duty as became him.

m Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 48, 49. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome 34. p. 210, 211. Admiral Benbow's journal.

day;

day; about three in the afternoon the wind came ſoutherly, which gave the enemy the weather-gage [n].

On the twenty-third the enemy was ſix leagues a-head, and the great Dutch ſhip ſeparated from them. At ten, the enemy tacked with the wind at E. N. E. the vice-admiral fetched point-blank within a ſhot or two of them, and each gave the other his broadſide. About noon they recovered from the enemy a ſmall Engliſh ſhip, called the Anne-galley, which they had taken off the rock of Liſbon. The Ruby being diſabled, the admiral ordered her for Port-Royal. The reſt of the ſquadron now came up, and the enemy being but two miles off, the brave admiral was in hopes of doing ſomething at laſt, and therefore continued to ſteer after them; but his ſhips, except the Falmouth, were ſoon a-ſtern again; at twelve the enemy began to ſeparate [o].

On the twenty-fourth, about two in the morning, they came up within call of the ſternmoſt, there being then very little wind. The admiral fired a broadſide with double round below, and round and partridge aloft. At three o'clock the admiral's right leg was ſhattered to pieces by a chain-ſhot, and he was carried down; but he preſently ordered his cradle on the quarter-deck, and continued the fight till day. Then appeared the ruins of the enemy's ſhip of about ſeventy guns, her main-yard down and ſhot to pieces, her fore-top-ſail-yard ſhot away, her mizen-maſt ſhot by the board, all her rigging gone, and her ſides bored to pieces. The admiral ſoon after diſcovered the enemy ſtanding towards him with a ſtrong gale of wind. The Windſor, Pendennis, and Greenwich, a-head of the enemy, came to the leeward of the diſabled ſhip, fired their broadſides, paſſed her, and ſtood to the ſouthward: then came the Defiance, fired part of her broadſide, when the diſabled ſhip returning about twenty guns, the Defiance put her helm a-weather, and ran away right before the wind, lowered both her

[n] See Burchet's naval hiſtory, and the account of the proceedings of vice-admiral Benbow, from whence, indeed, moſt of the other accounts are tranſcribed.

[o] In this, all the accounts we have, agree; and nothing can be plainer than that, if theſe captains had now returned to their duty, moſt of Ducaſſe's ſquadron muſt have been taken.

top-

top-ſails, and ran to the leeward of the Falmouth, without any regard to the ſignal of battle [p].

The enemy ſeeing the other two ſhips ſtand to the ſouthward, expected they would have tacked and ſtood towards them, and therefore they brought their heads to the northward. But when they ſaw thoſe ſhips did not tack, they immediately bore down upon the admiral, and ran between their diſabled ſhip and him, and poured in all their ſhot, by which they brought down his main-top-ſail-yard, and ſhattered his rigging very much, none of the other ſhips being near him, or taking the leaſt notice of his ſignals, though captain Fog ordered two guns to be fired at the ſhips a-head, in order to put them in mind of their duty. The French, ſeeing things in this confuſion, brought to, and lay by their own diſabled ſhip, re-manned and took her into tow. The Breda's rigging being much ſhattered, ſhe was forced to lie by till ten o'clock, and being by that time refitted, the admiral ordered his captain to purſue the enemy, then about three miles to the leeward, his line of battle ſignal out all the while, and captain Fog, by the admiral's orders, ſent to the other captains, to order them to keep the line, and behave like men. Upon this captain Kirby came on board the admiral, and told him, "That he had better deſiſt; that the French were very ſtrong; "and that from what was paſt, he might gueſs he could make "nothing of it [q]."

The brave admiral Benbow, more ſurprized at this language, than he would have been at the ſight of another French ſquadron, ſent for the reſt of the captains on board, in order to aſk their opinion. They obeyed him indeed, but were moſt of them in captain Kirby's way of thinking; which ſatisfied the admiral that they were not inclined to fight, and that, as Kirby phraſed it, *there was nothing to be done*, though there was the faireſt op-

[p] It was upon full evidence of this fact, that captain Kirby (whom the Gazette calls Kirkby) was condemned for cowardice, though on other occaſions he had behaved well. It was generally ſuppoſed, that he was the author of this ſcheme; at leaſt, he was charged with being ſo, by Wade and Conſtable.

[q] This was depoſed at the trial, and was not denied by Kirby. After this, the officers of his own ſhip preſſed the admiral to retire to Jamaica, from an apprehenſion, that theſe captains, being become deſperate, might go over to the enemy, to which the afflicted admiral moſt unwillingly conſented.

portunity that had yet offered. Our ſtrength was, at this time, one ſhip of ſeventy guns, one of ſixty-four, one of ſixty, and three of fifty; their maſts, yards, and all things elſe in as good condition as could be expected, and not above eight men killed, except in the vice-admiral's own ſhip, nor was there any want of ammunition; whereas the enemy had now no more than four ſhips, from ſixty to ſeventy guns, and one of them diſabled and in tow. The vice-admiral thought proper upon this, to return to Jamaica, where he arrived with his ſquadron, very weak with a fever induced by his wounds, and was ſoon after joined by rear-admiral Whetſtone, with the ſhips under his command[r].

As ſoon as he conveniently could, vice-admiral Benbow iſſued a commiſſion to rear-admiral Whetſtone, and to ſeveral captains, to hold a court-martial for the trial of ſeveral offenders[s]. On the ſixth of October, 1702, the court ſat at Port Royal, when captain Kirby, of the Defiance, was brought upon his trial. He was accuſed of cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty; which crimes were proved upon oath, by the admiral himſelf, ten commiſſion, and eleven warrant officers; by whoſe evidence it appeared that the admiral boarded Ducaſſe in perſon three times, and received a large wound in his face, and another in his arm, before his leg was ſhot off: that Kirby, after two or three broadſides, kept always out of gun-ſhot, and by his behaviour created ſuch a fear of his deſertion, as greatly diſcouraged the Engliſh in the engagement: that he kept two or three miles a-ſtern all the ſecond day, though commanded again and again to keep his ſtation: that the third day he did not fire a gun, though he ſaw the admiral in the deepeſt diſtreſs, having two or three French men of war upon him at a time; and that he threatened to kill his boatſwain for repeating the admiral's

[r] The reaſon of his retiring is given in the former note, and the truth of this account is verified in the hiſtoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 203.

[s] An account of the arraignments and trials of colonel Richard Kirby, captain John Conſtable, captain Cooper Wade, captain Samuel Vincent, and captain Chriſtopher Fog, on a complaint exhibited by the judge advocate, on behalf of her majeſty, at a court-martial held on board the Breda, in Port Royal harbour in Jamaica, *&c.* for cowardice and other crimes committed by them, in a fight at ſea, on the 19th of Auguſt, 1702, for which colonel Kirby, and captain Wade, were ſentenced to be ſhot to death. London, 1703, folio.

command

command to fire. He had very little to ſay for himſelf, and therefore was moſt deſervedly ſentenced to be ſhot.

The ſame day captain Conſtable, of the Windſor, was tried; his own officers vindicated him from cowardice, but the reſt of the charge being clearly proved, he was ſentenced to be caſhiered, and to be impriſoned during her majeſty's pleaſure. The next day captain Wade was tried, and the charge being fully proved by ſixteen commiſſion and warrant officers on board his own ſhip, as alſo, that he was drunk during the whole time of the engagement; he, making little or no defence, had the ſame ſentence with Kirby. As for captain Hudſon, he died a few days before his trial ſhould have come on, and thereby avoided dying as Kirby and Wade did; for his caſe was exactly the ſame with theirs [t].

Upon the twelfth, came on the trials of captain Vincent, commander of the Falmouth, and captain Fog, who was captain of the admiral's own ſhip the Breda, for ſigning, at the perſuaſion of captain Kirby, a paper, containing an obligation on themſelves not to fight the French. The fact was clear, and the captains themſelves did not diſpute it. All they offered was in

[t] This is taken from the proceedings of the court martial, which is referred to in the London Gazette, N°. 3878, where we have the following ſhort account of the whole affair. "As ſoon as M. Ducaſſe, with his ſquadron, appeared in ſight, the admiral immediately made a ſignal for battle, and attacked the enemy very briſkly, and maintained the fight for five days; ſo that, if he had been ſeconded by the other ſhips of his ſquadron, he would certainly have taken or deſtroyed all the French; but four of his ſhips did not aſſiſt him; the Ruby on the 21ſt was diſabled, and afterwards ſent to Port Royal, and the whole burden lay upon the admiral and the Falmouth; who, however, took a prize, being an Engliſh veſſel, which the enemy had formerly taken from us; diſabled the enemy's ſecond ſhip, ſo that they were obliged to tow her away, and very much ſhattered the reſt of their ſquadron, which ſince is put into Porto Bello. The admiral on the 24th, had his leg broke by a chain-ſhot, which yet, did not diſcourage him from continuing the fight; yet, not being able to prevail with his captains to concur with him in that opinion, he was obliged to give over his deſign. On the 6th of October, rear admiral Whetſtone, by commiſſion from the admiral, held a court-martial, wherein captain Kirby, and captain Cooper Wade, were, for cowardice and breach of orders, condemned to be ſhot to death, but the execution reſpited, till her majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known. Captain Conſtable being cleared of cowardice, was for breach of orders, caſhiered from her majeſty's ſervice, and condemned to impriſonment, during her pleaſure. Captain Hudſon died before the trial."

extenuation

extenuation of their offence, and amounted only to this, that they were apprehenſive Kirby would have deſerted to the enemy, and they took this ſtep to prevent it. But this tale would have hardly paſſed on the court-martial, if the admiral himſelf had not given ſome weight to their excuſes, by declaring, that however they might be overſeen in ſubſcribing that paper, yet they certainly behaved themſelves very gallantly in the fight. For the ſake of diſcipline, the court, however, thought fit to ſuſpend them; and yet, to favour the captains, this judgment was given with a proviſo that intirely took off its edge, *viz.* That it ſhould not commence till his royal highneſs's pleaſure ſhould be known [u].

I cannot help taking notice of ſecretary Burchet's odd way of telling this ſtory: in the firſt place he conceals the names of the criminals; out of reſpect, he ſays, to their families, and becauſe one of them (but he doth not tell us which) had behaved well before. He then turns himſelf to admiral Benbow, and gives him a ſort of negative character in the following words: "Thus much "may be obſerved as to vice-admiral Benbow's conduct, that "although he was a good ſeaman, and a gallant man, and that "he was qualified in moſt reſpects to command a ſquadron, eſ-"pecially in the Weſt Indies, in which part of the world he "had had long experience; yet when he found his captains ſo "very remiſs in their duty, I think he ought, in point of "diſcretion, to have ſummoned them; and even that at firſt, "on board his own ſhip, and there confined them; and placed "their firſt lieutenants in their rooms, who would have fought "well, were it for no other reaſon than the hopes of being "continued in thoſe commands, had they ſurvived [w]."

[u] Annals of queen Anne, vol. i. p. 169. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 304. Trials of colonel Kirby, *&c.* p. 13, 14.

[w] Naval hiſtory, p. 598. The captains who ſuffered, had ſome very great relations, and, in all probability, a deſire of being well with them, prevented the inſerting the names of theſe offenders in this celebrated performance. But to be ſo tender of them, and, in the very ſame breath, to attack obliquely the character of ſo worthy a man as admiral Benbow, does no great honour to his hiſtory. Biſhop Burnet, likewiſe, who is ſo ready on every occaſion to attack the character of Sir George Rooke, vice-admiral Graydon, and many others of our naval commanders, is wholly ſilent in reſpect to this buſineſs, there being not the leaſt trace of it in any part of his works, influenced no doubt by the ſame motive, that wrought ſo powerfully upon ſecretary Burchet.

This, I muſt confeſs, does not by any means ſatisfy me. Admiral Benbow was no prophet: he could not foretel that theſe captains would behave ill, nor could he be ſure that they did behave ill, till they had frequently diſobeyed his ſignals. Part of the time he was warmly engaged, and that could be no ſeaſon for conſultation; and part of the time the weather was foul, and then he could not call them on board. Beſides, he was ſurrounded by bad men, and thought himſelf in ſo little capacity of puniſhing theſe people at ſea, that he retired to Jamaica, purely to be ſafe. But it would, methinks, have ſuited Mr. Burchet's purpoſe better, to have gone to the bottom of this affair, which, for any thing I can learn, the world is unacquainted with yet, and therefore I think myſelf obliged to publiſh it.

The admiral was an honeſt, rough ſeaman, and fancied that his command was beſtowed upon him for no other reaſon, than that he ſhould ſerve his country: this induced him to treat captain Kirby, and the reſt of the gentlemen, a little briſkly at Jamaica, when he found them not quite ſo ready to obey his orders as he thought was their duty; and this it was that engaged them in the baſe and wicked deſign, of putting it out of his power to engage the French, preſuming that, as ſo many were concerned in it, they might be able to juſtify themſelves, and throw the blame upon the admiral, and ſo they hoped to be rid of him. But his rugged honeſty baffled them; and we may gueſs at the ſpirit of the man, by the anſwer he gave one of his lieutenants, who expreſſed his ſorrow for the loſs of his leg. "I am ſorry for it too," ſays the gallant Benbow; "but I had "rather have loſt them both, than have ſeen this diſhonour "brought upon the Engliſh nation. But, do you hear, if ano-"ther ſhot ſhould take me off, behave like brave men, and fight "it out[x]."

The turn given by the French to this affair, is very extraordinary. They tell us, that admiral Benbow, at the diſtance of twelve leagues from Santa Martha, with ſeven men of war, attacked M. Ducaſſe, who, though he had but four, did not refuſe to fight. The engagement laſted five days, and on the

[x] The reader will meet with ſome other particulars in the memoirs of admiral Benbow, contained in the fourth volume, and communicated by his deſcendents.

ſixth Benbow made all the ſail he could for Jamaica. He had a leg ſhattered, and died a little while afterwards: his ſhips were moſt of them in no condition to keep the ſea, more than half their crews being killed. Only one ſhip of M. Ducaſſe's ſquadron ſuffered, and he had but twenty men killed and wounded in the whole. However, he did not care to purſue Benbow, who he did not believe to be in ſo bad a condition as he really was, and therefore he made the beſt of his way to Carthagena, where he arrived in a few days, and where his preſence gave now as much joy as it had formerly (that is, when he plundered it in conjunction with monſieur Pointis) given terror. This is a very florid, and at the ſame time a very falſe account of the affair, and from thence we may learn the value of inquiries, ſince the court-martial at Jamaica, by their proceedings, ſet this whole buſineſs in its true light, and left us undeniable evidence, that it was not their own bravery; but the treachery of Benbow's captains, that ſaved the French ſquadron [y].

The reflections he made on this unlucky buſineſs, threw the brave admiral into a deep melancholy, which ſoon brought him to his end; for he died on the fourth of November, 1702, as much regreted as he deſerved [z]. The command of the ſquadron then devolved on captain Whetſtone, who in this expedition acted as rear-admiral, and of whoſe proceedings in the Weſt Indies we ſhall give an account in its proper place. In the mean time, it is requiſite that we ſhould follow the condemned captains home, in order to put an end to this diſagreeable narration. They were ſent from Jamaica, on board her majeſty's ſhip the Briſtol, and arrived at Plymouth on the 16th of April, 1703, where (as in all the weſtern ports) there lay a dead warrant for their immediate execution, in order to prevent any applications in their favour; and they were accordingly ſhot on board the ſhip that brought them home, and ſhewed at their death a courage and conſtancy of mind, which made it evident,

[y] This French account is taken from the hiſtoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 202, 203, 204. But M. Ducaſſe was too brave a man to gloſs things in ſuch a manner; as the reader will be convinced by reading his letter to admiral Benbow, which will be found in his memoirs.

[z] London Gazette, N°. 3386. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. xxxiv. p. 335. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 50. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 497.

that their behaviour in the late engagement did not flow from any infirmity of nature, but from the corruption of their minds; and I hope their example will always have a proper effect on ſuch as are intruſted with the like commands [a].

I ſhould now, according to the order I have hitherto purſued in this work, take notice of what was tranſacted at home, in relation to the navy, and particularly of what paſſed in parliament upon this ſubject: but as the queen's proclamation for a thankſgiving, in which honourable mention is made of the ſucceſs at Vigo, and the thanks beſtowed by the houſe of commons on Sir George Rooke for his conduct in that affair, will appear with greater propriety, when I come to the memoirs of his life; to avoid repetitions I ſhall not inſiſt further upon them here. I muſt however obſerve, that as, in the caſe of Kirby and Wade, her majeſty ſhewed a ſtrict regard to juſtice, ſo, with reſpect to admiral Hopſon, ſhe gave as lively a teſtimony of her juſt ſenſe of merit, for ſhe not only conferred on him the honour of knighthood, but was graciouſly pleaſed to ſettle upon him a penſion of 500l. a-year for life, with the reverſion of 300l. a-year to his lady, in caſe ſhe ſurvived him, on account of the prodigious ſervice he did in breaking the boom at Vigo [b].

But this extraordinary mark of royal favour did not (as indeed it ought not) ſcreen him from a ſtrict examination in the houſe of lords, in conjunction with Sir George Rooke, as to the miſcarriage of the deſign upon Cadiz; but upon the ſtricteſt review that could be made of that whole affair, there appeared ſo little colour for cenſuring either of the admirals actions, that how much ſoever their enemies might deſire it, they were at laſt glad to let this matter fall. Indeed the fleet, though it had not performed all that was expected, had done as much as was poſſible for the ſervice of the nation, and had thereby afforded an opportunity to our worthy miniſter at Liſbon, Mr. Methuen, to draw over from his alliance with the two crowns, the king of

[a] See the London Gazette, N°. 3907. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 303. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1703, p. 183.

[b] This was publiſhed in the Gazette of November 30, 1702, with this addition, that he was introduced to the queen, when he received the honour of knighthood, by the hand of his royal highneſs, prince George of Denmark, lord high-admiral of England. See the complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1702, p. 452.

Portugal,

Portugal, to the intereſt of the allies, and to conclude a treaty of commerce there; which, to ſay no more, has been of much greater benefit to the nation, than many, I might add moſt, of the treaties that have been concluded ſince [c].

There had hitherto appeared very little of party-oppoſition to the management of the war, and therefore the ſupplies for the ſervice of the year 1703, were very chearfully granted, and very eaſily raiſed, which was the reaſon that the fleet was much earlier at ſea, had all things provided in a better manner, at leſs expence to the nation, and yet ſooner than they had ever been before, which was one great reaſon why the French never had any of thoſe advantages they boaſted of ſo much in the former war. In the month of March the queen made a kind of naval promotion [d]. The marquis of Caermarthen was advanced from being vice-admiral of the white, to be vice-ad-

[c] Biſhop Burnet gives this account. "A committee of the houſe of peers "ſat long upon the matter: they examined all the admirals and land-officers, "as well as Rooke himſelf, upon the whole progreſs of that affair. Rooke "was ſo well ſupported by the court, and by his party in the houſe of com-"mons, that he ſeemed to deſpiſe all that the lords could do; ſome who un-"derſtood ſea-matters, ſaid, that it appeared from every motion during the "expedition, that he intended to do nothing but amuſe and make a ſhew; they "alſo concluded, from the protection that the miniſtry gave him, that they "intended no other. He took much pains to ſhew, how improper a thing a "deſcent on Cadiz was, and how fatal the attempt muſt have proved: and in "doing this, he arraigned his inſtructions, and the deſign he was ſent on, with "great boldneſs; and ſhewed little regard to the miniſters, who took more "pains to bring him off, than to juſtify themſelves. The lords of the com-"mittee prepared a report, which was hard upon Rooke, and laid it before "the houſe; but ſo ſtrong a party was made to oppoſe every thing that re-"flected on him, that though every particular in the report was well proved, "yet it was rejected, and a vote was carried in his favour, juſtifying his con-"duct." The truth of this matter is, that as Sir George Rooke knew nothing of his orders, until he came to execute them; ſo he was abſolutely free from dependence on any miniſter, and ſpoke what he thought with the greateſt intrepidity. The main of his defence was this, that his orders were contradictory; that the chief of them required his bringing over the Spaniards, if poſſible, to the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, and the reſt enjoined him to ſink their ſhips and burn the town, which he found ſcarce practicable; and if it had been more ſo, not at all eligible, ſince at firſt the inhabitants did not diſcover any great enmity: and if more had been done, it could only have ſerved to have made the Spaniards implacable; and after all, perhaps the town might not have been taken.

[d] Oldmixon's hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 2. Lond. Gaz. N°. 3896.

miral

miral of the red; John Graydon, Eſq; was made vice-admiral of the white; John Leake, Eſq; vice-admiral of the blue; George Byng, Eſq; rear-admiral of the red; Thomas Dilkes, Eſq; rear-admiral of the white, and Bazil Beaumont, Eſq; rear-admiral of the blue [e].

The firſt ſcheme that was formed for performing any thing remarkable at ſea, was upon a foreign plan. It was intended, that the arch-duke Charles, who was to take upon him the title of king of Spain, ſhould alſo marry an infanta of Portugal, and, in conſequence of that marriage, was to undertake ſomething of importance immediately, with the aſſiſtance however of the Engliſh and Dutch; and ſo hearty were the latter, that they ſent a ſquadron of men of war, with near three thouſand land-troops on board, upon our coaſt, and after toſſing and tumbling there for ſome weeks, the project in the council of the imperial court was changed, the deſign dropt, and the Dutch went home again [f].

Sir George Rooke had propoſed a ſcheme for diſtreſſing the enemy, by ſailing very early into the bay of Biſcay, where he thought, if they had any men of war without Port Louis and

[e] The ſupplies granted this year, amounted to 3,517,957 l. 7 s. 2 d. which in thoſe days was thought an immenſe ſum, though we have ſince ſeen much larger granted, without being well able to tell whether for peace or war. As to the promotion, it was declared in the Gazette of March 15, 1702, N°. 3896, and was at that time highly applauded, becauſe it was generally conceived, that thoſe gentlemen were promoted purely in regard to their merit. It was alſo ſaid at that time, that Mr. Graydon was advanced on another officer's refuſing to ſerve in the Weſt Indies.

[f] This was among the number of thoſe things which gave great offence to the ſtates of Holland. They actually equipped a ſquadron, imbarked on board it 3000 land troops, and ſent them ſo early as the month of January on the coaſt of England, where they were to be joined by twenty ſail of Engliſh men of war, with 3000 land troops: but the Portugueſe match being loſt, and the councils of the imperial court taking a ſudden turn, this expedition was dropt, and then it was given out, that it was intended for the Weſt Indies; which, whatever effect it might have abroad, created abundance of groundleſs reflections at home, as if we had neglected making war in that part of the world, where we were moſt able to have carried it on with ſucceſs, and to have drawn advantages from it. But the truth is, our allies would never conſent to our making any conqueſts in the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, and this rumour of the fleets going thither, was only ſpread to alarm the Spaniards, and produce ſome good effects in Europe.

Rochfort,

Rochfort, they might be ſurprized and taken, or at leaſt the commerce might be interrupted; and for the performance of this ſcheme, he took it upon himſelf[g]. About the middle of the month of April he arrived at St. Helen's, with eighteen ſhips of the line[h], with which he was very deſirous of ſailing on the intended expedition, without waiting for the Dutch; but this propoſition was not at firſt accepted; ſo that he remained there till the beginning of the month of May, when he was ſo ill that he kept his bed, though biſhop Burnet is ſo charitable as to ſuggeſt, that he was only ſick of the expedition; which, had it been true, was no reflection upon him, ſince the execution of what he propoſed depended entirely on its being done in time, and the putting off his departure was chargeable on thoſe who were veſted with that authority which commanded him[i].

[g] There could not well be a greater ſign of his being in earneſt; and, as to the nature of the propoſal, it was certainly well calculated for preventing the French from reaping any benefit from their trade with Spain, or the Spaniards from feeling any effects of French protection. This agreed exactly with the maxim upon which Sir George Rooke always went, of treating the French as enemies, and the Spaniards as allies. For it was his opinion, and he was not ſhy of declaring it, that it might be very practicable to retrieve Spain, though impoſſible to conquer it. Let it be conſidered, how far this was juſtified by the event.

[h] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. xiii. Boyer's life of queen Anne, Lond. Gaz. N°. 3906.

[i] That I may not ſeem to charge this prelate raſhly, I will produce his own words: "This year things at ſea (ſays he) were ill deſigned, and worſe executed: the making prince George our lord high-admiral, proved in many inſtances very unhappy to the nation: men of bad deſigns impoſed on him; he underſtood thoſe matters very little, and they ſheltered themſelves under his name, to which a great ſubmiſſion was paid; but the complaints roſe the higher for that; our main fleet was ready to go out in May, but the Dutch fleet was not yet come over; ſo Rooke was ſent out to alarm the coaſt of France: he lingered long in port, pretending ill health; upon that Churchill was ſent to command the fleet; but Rooke's health returned happily for him, or he thought fit to lay aſide that pretence, and went to ſea, where he continued a month; but in ſuch a ſtation, as if his deſign had been to keep far from meeting the French fleet, which ſailed out at that time; and to do the enemy no harm, not ſo much as to diſturb their quiet, by coming near their coaſts; at laſt he returned without having attempted any thing."

The

The truth, however, was, that the admiral found himſelf ſo ill, that he applied for leave to go to the Bath, which was granted him; and George Churchill, Eſq; admiral of the blue, was ſent to take upon him the command. But he not arriving in time, and Sir George finding himſelf better, put to ſea, and continued at ſea for ſomething more than a month; and then finding what he ſuſpected at the Iſle of Wight to be true, that the enemy had notice of his deſign, and that moſt of their ſquadrons had ſailed; and therefore perceiving that he could do the nation no ſervice by remaining longer on the French coaſt, returned home about the middle of June, that he might be ready to undertake any more neceſſary ſervice [k].

This expedition has the misfortune to diſpleaſe ſecretary Burchet, who ſays, that in his poor opinion [l], a ſquadron of ſmall ſhips might have had better ſucceſs; and, in my poor opinion, Sir George Rooke was as good a judge of the probability of this as he. The queſtion in ſuch caſes is not the ſucceſs, but the contrivance and execution of the ſcheme; and if theſe be right, the conduct of the commander cannot be wrong, and therefore ought not to be blamed. When Sir George Rooke returned, he was ſtill ſo weak and infirm, that he aſked and had leave to go to Bath [m], his ſuperiors ſeeing no reaſon to cenſure his behaviour; and therefore, as ſoon as he was able to undertake it, we ſhall find him again in command, and employed in a ſervice of much greater importance.

The grand fleet was commanded this year by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel [n]. It conſiſted at firſt of twenty-ſeven ſhips of the line, and the admiral had under him rear-admiral Byng, and Sir Stafford Fairborne; and being afterwards reinforced with eight

[k] Sir George ſailed, as appears by the Gazette, on the 9th of May. On the 23d, he ſent in the Lenox to Portſmouth, with a French Eaſt India ſhip worth 100,000l. on the 15th of June, he ſent in Lord Durſley, who commanded the Litchfield, with a French man of war of 36 guns, and a Weſt India merchantman, worth 40,000 l. and on the 22d of June, Sir George returned with many prizes from the Weſt Indies. This is the plain Engliſh of the prelate's *without attempting any thing*.

[l] Naval hiſt. p. 645. [m] See our memoirs of Sir George Rooke, in this vol. [n] Burnet's hiſt. of his own times, vol. ii. p. 358. Burchet's naval hiſt. book v. chap. xiv. Annals of Queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 96. Lond. Gaz. N°. 3928.

ſhips

ſhips more, theſe were commanded by vice-admiral Leake [o]. His inſtructions were very large; but all of them might be reduced to theſe three heads, *viz.* annoying the enemy, aſſiſting our allies, and protecting our trade. He waited till the middle of June for the Dutch, and then was joined only by twelve ſhips of the line, carrying three flags; and it is certain, that if the force he had with him, had been better adjuſted than it was to the things he had orders to perform, yet the time allowed him, which was only till the end of September, was much too ſhort, ſo that it was really impoſſible for him to execute the ſervices that ſeemed to be expected [p]. He repreſented this, and is commended for it by biſhop Burnet [q], who had notwithſtanding cenſured another admiral for the ſame thing before; however, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was ordered to obey, and he did ſo, but was not able to get clear of the land till near the middle of July, having alſo a fleet of upwards of two hundred and thirty merchant-men under his convoy.

On the twenty-fourth he arrived off the rock of Liſbon, where he held a council of war, in which the rendezvous was appointed to be held in Altea-bay [r]. He purſued his inſtructions as far as he was able, and having ſecured the Turkey fleet, he intended to have ſtaid ſome time upon the coaſt of Italy. But the Dutch admiral informed him, that both his orders and his victuals required his thinking of a ſpeedy return; and it was with much difficulty that Sir Cloudeſley Shovel prevailed upon him to go to Leghorn [s]. In the mean time, the inſtructions he had to ſuccour the Cevennois, who were then in arms againſt the French king, were found impracticable with a fleet;

[o] Lond. Gaz. N°. 3931, 3933.

[p] This, as I obſerve in the text, is ingeniouſly confeſſed by biſhop Burnet, who carries his reflections on this ſubject very far; he ſays, it was not eaſy to imagine what the deſign of ſo great an expedition could be. Much was ſaid to the ſame purpoſe in the houſe of lords; but nobody reflected upon the admiral, as indeed there was no reaſon for it. But then, I confeſs I do not ſee why the ſame juſtice ſhould not be done to other admirals, when their conduct appears to have been as innocent, or as laudable.

[q] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 358. [r] Oldmixon's hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 312. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 98. Lond. Gaz. N°. 3941. [s] Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 653. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1703, p. 415. Lond. Gaz. N°. 3955, 3958.

and therefore the admiral contented himſelf with doing all that could be done, which was to ſend the Tartar and the Pembroke upon that coaſt, where they alſo found it impoſſible to do any thing [t]. The admiral then detached captain Swanton to Tunis and Tripoli, and ſent rear-admiral Byng to Algier, to renew the peace with thoſe ſtates, and on the twenty-ſecond of September arrived off Altea, from whence he ſoon after ſailed for England [u].

On the twenty-ſeventh, in the Streights-mouth, he met with an Algerine man of war becalmed, upon which he immediately took her under his protection, till all the Dutch ſhips were paſſed. In this he certainly performed the part of an Engliſh admiral, preſerved the reputation of our flag, did great ſervice to our trade, and put it out of the power of the French to practiſe upon thoſe piratical ſtates to our diſadvantage, as they had done formerly [w]. Having intelligence that a fleet of merchant ſhips waited for a convoy at Liſbon, he ſent Sir Andrew Leake thither with a ſmall ſquadron [x], who eſcorted them ſafe into the Downs [y].

On the ſixteenth of November, the fleet being off the Iſle of Wight, the Dutch croweded away for their own ports, and left the admiral to ſteer for the Downs, which he did; but before he made land, captain (afterwards Sir John) Norris in the Or-

[t] It is clear, that the Dutch were victualled for ſtill a ſhorter time than our fleet; and, if I durſt, I would ſuggeſt, that our miniſtry were obliged to comply with the ſchemes of our allies, in ſuch joint expeditions. Mr. Oldmixon has given a large account of the attempt made in favour of the Cevennois, and has fully vindicated the admiral's conduct.

[u] London Gazette, N°. 3961, 3966. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 107. [w] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 655. [x] Lond. Gaz. N°. 3969.

[y] It is certain, that Sir Cloudeſley gained as much reputation in this expedition, as it was poſſible for an admiral to do who had no opportunity of fighting; and therefore, thoſe people ſeem to carry things too far, who ſay that this fleet did neither hurt our enemies, nor protect our friends; whereas, in truth, all circumſtances conſidered, it did both; and our allies the Dutch were very well contented with what was done; imagining, that the protection of their own trade was a matter of as great importance, at leaſt to them, as the ſupport of king Charles's title to the crown of Spain, which the court of Vienna left at that time intirely to the confederates.

ford,

ford, a ſhip of the third rate, together with the Warſpight of ſeventy guns, and the Litchfield of fifty, being a-head of the fleet, gave chace to a French ſhip of war, and beginning to engage about eight at night, the diſpute continued till two in the morning, when, having loſt her fore-top-maſt, and all her ſails, and her ſtanding and running-rigging being much ſhattered, ſhe ſtruck. This ſhip came from Newfoundland, was commanded by Monſieur de la Rue, was named the Hazardous, and had fifty guns mounted, with three hundred and ſeventy men; but had more ports, and was larger than any of our ſixty-gun ſhips, ſo that ſhe was regiſtered in the liſt of our royal navy [z].

This expedition did not reflect much honour upon the nation, and therefore it created ſome murmurs; but theſe fell where they ought; not upon the admiral, who certainly did all that was in his power, but upon thoſe who framed the project, and gave the admiral his inſtructions, and who were thought to have rather more power than parts.

But while the grand fleet was at ſea, rear-admiral Dilkes performed a very acceptable ſervice to his country on the French coaſt. For the lord high-admiral's council having intelligence, that a conſiderable fleet of French merchant-ſhips, with their convoy, were in Cancall-bay, orders were ſent to the rear-admiral, who was then at Spithead with a ſmall ſquadron, to ſail immediately in purſuit of them, which he did on the twenty-ſecond of July [a]. On the twenty-fourth, he ordered the captain of the Nonſuch to ſtretch a-head of the ſquadron, and ſtand as near Alderney as he could, and ſend his boat aſhore to gain intelligence. On the twenty-fifth he ſtood towards the Caſquets for the ſame purpoſe, and at ſix in the evening anchored off the ſouth-weſt part of Jerſey; from whence he ſent captain Chamberlain, commander of the Spy brigantine, to the governor, that he might obtain from him the beſt intelligence he could give.

[z] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 656. Oldmixon's hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 313. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 85, 86. London Gaz. N°. 3968.
[a] Burchet's naval hiſtory. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 12. Lond. Gaz. N°. 3934.

The governor ſent to him captain James Lamprier, and captain Thomas Pipon, who well underſtood that coaſt, by whom being informed of a fleet about forty ſail, plying to the windward on the fifteenth to get to Granville, the rear-admiral, upon conſultation at a council of war with the pilots, reſolved to ſail immediately, though the tide fell croſs in the night, that getting clear of the weſtermoſt rocks of the Minques, he might attack the enemy by break of day; which ſucceeded perfectly well; for the next morning, the twenty-ſixth, by day-light, perceiving the enemy at an anchor about a league to the weſtward of Granville, they, upon his approach, got under ſail, and ſtood in for the ſhore.

The rear-admiral followed them as far as the pilot would venture, and found them to conſiſt of forty-three merchant-ſhips, and three men of war. Being come within four feet water more than the ſhip drew, he manned all his boats, and the reſt of the ſhips did the ſame. By noon he took fifteen ſail, burnt ſix, and ſunk three; the reſt ſtood ſo far into a bay, between Avranche and the mount of St. Michael, that in the judgment of the pilots, our ſhips could not attack them; whereupon, on the twenty-ſeventh in the morning, it was reſolved at a council of war, to go into the bay with the Hector, Mermaid, a fire-ſhip, the Spy brigantine, a ſhip of ſix guns, taken the day before from the enemy, a ketch fitted out as a fire-ſhip, and all the boats of the ſquadron, which was performed between ten and eleven in the morning, the rear-admiral being preſent, accompanied by captain Fairfax, captain Legg, and captain Mighells; as alſo by the captains Lamprier and Pipon [b].

There were three ſhips equipped for war, one of eighteen guns, which the enemy burnt, the ſecond of fourteen guns, which Mr. Paul, firſt lieutenant of the Kent, ſet on fire, who in this ſervice was ſhot through the lower jaw, and four men killed, and a third of eight guns, which was brought off. Seventeen more of the merchant-ſhips were burnt and deſtroyed, by this ſecond attack, ſo that of the whole fleet only four

[b] Boyer's life of queen Anne. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xxxv. p. 230, 231.

eſcaped,

eſcaped, by getting under the command of Granville-fort. The enemy, during this attack, ſent ſeveral large ſhallops from Granville, but with no ſucceſs, the rear-admiral having manned a brigantine with eighty men, and another veſſel of ſix guns, with forty, who covered all the boats. This laſt veſſel unfortunately run a-ground, which obliged the rear-admiral to burn her. There were, during the time of this action, about five thouſand of the enemy ſeen on ſhore, but they did not advance near enough to do their own people any ſervice, or ours any hurt. The queen, to teſtify her kind acceptance of ſo chearful and ſo effectual a ſervice, ordered gold medals to be ſtruck on this occaſion, and delivered to the rear-admiral and all his officers, who certainly had very well deſerved them [c].

We are now to ſpeak of the greateſt diſaſter that had happened within the memory of man, at leaſt, by the fury of the winds, I mean the ſtorm which began on the twenty-ſixth of November, 1703, about eleven in the evening, the wind being W. S. W. and continued with dreadful flaſhes of lightning, till about ſeven the next morning. The water flowed to a great height in Weſtminſter-hall, and London-bridge was in a manner ſtopt up with wrecks. The miſchief done in London was computed at not leſs than a million, and the city of Briſtol ſuffered upwards of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. But the greateſt loſs fell upon our navy, of which there periſhed no leſs than thirteen ſhips, upwards of fifteen hundred ſeamen were drowned [d]; amongſt whom was Baſil Beaumont, Eſq;

[c] See the Lond. Gaz. N°. 3937, 3938.

[d] The following is the beſt account that can be given of the particulars of this great loſs:

I. The Reſerve, a fourth rate, captain John Anderſon commander, loſt at Yarmouth. The captain, the ſurgeon, the clerk, and 44 men ſaved; the reſt of the crew drowned, being 175.

II. The Vanguard, a ſecond rate, ſunk in Chatham harbour, with neither men nor guns in her.

III. The Northumberland, a third rate, captain Greenway, loſt on the Goodwin ſands; all her company was loſt, being 220 men, including twenty-four marines.

IV. The Sterling-Caſtle, a third rate, captain Johnſon, on the Goodwin ſands, 70 men, of which were four marine officers ſaved, the reſt were drowned, being 206.

V. The

Eſq; rear-admiral of the blue, who had been employed all that year in obſerving the Dunkirk ſquadron, and had by his great care and conduct preſerved our merchant-ſhips from falling into the hands of the French privateers; which ſervice appeared the more conſiderable by the great loſſes the Dutch this year ſuſtained [c]. He was in all other reſpects a man well qualified for

V. The Mary, a fourth rate, rear-admiral Beaumont, captain Edward Hopſon, on the Goodwin ſands, the captain and purſer a-ſhore; one man, whoſe name was Thomas Atkins, ſaved; the reſt, to the number of 269, with the rear-admiral, drowned. The eſcape of this Atkins was very remarkable. He ſaw the rear-admiral, when the ſhip was breaking, get upon a piece of her quarter-deck, from which he was ſoon waſhed off; and about the ſame time, Atkins was toſſed by a wave into the Sterling-Caſtle, which ſinking ſoon after, he was thrown the third man into her boat, by a wave that waſhed him from the wreck.

VI. The York, a fourth rate, captain Smith, loſt at Harwich; all her men ſaved except four.

VII. The Mortar-bomb, a fifth rate, captain Raymond, on the Goodwin ſands; all her company loſt, being 65.

VIII. The Eagle advice-boat, a ſixth rate, captain Boſtock, loſt on the coaſt of Suſſex; all her company, being 45, ſaved.

IX. The Reſolution, a third rate, captain Liſle, on the coaſt of Suſſex; all her company, being 221, ſaved.

X. The Litchfield-prize, a fifth rate, captain Chamberlain, on the coaſt of Suſſex; all her company, being 108, ſaved.

XI. The Newcaſtle, a fourth rate, captain Carter, loſt at Spithead; the carpenter and 39 men were ſaved, and the reſt, being 193, drowned.

XII. The Veſuvius fire-ſhip, a fifth rate, captain Paddon, at Spithead; all her company, being 48, ſaved.

XIII. The Reſtoration, a third rate, captain Emms, 387 men, on the Goodwin ſands; not one ſaved.

Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was then in the Downs with ſeveral great ſhips, which were all in the utmoſt danger; he cut his main-maſt by the board, which ſaved the ſhip from running on the Galloper of the breach, of which ſhe was then in view. Sir Stafford Fairborne had his flag, as vice-admiral of the red, flying in the Aſſociation, in which he was driven firſt to Gottenburgh, and then to Copenhagen, from whence he did not get home till the next year. The Revenge was forced from her anchors, and with much ado, after driving ſome time on the coaſt of Holland, got into the river Medway; the Ruſſel, captain Townſend, was forced over to Holland, and the Dorſet, captain Edward Whitaker, after ſtriking thrice on the Galloper, drove a fortnight at ſea, and then got ſafe to the Nore.

[c] Burchet's naval hiſt. book v. chap. 15. Burnet's hiſt. of his own times, vol. ii. Lond. Gaz. N°. 3971.

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the ſervice of his country, and what made his loſs moſt regretted, he died in the flower of his age, and in the heat of the war. Theſe loſſes, how much ſoever they might affect us at home, ſerved in ſome meaſure to raiſe our reputation abroad, for orders were immediately iſſued for building more ſhips than were deſtroyed; and the queen, by ſeveral gracious bounties, gave ſuch and ſo ſpeedy relief to ſhipwrecked ſeamen, and to the diſtreſſed widows of ſuch as were drowned, as might have endeared her to her ſubjects, if ſhe had not already ſo fully poſſeſſed their hearts, as to render any increaſe of affection impoſſible[f].

Charles, arch-duke of Auſtria, being declared king of Spain by his father, and owned as ſuch by the allies, Sir George Rooke was ſent in the month of October to Holland, in order to convoy his Catholic majeſty to Liſbon[g]. There the Dutch not being ready, the admiral was forced to continue for ſome time, and then the great ſtorm occaſioned a new delay; at laſt he embarked, and with a joint ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, and a conſiderable number of tranſports, with land-forces on board, he arrived at Spithead on the twenty-ſixth of

f On the 12th of December, the queen publiſhed a proclamation for a general faſt, on Wedneſday the 19th of January following, which was kept with wonderful ſtrictneſs; in the Gazette of December 16th, the lord high-admiral, by an advertiſement dated the 13th, gives notice, that the companies of her majeſty's ſhips which were caſt away, ſhould be paid that day month, which was done accordingly; and in the Gazette, N°. 3978, appeared the following order:

" Her majeſty taking into conſideration, the great loſs ſuſtained by the fa-
" milies of ſuch, as being in her majeſty's ſervice at ſea, periſhed by the late
" ſtorm; her majeſty, with the advice of her privy council, is pleaſed to or-
" der, as it is hereby ordered accordingly, that the widows and families of
" ſuch commiſſion and other officers and ſeamen as have periſhed by reaſon of
" the late ſtorm, in her majeſty's ſervice at ſea, be intitled to her majeſty's
" bounty in the ſame manner, as if they had been actually killed in fight, in
" her majeſty's ſervice at ſea, according to the eſtabliſhment in that behalf.
" And his royal highneſs prince George of Denmark, lord high-admiral, is de-
" ſired to give the neceſſary directions herein accordingly."

The houſe of commons, which was then ſitting, addreſſed her majeſty upon this melancholy occaſion, deſiring her to give immediate directions for repairing this loſs, and to build ſuch capital ſhips as ſhe ſhould think fit, and promiſed to make good the expence at their next meeting.

g Lond. Gaz. N°. 3959.

Decem-

December[h]; he was there complimented by the dukes of Somerſet and Marlborough, on the road to Windſor met by his royal highneſs the prince of Denmark, and on his arrival was received with all imaginable marks of reſpect by the queen, for whom he ſhewed greater deference than was even expected by the Engliſh court[i]. Here we will end the naval tranſactions in Europe for this year, and proceed to take a view of what paſſed in America, after the death of admiral Benbow in Jamaica[k].

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[h] Lond. Gaz. N°. 3979.

[i] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 354. "About the end of "December, (ſays the biſhop), the king of Spain landed at Portſmouth. The "duke of Somerſet was ſent by the queen to receive him, and to bring him to "an interview, which was to be at Windſor; prince George went and met "him on the way, and he was treated with great magnificence; the court was "very ſplendid, and much thronged, the queen's behaviour towards him was "very noble and obliging: the young king charmed all that were there, he "had a gravity beyond his age, tempered with much modeſty, his behaviour "was in all points ſo exact, that there was not a circumſtance in his whole de-"portment that was liable to cenſure: he paid an extraordinary reſpect to the "queen, and yet maintained a due greatneſs in it; he had an art of ſeeming "well pleaſed with every thing, without ſo much as ſmiling once all the while "he was at court, which was only three days: he ſpoke but little, and all he "ſaid was judicious and obliging." Annals of queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 225. Lond. Gaz. N°. 3980.

[k] Moſt of our hiſtorians have placed Sir George Rooke's voyage to Liſbon in 1703, which is what I do not underſtand, ſince he did not leave England till the month of January, 1704, and therefore I have contented myſelf with placing that part of his expedition within this year, which fell out in it, and left the reſt to be related in its proper place. I ſhall take this opportunity of obſerving, that the arch duke Charles was proclaimed king of Spain at Vienna, on the 12th of September, N. S. his journey to Portugal being then reſolved on. The choice made of Sir George Rooke to bring him over hither, and convoy him to Liſbon, was a clear proof that his conduct was equally approved at home and abroad. Indeed it could not be otherwiſe, for every body at this time, was ſatisfied that our miniſtry deſigned to place king Charles III. on the throne of Spain, partly by aſſiſting the Spaniards, who ſhould declare for him, but chiefly by compelling the French to abandon the cauſe of his rival. Now this was exactly agreeable to Sir George Rooke's way of thinking, who was for treating the Spaniards kindly, and fighting only with the French. This being conſidered, we may eaſily account for the making choice of Sir George Rooke to command this fleet, though it will not be eaſy to divine, why thoſe writers bear hardeſt on Sir George's character, who are fondeſt of lord Godolphin's

The command devolving upon captain Whetſtone, whom Mr. Benbow had appointed rear-admiral of his ſquadron, he immediately put it into the beſt condition poſſible for going to ſea, and then cruized on the coaſt of Hiſpaniola. On his return to Jamaica an opportunity offered of ſhewing his great concern for the intereſts of the colony. A fire breaking out at Port-Royal on the ninth of February, 1703, about noon, burnt it down to the ground before night, leaving nothing ſtanding but the two fortifications. In this ſad diſtreſs of the inhabitants, which ſtill would have been much greater, if the ſeamen, with great courage and induſtry, had not aſſiſted in preſerving their goods and ſtores, the rear-admiral publiſhed a proclamation, in which he promiſed to entertain and relieve all ſuch as ſhould deſire it, on board her majeſty's ſhips, until they could be otherwiſe provided for; which he with great care and tenderneſs performed [1].

Soon after this he ſailed again on a cruize, in hopes of meeting a conſiderable fleet of merchant-ſhips, which were expected from France. He ſpent five weeks in ſearch of them to no purpoſe; and after looking into Port Lewis, not finding any thing there, he ſtood away for Petit Guavas and Leogane. When he arrived near this port, he divided his ſquadron, becauſe when admiral Benbow attacked the enemy here, their ſhips eſcaped on one ſide, as he entered on the other. He therefore ſailed weſtward with part of his ſhips, and ſent the reſt to the ſouth. When theſe came in ſight, three privateers, which were in every reſpect ready for ſervice, ſtood away northward; but the rear-admiral forcing two of them aſhore, burnt them, and the other he took. Captain Vincent, who commanded to the ſouthward, rowed in the night into a place called the Cul de Sac, where he found four ſhips, one of which he burnt, another he ſunk, the third (which was a conſort of the privateers aforementioned) he towed out, and boarded the fourth, ſhe was blown up by the accidental firing of a grenado-

dolphin's meaſures, which we have ſhewn to be a thing abſolutely abſurd, ſince they thought alike, and adopted the ſingle plan that could ſo much as promiſe ſucceſs.

[1] Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 598. Annals of queen Anne. London Gazette, No. 3886, 3897. Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii.

ſhell. From this place the rear-admiral ſailed to Port de Paix, but found no ſhipping there; for the before-mentioned privateers were all that the enemy had in thoſe parts, with which, and five hundred men, they thought to have made an attempt on the north-ſide of Jamaica; and in theſe ſhips were taken one hundred and twenty priſoners [m].

While rear-admiral Whetſtone was thus employed, they were far from forgetting the ſafety of the plantations at home. Sir George Rooke, in the month of September, 1702, detached from the Mediterranean captain Hovenden Walker in the Burford, five more third rates, ten tranſports, and four regiments on board, for the Leeward-iſlands; he arrived in Barbadoes in the beginning of the month of January; and upon the coming thither ſoon after of ſix of our Eaſt India ſhips richly laden, he, by the advice of a council of war, ſent them home under the convoy of the Expedition, a third rate, captain Knapp commander, who brought them ſafely to England. From Barbadoes, commodore Walker ſailed to Antigua, where he joined colonel Coddrington, who was about undertaking an expedition to Guadaloupe, in which captain Walker was to aſſiſt him. They ſailed from Antigua the latter end of February; on the twelfth of March, general Coddrington landed with great part of the forces, but was ſo warmly received by the French, that they would have been able to have done little or nothing, if commodore Walker had not ſent in the Chicheſter, which drove the enemy from their batteries, which our men quickly entered [n]. The next day the reſt of the ſoldiers, and four hundred ſeamen were landed, who attacked the north part of the town with great fury, forced the enemy to abandon it, and to retreat into the caſtle and fort, which they defended

[m] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 602. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 6. London Gazette, No. 3926. It is very remarkable, that Pere le Pers, in his accurate hiſtory of St. Domingo, has nothing of this expedition, which could not poſſibly have eſcaped his notice any more than that which was intended by the French againſt Jamaica. But as no honour could ariſe to his countrymen from the relation of what paſſed in this part of the world at this time, he thought proper to be ſilent, rather than record the advantages gained by the Engliſh.

[n] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. vi. Columna roſtrata, p. 292. The complete hiſt. of Europe, for 1703, p. 131. Lond. Gaz. No. 3912.

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to the third of April, and then blowing them both up, retired to the mountains. After this our troops ravaged all the country, burnt the town to the ground, razed the fortifications, carried the beſt of the artillery on board, burſt the reſt, and with a very great booty imbarked, without the loſs of a man [o].

The French writers give a different account of this affair, and becauſe the Engliſh thought fit to retreat, they will needs have it the proof of a victory on their ſide [p]. Now as to this retreat, there were many reaſons for it, and ſome indeed that rendered it indiſpenſibly neceſſary. General Coddrington fell ſick, and was forced to return to Nevis; then colonel Whetham, upon whom the command devolved, fell alſo dangerouſly ill, and was carried to Antigua. The command of the land-forces fell next to colonel Willis, who, upon certain information that the French had landed nine hundred men on the back of the iſland, called a council of war, in which it was reſolved to imbark the forces; and this was accordingly done, as I have before obſerved, on the ſeventh of May [q]. It muſt be acknowledged, that this ſervice ſuffered not a little from ſome diſputes that happened between the land and ſea-officers; which is, generally ſpeaking, the ruin of our Weſt India expeditions [r].

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[o] There were ſome unlucky circumſtances attended this expedition. In the firſt place, when captain Walker arrived, the land-forces had no powder, with which, however, they were furniſhed from the fleet. When they came next to examine their ſtores cloſely, it was found, that in a thouſand flints, there were not fifty fit for muſkets, nor had they mortars, bombs, pick-axes, ſpades, or indeed any thing proper and convenient for a ſiege. But we muſt take care not to attribute this miſmanagement either to commodore Walker, who commanded here, or to Sir George Rooke, who ſent him, ſince they both acted in obedience to orders; the commodore to thoſe of the admiral, and the admiral receiving his from the miniſtry, who ought to have conſidered better what they were doing.

[p] Quincy hiſtoire militaire de Louis XIV. tom. iv. P. Daniel journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. p. 211. Limieres de Larrey, the laſt mentioned French hiſtorian, ſays, that Monſieur Gabaret, arriving at Fort St. Mary's, with two frigates, a flute, nine armed barks, and ſeven hundred men, to the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants, the Engliſh did not think themſelves a force ſufficient to withſtand them, and therefore reimbarked.

[q] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 604.

[r] The governors of our colonies have ſcarce ever been able to agree with the commanders of our ſquadrons, and with reſpect to this very expedition, there

As ſoon as the news of vice-admiral Benbow's misfortune and death arrived in England, it was reſolved to ſend another flag-officer thither with a conſiderable ſquadron. This command, it is ſaid, was offered to Sir Stafford Fairborne, who refuſed it[s]; and then it was propoſed to Mr. Graydon, who, though a certain prelate[t] ſtyles him a brutal man, made this anſwer, "That it was his duty to go where the queen thought proper "to command him, and that he knew no difference of climates, "when he was to obey her orders." His inſtructions may be found at large in Burchet[u], and the ſtrength he was to take with him, conſiſting only of a third, a fourth, and a fifth rate; which laſt proved unfit for the voyage, and therefore the Montague of ſixty, and the Nonſuch of fifty guns, were ordered to ſee him a hundred and fifty leagues into the ſea. They ſailed about the middle of March, and on the eighteenth of that month they ſaw four French ſhips to leeward, *viz.* two of ſixty, one of fifty, and another of forty guns[w]. This laſt being both the ſmalleſt and ſternmoſt, the Montague, commanded by captain William Cleveland, bore down to, and ſoon after engaged her. Hereupon the vice-admiral made the ſignal for a line of battle, and conſequently for the Montague's coming off; but her fore-top-ſail being ſhot in pieces the ſecond broadſide ſhe received from the enemy, ſhe could not tack ſo ſoon as otherwiſe might have been expected, inſomuch, that the other three French

were as warm complaints made againſt the commodore, as ever came from the Weſt Indies: but he repreſented, that the road of Guadaloupe was exceſſively bad; that he found it impoſſible to procure pilots; that ſeveral of the ſhips loſt their anchors, the ground being foul, and the water deep, ſo that ſome or other were daily forced out to ſea; and added to this, that the troops were under exceſſive difficulties, having no guides to conduct them, and being under the utmoſt want of neceſſaries to ſupport them. Beſides, the iſland was not abandoned, till the expedition had coſt us pretty dear, as appears by the following account of our loſs. There were killed in the firſt action, one major, two captains, and ſix lieutenants; and wounded, two colonels, ſeven captains, and nine lieutenants; and three enſigns died. One hundred and fifty-four ſoldiers were killed; two hundred and eleven wounded; ſeventy-two died; fifty-nine deſerted; and twelve were taken priſoners.

[s] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. xxxiv. p. 338. [t] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 359. [u] Naval hiſtory p. 600.

[w] Annals of queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 2. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. xxxiv. p. 338.

ſhips

ſhips wore, and bearing down to the ſhip that had been engaged, each of them fired her broadſide at the Montague; but ſhe being to windward, and the ſea running high, as the French generally fire in hopes of wounding maſts, yards, or rigging, all their ſhot flew over her, ſo that ſhe received not any conſiderable damage. The French ſhips (which now made the beſt of their way from ours) were foul, for they were part of the ſquadron under command of Monſieur Ducaſſe, with which vice-admiral Benbow engaged in the Weſt Indies, and (as it was reported) were very rich [x].

This affair drew very heavy reproaches on the admiral, who, notwithſtanding, ſeems to have acted according to the beſt of his abilities; and in ſaying this, I am warranted by the judgment of the admiralty-board, who were beſt acquainted with Mr. Graydon's inſtructions [y]. He proceeded with all imaginable diligence in his voyage, and arrived at the iſland of Madeira on the tenth of April, 1703; and from thence he ſailed to Barbadoes, where he arrived the twelfth of May. The day before came a brigantine from Guadaloupe, with advice, that commodore Walker was there, and that both ſeamen and ſoldiers were in danger of being ſtarved for want of proviſions. The vice-admiral thereupon applied himſelf to the agent-victualler, and

[x] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 601, 602. Columna roſtrata, p. 291, 292. London Gazette, N°. 3910.

[y] Biſhop Burnet blames the admiralty, for inſerting a paragraph in the Gazette, to juſtify the admiral's conduct. It is neceſſary the reader ſhould ſee that paragraph, which runs thus: "Plymouth, April 26, The Montague, captain "Cleveland, commander, is come in here: the Nonſuch and ſhe went from thence "the 13th of March, with vice-admiral Graydon, in the Reſolution, captain Day, "in the Blackwall, the tranſports with brigadier Columbine's regiment, ſtore-"ſhips, and merchants, bound to the Weſt Indies, and parted from them on "the 26th of the ſame, in the latitude of 43 degrees. The captain ſays, that "on the 18th of that month, in the latitude of 47 degrees, 30 minutes, they "met four French men of war, and that he engaged the ſternmoſt for ſome "time; but upon his firſt engaging, the vice-admiral made a ſignal to call "him off, being under orders not to loſe any time in his paſſage, by chacing or "ſpeaking with any ſhips whatſoever; the contrary winds having kept him here "much longer than was intended, and the ſervice upon which he was bound "very much requiring his preſence, and the regiment that was with him." The ſingle queſtion that aroſe on this ſubject was, whether admiral Graydon obeyed his orders? And this is plainly decided by the foregoing paragraph in the affirmative.

having

having furniſhed himſelf with all the beef, pork, bread, and peaſe that could be got, he ſailed on the ſeventeenth. On the twentieth he ran in with the fort and town of Guadaloupe, and ſeeing it in ruins, he ſailed inſtantly for Antigua, and from thence to Nevis, where he met with the army and ſquadron in the greateſt diſtreſs; and having relieved them, he proceeded thence with all the ſhips of war to Jamaica, where they arrived the fifth of June [z]. The firſt thing he did there, was to direct a ſurvey of the ſhips under his command; which proved to be very defective, not only in their hulls, but in their maſts, ſtores and rigging; and at the ſame time very ill manned. This, together with ſome differences that aroſe between the admiral and ſome of the principal perſons in Jamaica, determined him to ſail home as ſoon as poſſible: and accordingly, having left the Norwich, the Experiment, and the Sea-horſe, with the Harman and Earl-galley fire-ſhips, together with two ſloops, to attend the iſland; and the Colcheſter and Sunderland to convoy home the latter trade, he ſailed for Blewfields, and proceeding from thence, he fell in with Newfoundland on the ſecond of Auguſt [a].

In the evening of that day there aroſe ſuch a fog as had ſcarce ever been ſeen; for it laſted thirty days complete, and the weather was ſo very dark, that it was difficult to diſcover one ſhip from another: this occaſioned the diſperſion of the fleet, which could not be brought together again till the third of September, when the vice-admiral thought it proper to conſult his officers, as to the principal deſign of his voyage, which was the attacking the French at Placentia, and thereby forcing them to quit Newfoundland. At this council of war, there were preſent, beſides the vice-admiral, rear-admiral Whetſtone, and thirteen ſea-captains; of the land-officers, the commander in chief, colonel Rivers, ſix captains, and an engineer. They took into conſideration the queen's inſtructions to Brigadier Columbine, then deceaſed, and thoſe to Mr. Graydon, and finding all their ſhips in

[z] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 605. London Gazette, N°. 3942. This was certainly a very ſignal ſervice done to the nation; ſince, if the admiral had acted leſs vigorouſly in procuring a ſupply, our troops muſt neceſſarily have periſhed for want.

[a] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 605. Boyer's life of queen Anne. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 359.

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a very weak condition, that they were thinly manned, and moſt of them ſick, already at ſhort allowance, and the ſoldiers, through their being forced to drink water in ſo cold a climate, having their limbs benumbed, ſo that they were ſcarce fit for ſervice; five regiments reduced to one thouſand thirty-five men; of five hundred they were to receive from New England, there came but ſeventy, now reduced to twenty-five, and thoſe in a manner diſabled; and, from the beſt accounts, the enemy at Placentia judged to be not only ſuperior in number, and conſequently able to make a good reſiſtance, but the avenues to the place extremely difficult, the grounds marſhy, and no planks, or other materials, for mounting the guns on the batteries; theſe difficulties and obſtructions being maturely conſidered, together with the good circumſtances the enemy were in, and the aſſiſtance they might have from their privateers, and other ſhipping then at Placentia, the council of war were unanimouſly of opinion, that to make an attempt on that place with the ſhips and forces, in ſuch a condition and at ſuch a ſeaſon of the year, was altogether impracticable; and, inſtead of any probability of ſucceſs, might tend to the diſhonour of her majeſty's arms [b].

This was the end of vice-admiral Graydon's unfortunate expedition; in which, though it is certain, on the one hand, that he did not do the nation any remarkable ſervice, yet it is no leſs certain, on the other, that in reſpect to protecting the trade, and the reſt of the things in his power, he did all the ſervice he was able. But it was his misfortune, firſt to feel the effects of other men's miſtakes, and next to be made anſwerable for them. On his return, the houſe of lords entered into an inquiry into his conduct; and, beſides their former warm vote, which was more than enough to have undone him, came to a reſolution of addreſſing her majeſty, to remove him from all employments, for impreſſing ſervants in the Weſt Indies; deſiring her, at the ſame time, to direct the attorney-general to proſecute him for

[b] I tranſcribe this from a MS. account of admiral Graydon's defence, in which are particular certificates as to the truth of each of theſe facts, and which, I ſuppoſe, ſatisfied the houſe of lords as to this part of the charge; which the admiral looked upon as that which would affect him moſt, ſince here he had not executed his orders, but avoided attacking the French.

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that offence[c]. This had the desired effect: vice-admiral Graydon (as to service) was laid aside, and his memory has been loaded with the foulest imputations; though there is great reason to believe, that he was rather unlucky than unjust, and that he suffered for miscarriages which it was not in his power to avoid. In order to have a clearer idea of this, we must consider that he justified himself as to his not fighting the French, under his orders, which were very precise upon that head; and, if he had not obeyed them, he must have been answerable for all the consequences before a court-martial; while, on the other hand, the lords, as the supreme judicature, decided in this case on the reason of the thing; and because, as they thought, the necessity of fighting ought, in his judgment, to have superseded his orders, yet, when he pleaded necessity in excuse of impressing servants, this would not serve his turn; but he was punished in that case as severely for making use of his own judgment, as for the supposed neglect of it in the other.

In all probability the resentment of the house of lords against this gentleman, was sharpened by their inspecting closely into other affairs relating to the navy; in which, it must be confessed, they found things very indifferently managed. As, for instance, complaints had been made to the lord high-admiral, of bad provisions, by which the seamen were poisoned, as well as the nation cheated; yet a survey of the provisions objected to was delayed for three months, which gave an opportunity for making such removes and changes, as rendered the proof of this charge altogether impracticable. The merchants complained that they were ill served with convoys, and that so little care was taken of the Newcastle fleet, as occasioned an excessive rise of coals: the neglect of providing for such seamen as were prisoners in France, was likewise rendered very evident; as was the danger of the island of Jamaica, and the betraying our naval councils to the French. These were all digested into an address, which was presented by the house of lords to the queen; to which her majesty was pleased to answer, that the address con-

[c] It appears by the Gazette, N°. 3960, that the vice-admiral arrived in the Downs, on the 22d of October. See the journal of the house of lords. I do not find that the admiral was ever prosecuted, and I guess from a reflection of Mr. Oldmixon's, that he was not. History of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 329.

sisted

ſiſted of ſo many parts, that ſhe could not then take notice of them[d]. In the general, however, ſhe promiſed ſhe would conſider of them, and give ſuch directions as ſhould be proper for the ſafety and welfare of the nation.

I think it neceſſary to obſerve here, that at this time there were very warm diſputes in the houſe of lords[e], as to the conduct of the admiralty in the late reign, which had been cenſured by the houſe of commons, and in a great meaſure juſtified here; ſo that at this ſeaſon all the ſtrength of party was exerted on both ſides, and the merit of a man was leſs conſidered, than the faction to which he attached himſelf[f]. But it is time to leave ſo troubleſome and unentertaining a ſubject, in order to return to the conduct of the war, and the great things performed in the year 1704, for the ſervice of which the commons granted upwards of four millions; and of this the ſum of[g] was for the ſervice of the navy: which ſhews, how deſirous the nation was of ſupporting the war to the utmoſt, and of giving whatever was neceſſary for the ſervice of the common cauſe, in hopes that it would be honeſtly and effectually laid out, for thoſe great and ſalutary purpoſes for which it was ſo chearfully given.

The king of Spain was very deſirous of proſecuting his voyage to Liſbon, and therefore came to Portſmouth, and would have imbarked on the third of February[h], if the wind had been

[d] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 359, 365. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 329. Boyer's life of queen Anne. [e] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 365.

[f] The queen, by ſoft anſwers, endeavoured to pacify both houſes, which indeed was the only meaſure left for her to purſue; ſince, if ſhe had complied with the demands of either, it muſt have inflamed both. Her prudence therefore, in this reſpect, was very conſpicuous; though perhaps the righteſt ſtep ſhe could have taken, would have been to have diſmiſſed his royal highneſs's council as lord-high-admiral, and either reſtored the earl of Pembroke or appointed commiſſioners.

[g] The reader will probably be ſurprized to find a blank in the text: but the reaſon is, that, after uſing the utmoſt induſtry, I have not been able to diſcover what the ſum was; which I find has been the caſe of other aſſiduous inquirers, as well as myſelf. I cannot, however, fall into their opinion, that there was no proviſion made for the ordinary of the navy this year; but rather imagine that, by ſome miſtake, the ſum appropriated for that ſervice, was omitted in the votes; and therefore I leave this blank, in hopes that ſome more intelligent reader may be able to fill it up.

[h] London Gazette, N°. 3990.

at all favourable. Sir George Rooke, who was to command the fleet that eſcorted him, and the land forces intended for his ſervice, did every thing that could be expected to facilitate the expedition: for when he found the tranſports were ready, and that it was impoſſible to have the intended number of great ſhips ſo early at ſea, he propoſed ſailing with a ſmall ſquadron to Liſbon, and waiting there for a reinforcement. This was a very wiſe, as well as vigorous ſtep; for, according to the informations our court had received of the deſigns of France, they intended to have a great naval ſtrength in the Mediterranean, which, if it came there earlier than our reinforcement, would have been able to have ſhut up our ſmall fleet, then in thoſe parts, in the river of Liſbon, and have intercepted all our trade homeward-bound; whereas if, according to Sir George's ſcheme, the ſupply arrived early enough at Liſbon, our fleet would be ſo ſtrong as to prevent the junction of the Breſt with the Toulon ſquadron, and to perform other requiſite ſervices on the coaſt of Spain[i].

In the firſt part of his deſign, Sir George was as fortunate as he could wiſh; for ſailing on the twelfth of February, he, after a fine paſſage, arrived with the ſquadron, and all the tranſports, in the river of Liſbon, on the 25th; and after two days had been ſpent in adjuſting the ceremonial, his Catholic majeſty was conducted to ſhore by the king of Portugal, and moſt of the royal family[k]. Among other debates in relation to this ceremony, there was one which deſerves particular notice, and that was in relation to our flag. The king of Portugal deſired, that,

i This was certainly a very wiſe and well judged ſcheme, and is a clear and direct proof that Sir George Rooke was very deſirous of doing as much ſervice as poſſible, and to loſe no opportunity of being early in action; his going on this expedition, with the ſmall ſquadron under his command, was liable to many exceptions, if conſidered in a prudential light, and with a view to the credit of the admiral; but Sir George diſregarded theſe, when they came into competition with the public ſervice, and choſe rather to riſk his own character, than the nation's honour, and the proſpect the king of Spain then had of ſucceſs, of which his Catholic majeſty was extremely ſenſible, and gave upon all occaſions the moſt ample teſtimonies of his particular reſpect for Sir George Rooke, and juſt acknowledgment of his ſervices.

k Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 354. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1704, p. 108. London Gazette, N°. 4000. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 665, 666.

upon

upon his coming on board the admiral's ſhip in his barge of ſtate, and ſtriking his ſtandard, the Engliſh flag might be ſtruck at the ſame time; and that when his Catholic majeſty, with himſelf, ſhould go off from the ſhip, his ſtandard might be hoiſted, and the admiral's flag continue ſtruck until they were on ſhore. This propoſition was made from the king of Portugal, by the king of Spain; to which the admiral replied, that his majeſty, ſo long as he ſhould be on board, might command the flag to be ſtruck when he pleaſed; but that whenever he left the ſhip, he was himſelf admiral, and obliged to execute his commiſſion by immediately hoiſting his flag. This, and ſome other reaſons, ſatisfied the king of Spain, as well as his Portugueſe majeſty; ſo that the flag of England was no longer ſtruck, than the ſtandard of Portugal [1].

Two days after this, the admiral, in compliance with the reſolution of a council of war, ſent a ſquadron of ſeventeen ſail, to cruize off Cape Spartell; which ſquadron was afterwards increaſed to twenty-two ſail. On the ninth of March the admi-

1 We take this paſſage from the account publiſhed by authority; and I think I may venture to aſſert, that Sir George Rooke's concern for the honour of the flag became him very well, as an Engliſh admiral, whatever might be thought of it at home by ſome Engliſh ſtateſmen. Biſhop Burnet, ſpeaking of our treaty with the king of Portugal, mentions a very extraordinary incident relating to this affair, which I find it neceſſary to tranſcribe. "In this treaty, an accident "happened, that had almoſt ſpoiled all: the king of Portugal inſiſted on de-"manding the flag, and other reſpects to be paid by our admiral, when he was "in his ports. The earl of Nottingham inſiſted it was a diſhonour to England "to ſtrike, even in another king's ports. This was not demanded of the fleet "that was ſent to bring over queen Katharine; ſo, though Methuen, our am-"baſſador, had agreed to this article, he preſſed the queen not to ratify it."—"The lord Godolphin looked on this as too inconſiderable to be inſiſted on; "the whole affairs of Europe ſeemed to turn upon this treaty, and ſo important "a matter ought not to be retarded a day, for ſuch punctilios, as a ſalute, or "ſtriking the flag; and it ſeemed reaſonable, that every ſovereign prince ſhould "claim theſe acknowledgments, unleſs where it was otherwiſe ſtipulated by "expreſs treaties. The laying ſo much weight on ſuch matters, very much "heightened jealouſies; and it was ſaid, that the earl of Nottingham, and the "Tories ſeemed to lay hold of every thing that could obſtruct the progreſs of the "war; while the round proceeding of the lord Godolphin reconciled many to "him."—The friends of the earl of Godolphin need be under no concern about this ſtory, ſince it is moſt evident from the foregoing account of Sir George Rooke's conduct, that the fact is falſe, and that the honour of the Engliſh flag was never given up.

ral himſelf put to ſea, and continued cruizing for a month. Rear-admiral Dilkes, who commanded the ſquadron before-mentioned, on the twelfth of March in the morning, diſcovered four ſail of ſhips ſtanding to the N. E. He had with him three third rates, and two fourth, *viz.* the Kent, Bedford, Suffolk, Antelope, and Panther. By eleven he came up with them, and the Panther, which was the headmoſt of ours, engaged them; the Suffolk getting the wind of them, did the ſame, as alſo the Antelope, and the Dutch privateer; inſomuch, that the ſhip of ſixty guns ſtruck, after exchanging ſeveral broadſides. The rear-admiral could not get his own ſhip in reach of them until noon, and then engaging the commodore, which was a ſhip of ſixty guns, ſhe ſtruck to him in a little time, having loſt half her complement of men, as the third did ſoon after, which was a ſhip of twenty-four guns; and in this action the Panther had her fore-top-maſt ſhot by the board, the Suffolk her main-maſt, and the Antelope's maſts and yards were wounded. The two ſhips before-mentioned of ſixty guns, were galleon men of war, one of them called the Porta-Cœli, and the other the St. Thereſa, and came from St. Sebaſtian's, with bombs, guns, iron bars, *&c.* being bound for Cadiz, where (as it was reported) they were to be fitted out for the Weſt Indies, the commodore Don Diego Bicuna having a commiſſion to command all the fleet deſigned thither; and in theſe ſhips were taken near ſeven hundred priſoners[m].

The rear-admiral, by reaſon of bad weather did not arrive at Liſbon till the twenty-fifth of March, and then in going in he loſt the St. Thereſa, but moſt of the men were ſaved. Sir George Rooke being alſo returned, and meeting with orders to ſail up the Streights, prepared to execute them, though at the ſame time, the admiral was extremely preſſed by his Catholic majeſty to undertake ſomewhat in his favour. The difficulties with which Sir George was at this time encompaſſed, were many and great. In the firſt place, the reinforcement he depended on was not arrived; in the next, the queen's orders were poſitive for the relief of Nice and Villa Franca; and he knew how great

[m] See the London Gazette, N°. 4008. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 667. Annals of queen Anne.

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a risk he ran, in case either of those places were taken for want of timely succour. The design formed in favour of king Charles III. to invade Catalonia, and make an attempt on Barcelona, was almost ripe for execution, and that monarch insisted very strenuously that the fleet should escort this imbarkation. In this thorny conjuncture the admiral resolved to do as much as in him lay to satisfy all parties; and we shall hereafter see with how great judgment he executed this resolution; in the mean time it is necessary that we should explain the conduct of the administration in regard to the expedition of Sir Cloudesley Shovel[n].

After Sir George Rooke sailed, the court received intelligence, that the French were very busy in fitting out a great squadron at Brest[o]. This alarmed us very much, because it was not easy to foresee how this force would be employed. At all events it was thought proper to equip, with the utmost expedition, a good fleet, which was put under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, admiral of the white, who had under him Sir Stafford Fairborne, vice-admiral of the red, and George Byng, Esq; then rear-admiral of the same squadron[p]. The admiral was instructed, if he found the Brest squadron still in port, to send away the trade, store-ships, and victuallers, under a proper convoy, to Lisbon, and to remain before that port himself to endeavour to keep in the enemy; or, if that was found impracticable, to burn and destroy them if they came out. But in case he found the Brest squadron already sailed, then he was to call a council of war, in order to judge what strength might be necessary to be sent to Sir George Rooke; and if it amounted to twenty-two ships, then he was to sail with them himself, that our fleet might, at all events, be stronger than that of the enemy. Sir Cloudesley executed his instructions punctually, and finding that a great strength was necessary in the Mediterranean

[n] Burchet's naval history, book v. chap. xvi. Annals of queen Anne. London Gazette, N°. 4017. [o] Lamberti, tom. iii. p. 324. Quincy histoire militaire de Louis XIV. tom. iv. p. 426. P. Daniel journal historique de Louis XIV. anne 1704. [p] Burchet's naval history, p. 672. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 388. London Gazette, N°. 4018.

to

to oppoſe the French, he ſailed thither about the latter end of the month of May [q].

We have now ſeen how and why the ſuccours intended for Sir George Rooke's fleet, were ſo long delayed, and what care was taken for their coming, after all, in good time; we will next therefore return to that admiral, and give a ſhort account of the manner in which he extricated himſelf out of the difficulties in which we left him. In the firſt place he ſignified to the prince of Heſſe, who had the chief direction of his Catholic majeſty's affairs, that if the troops which were to make the attempt on Barcelona, could be ſpeedily imbarked, he was content to eſcort them, and to give all imaginable countenance to his majeſty's affairs in Catalonia. In compliance with this offer, he ſailed accordingly with the tranſports under his convoy, and on the eighteenth of May he arrived before the city of Barcelona[r]. A prieſt and ſome others ſurrendered themſelves, and informed the prince of Heſſe, that if ſome few forces were landed, and a ſhew made of a bombardment, they would declare for king Charles III. and receive him into the place. Upon this there landed, on the nineteenth of May, about twelve hundred marines, four hundred Dutch foot, a company of Catalans, and as many volunteers as made up in the whole two thouſand men. They remained aſhore all night; and the prince finding nothing done, notwithſtanding the Dutch had bombarded the place with ſome effect, his highneſs himſelf propoſed the reimbarking the men, from an apprehenſion of their being attacked by a ſuperior force. The truth is, that he had great reaſon to abandon this deſign as he did, ſince, in the firſt place, the governor had diſcovered it, and had ſecured the chiefs of the Auſtrian party;

[q] It was certainly well judged in Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, to ſail as he did with his fleet into the Mediterranean; for the French, perceiving how much their reputation ſuffered by the declenſion of their power at ſea, reſolved this year to make the utmoſt effort poſſible to recover it, grounding their hopes chiefly on our fleets being divided, and the poſſibility there was of attacking Sir George Rooke, before any reinforcement could join him; which, but for this prudent method of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, might have been effected.

[r] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 675. Annals of queen Anne, vol. iii. p. 102. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. xxxvii. p. 109. London Gazette, N°. 4018, 4035.

and,

and, in the next, the force he had with him was not at all proportioned to ſuch an undertaking [s].

In this whole tranſaction one would imagine the admiral muſt have been blameleſs, ſince he had done all that could be expected from him, and did not retire till his highneſs himſelf thought it requiſite. Yet biſhop Burnet has given ſuch an account of it, as I muſt take the liberty of tranſcribing, that the public may ſee how neceſſary it is for an hiſtorian to be free from party. "Sir George Rooke came before Barcelona, "where the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt aſſured him, there were "a ſtrong party ready to declare for king Charles, as it was "certain there was a great diſpoſition in many to it. But Rooke "would not ſtay above three days before it; ſo that the mo-"tions within the town, and the diſcoveries that many made of "their inclinations, had almoſt proved fatal to them. He an-"ſwered, his orders were poſitive; he muſt make towards "Nice, which it was believed the French intended to be-"ſiege [t]." At this rate of writing, no man's fame or memory can be ſafe. Yet, to heighten the malice of this reflection, and to miſlead the reader, if poſſible, ſtill more egregiouſly, the biſhop tells us a long ſtory, previous to this account, of the admiral's reprimanding one of his captains very ſeverely, for departing from his orders [u], though the intelligence he brought, is

[s] There was certainly a very ſtrong party in Barcelona for king Charles, and if they had had courage enough to have declared on the firſt arrival of the fleet, and had marched out, and joined the land forces as ſoon as they had debarked, ſomething might have been done; but they continued conſulting and intriguing, till the governor ſeized their chiefs, and then they themſelves adviſed the prince of Heſſe not to remain any longer before the place, on account of its being equally inconvenient for him and them.

[t] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 388.

[u] In a grand debate in the houſe of lords, in 1740, this fact happening to be touched upon by a noble peer, who was ſpeaking in that auguſt aſſembly, the late illuſtrious John duke of Argyle, roſe up and ſaid, "As for what has "been mentioned in relation to admiral Rooke, we know, my lords, the hiſ-"tory from which it was taken. It is a ſtory of biſhop Burnet's, in his hiſ-"tory of his own times, and thoſe who have ſat in this houſe with that pre-"late muſt know he was a very credulous weak man. I remember him, my "lords, in this houſe, and I likewiſe remember, that my lord Halifax, my "lord Somers, and his other friends in the houſe, were always in a terror

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is ſuppoſed to have ſaved the fleet of England, and of his avoiding the French fleet, and joining Sir Cloudeſley Shovel. All of which (to ſpeak in the ſofteſt terms) ſeems to have been without any foundation.

The admiral landed his troops before Barcelona, on the nineteenth of May; it was the twenty-ſeventh before they had any intelligence of the Breſt ſquadron; and then, inſtead of ſhunning, they chaced them; and on the ſixteenth of June, the fleet was joined by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with the ſhips under his command; upon which it was immediately reſolved, to proceed up the Mediterranean, in ſearch of the French fleet. The whole of this affair was ſo perfectly well conducted, that our allies and our enemies join in commending Sir George Rooke; and yet his memory is in danger of ſuffering with poſterity, merely becauſe he was eſteemed a Tory. This it was that drew upon him ſo many and ſo ſevere reflections, obſcured all the great actions he did, and forced men, who valued themſelves on their ſkill in writing, not only to miſrepreſent, but to falſify facts, that they might be able to caſt ſuch imputations upon him as he never deſerved [w].

On the twenty-firſt of May the admiral ſteered for the iſles of Heires, but in the paſſage met with a ſtorm, which ſeparated his fleet. On the twenty-ſeventh they joined again, and had ſight of a large French ſquadron, which they rightly judged to be ſailing for Toulon; and therefore it was reſolved, in a council of war, to chace them thither, and if it was not poſſible to prevent their getting into that port, then to ſail for Liſbon, in

" when he roſe up to ſpeak, leſt he ſhould injure their cauſe by ſome blunder. " With regard to what he ſays againſt admiral Rooke, I know I have heard it " from thoſe that were preſent, that the greateſt part of it is a downright lie; " The biſhop, it is well known, was no friend to that admiral, and therefore " he eaſily gave credit, as he generally did in like caſes, to every malicious " ſtory he heard againſt him." The hiſtory and proceedings of the houſe of lords, vol. vii. p. 575.

[w] See Burchet, book v. chap. xvi. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1704, and all the foreign journals of that year. In the Dutch edition of biſhop Burnet's hiſtory, there is a large note to ſet right, what the editor takes to be the effects of haſte or confuſion; and in that note he ſtates the facts and dates fairly from our Gazettes, and other public authorities, as I do. Burnet's hiſtory, vol. v. p. 770.

order

order to wait for a re-inforcement; which was accordingly done[x]. On the fourteenth of June our fleet paſſed through the Streight's-mouth, and were joined two days after by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with his ſquadron, off Lagos[y]: a council of war was then called, in order to conſider what ſervice ſhould be proceeded on. Several ſchemes were propoſed, particularly a ſecond attack on Cadiz, which was ſoon found to be impracticable for want of a ſufficient number of land-forces. At this council of war the admiral alſo was pleaſed to declare, that he was limited by his inſtructions from attempting any thing, without the conſent of the kings of Spain and Portugal; which was another diſcouragement to the ſervice, becauſe thoſe princes could very ſeldom agree on any meaſure; ſo that, except ſending ſome ſhips to the Terceras, in order to protect the homeward-bound Brazil fleet, there was little done, that I can find, which ought to be conſidered as the unavoidable conſequence of this order.

Sir George Rooke being very ſenſible of the reflections that would fall upon him, if, having ſo conſiderable a fleet under his command, he ſpent the ſummer in doing nothing of importance, called a council of war on the ſeventeenth of July, in the road of Tetuan, where having declared he thought it requiſite they ſhould reſolve upon ſome ſervice or other; after a long debate it was carried to make a ſudden and vigorous attempt upon Gibraltar, for three reaſons: Firſt, becauſe in the

[x] This is a fact, in which Burchet, Oldmixon, the complete hiſtory of Europe, and all our writers agree, as taking it from the journals depoſited with the ſecretary of the admiralty; and therefore we may eaſily know what to think of the following paſſage in Burnet's hiſtory, which follows immediately the account he had given of the admiral's leaving Barcelona, to ſail for the coaſt of Italy, in order to prevent the ſiege of Nice, or to relieve it if it was beſieged. "Having "advice, (ſays the biſhop), that the French made no advances in that deſign, he "turned his courſe weſtward, and came in ſight of the French fleet, ſailing "from Breſt to Toulon, the advantages he had was ſo viſible, that it was ex"pected he would have made towards them; he did it not: what orders he "had was not known, for the matter never came under examination; they "got to Toulon, and he ſteered another way. The whole French fleet was "then together in that harbour; for though the Toulon ſquadron had been "out before, it was then in port."

[y] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 676. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ii. p. 105. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4035.

condition the place then was, there was ſome probability of taking it; which, in caſe it had been properly provided, and there had been in it a numerous garriſon, would have been impoſſible. Secondly, becauſe the poſſeſſion of that place was of infinite importance during the preſent war. Thirdly, becauſe the taking of this place would give a luſtre to the queen's arms, and poſſibly diſpoſe the Spaniards to favour the cauſe of king Charles.

The fleet, in purſuance of this reſolution, arrived in the bay of Gibraltar on the twenty-firſt of July, and the marines, Engliſh and Dutch, to the number of eighteen hundred, were landed under the command of the prince of Heſſe, on the Iſthmus, to cut off all communication between the town and the continent. His highneſs having taken poſt there, ſummoned the governor; who anſwered, that he would defend the place to the laſt[z]. On the twenty-ſecond the admiral at break of day, gave the ſignal for cannonading the town; which was performed with ſuch vigour, that fifteen thouſand ſhot was ſpent in five hours; when the admiral perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the ſouth mole-head, and that if we were once poſſeſſed of theſe, the town muſt be taken of courſe, he ordered captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and to attempt to make himſelf maſter of them.

This order was no ſooner iſſued, than captain Hicks and captain Jumper, who were neareſt the mole, puſhed on ſhore with their pinnaces, and actually ſeized the fortifications before the reſt could come up. The Spaniards ſeeing this, ſprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and forty men were killed, and about ſixty more wounded: however, they kept poſſeſſion of the great platform, till they were ſuſtained by captain Whitaker, and the ſeamen under his command, who very ſoon made himſelf maſter of a redoubt, between the mole and the town; on which the admiral ſent in a letter to the governor, who on the twenty-fourth capitulated[a], and the prince of Heſſe

[z] Oldmixon's hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 339. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 155. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xxxvii. p. 339. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4044. [a] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 678. Annals of queen Anne, vol. iii. p. 106. Columna roſtrata, p. 277, 278. London Gazette, N°. 4045.

took

took poſſeſſion of the place. I muſt, upon this occaſion, obſerve, that as this deſign was contrived by the admirals, ſo it was executed entirely by the ſeamen, and therefore the whole honour of it is due to them. I muſt likewiſe put the reader in mind, that nothing could have enabled the ſeamen to take the place, but the cannonading of it in ſuch a manner, as obliged the Spaniards to quit their poſts; for the general officers, who viewed the fortifications after the place was in our hands, declared, that they might have been defended by fifty men againſt as many thouſands. The French indeed ſay, in order to diminiſh, as much as poſſible, the glory of this action, that the Spaniards had neither garriſon nor guns there; but this is far from being true, ſince there were above one hundred braſs pieces mounted. After putting as many men as could be ſpared into the place, under the command of the prince of Heſſe, the fleet ſailed to Tetuan, in order to take in wood and water [b].

While they lay here, the Dutch admiral ſent a flag-officer and ſix ſhips to Liſbon, under orders to return home, and a promiſe that he would quickly follow them. On the ninth of Auguſt they ſailed again from Gibraltar, and had ſight of the French fleet, which they reſolved to engage. The latter declined coming to action, and endeavoured to get away; but Sir

[b] The marquis de Quincy tells us, that the court of London being informed of the weakneſs of the garriſon of Gibraltar, gave Sir George Rooke orders to attack it; which he did, and was ſo lucky as to make himſelf maſter of it, through the negligence of the Spaniards. Though this is the moſt accurate book publiſhed in relation to the laſt war, yet, in this point, the author is certainly miſtaken. We have Sir George Rooke's inſtructions in Burchet, his journals and orders are yet in being, and have been conſulted in this work; but nothing of this ſort has been diſcovered: and indeed, if any miniſter had been wiſe enough to contrive this ſcheme, he would undoubtedly have done himſelf juſtice, by claiming the merit of it. The French hiſtorian proceeds to ſay, that though Gibraltar was taken for king Charles III. yet it was never put into his poſſeſſion, but has been ever ſince kept by the Engliſh, who, to ſay the truth, ſays he, have dearly purchaſed it, ſince it has coſt them more pounds Sterling, than there are ſtones in the fortifications. Hiſtoire militaire, tome iv. p. 421.

George purſued them with all the ſail he could make [c]. On the thirteenth of the ſame month, which was Sunday, he came within three leagues of them, when they brought to with their heads to the ſouthward, the wind being eaſterly, and forming a line, lay in a proper poſture to receive him. They were fifty-two ſhips, and twenty-four gallies, very ſtrong in the centre, but weaker in the van and rear; to ſupply which, moſt of their gallies were placed in thoſe ſquadrons. In the centre was count Thouloufe, high-admiral of France, with the white ſquadron; in the van the white and blue flag, and in the rear the blue, each admiral having his vice and rear-admiral. Our fleet conſiſted of fifty-three ſhips; but the admiral ordered the Swallow and Panther, two fourth rates, with a fifth and a ſixth, and two fire-ſhips, to lie to windward of him, that if the enemy's van ſhould puſh through our line with their gallies and fire-ſhips, they might give them ſome diverſion [d].

A little after ten in the morning, our fleet bore down in order of battle, and when they came within half gun-ſhot of the enemy, the French ſet all their ſails at once, as if they intended to ſtretch a-head and weather us; ſo that our admiral, after firing a chace-gun at the French admiral to ſtay for him, of which he took no notice, threw abroad the ſignal, and began the battle, which fell very heavy on the Royal Catherine, the St. George, and the Shrewſbury. About two in the afternoon the enemy's van gave way to ours, and the battle ended with the day, when the enemy went away by the help of their gallies, to the leeward. In the night the wind ſhifted to the northward, and in the morning to the weſtward, which gave the enemy the wind of us. We lay by all day within three leagues of each other, repairing our defects, and at night they

[c] This plainly proves, that no man was more inclined to fight, than Sir George Rooke, when fighting was a prudent meaſure, and in the night of the eleventh, he had the good luck to force one of the enemy's ſhips a-ſhore, to which they were forced to ſet fire, in order to prevent its falling into our hands.

[d] See Sir George Rooke's account of this battle, publiſhed by authority. This diſpoſition plainly proved the admiral's great capacity, and how dextrouſly he could ſupply, by good management, any accidental deficiencies he might labour under.

filed

ſiled and ſtood to the northwards. Our fleet endeavoured the two next days to renew the fight, but the French avoided it, and at laſt bore away [e].

This plainly diſcovers that we had the victory, notwithſtanding the great advantages of the French: which I think thoſe who underſtand maritime affairs, will allow to be as great as ever any fleet had. For firſt, their ſhips were bigger; they had ſeventeen three-deck ſhips, and we had but ſeven. Secondly, they had a great advantage in their weight of metal; for they had ſix hundred guns more than we. Thirdly, they were clean ſhips, juſt come out of port; whereas ours had been long at ſea, and had done hard ſervice. Fourthly, they had the aſſiſtance of their gallies; and how great an advantage this was, will appear from hence, that about the middle of the fight, the French admiral ordered a ſeventy-gun ſhip to board the Monk, a ſixty-gun ſhip of ours, commanded by captain Mighells; which ſhe did, and was beat off three times, and after every repulſe ſhe had her wounded men taken off, and her complement reſtored by the gallies. Fifthly, the French fleet was thoroughly provided with ammunition; which was ſo much wanted in ours, that ſeveral ſhips were towed out of the line, becauſe they had not either powder or ball ſufficient for a ſingle broadſide. But the ſkill of the admiral, and the bravery of the officers and ſeamen under his command, ſupplied all defects, and enabled them to give the French ſo clear a proof of their ſuperiority over them in all reſpects at ſea, that they not only declined renewing the fight at preſent, but avoided us ever after, and durſt not venture a battle on that element during the remainder of the war. It may be therefore juſtly ſaid, that the battle of Malaga decided the empire of the ſea, and left to us and the Dutch an indiſputed claim to the title of MARITIME POWERS [f].

It

[e] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 677, 678. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 339. Columna roſtrata, p. 278. See Sir George Rooke's account of this battle, as alſo Sir Cloudeſley Shovel's letter, deſcribing the ſame, in the complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1704, p. 456—459.

[f] I cannot conceive why biſhop Burnet, and other writers, ſhould ſay ſo much to the prejudice of their country, purely to leſſen the reputation of the admiral,

It is true, that the French, according to their old cuſtom, claimed the victory. Lewis XIV. wrote a letter, affirming this to the arch-biſhop of Paris, directing *Te Deum* to be ſung on that occaſion, and afterwards publiſhed an account, which I ſhall give the reader as near as may be from the gazette, and I ſhall then demonſtrate, that the whole was no more than an artifice of ſtate[g], in order to leſſen the ill conſequences that were

admiral, but I can leaſt of all account for the falſehoods that prelate has thruſt into his relation. He ſays, that moſt of the ſhips had twenty-five rounds of powder when they began to fight, and that it ſeldom happened that ſo much had been ſpent in an engagement at ſea. The Dutch admiral Callemberg, in his letter to the ſtates, ſays, that ten rounds would not ſerve above an hour, and that many of the Engliſh ſhips had no more when the engagement was over; ſo that if the biſhop intended to inſinuate, that the want of powder was only an excuſe, he is effectually refuted by this authority; and we ſee at the ſame time, how able he was to make calculations. He commends Shovel's bravery juſtly, but then adds, that Rooke fought at a greater diſtance. Now I think I have ſome authority to prove, that he is in the wrong in both; by which I mean, that though Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was a very brave man, yet here he had no great opportunity of ſhewing it, whereas Sir George Rooke had and did. For, obſerve reader, what Sir Cloudeſley ſays in his letter, printed in the complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1704. His words are theſe: "The ſhips that ſuffered moſt in my diviſion, were the Lenox, Warſpight, "Tilbury, and Swiftſure; the reſt eſcaped pretty well, and I the beſt of all, "I never took greater pains in all my life to have been ſoundly beaten, for "I ſet all my ſails, and rowed with three boats a-head, to get along-ſide with "the admiral of the white and blue. But he, out-ſailing me, ſhunned fighting, and lay along-ſide of the little ſhips. Notwithſtanding, the engagement "was very ſharp, and I think the like between two fleets never has been in "any time. There is hardly a ſhip that muſt not ſhift one maſt, and ſome "muſt ſhift all; a great many have ſuffered much, but none more than Sir "George Rooke, and captain Jennings, in the St. George."

g I think it neceſſary to give the reader a tranſcript of this letter, from the French king to cardinal Noailles, becauſe two great politicians have differed much about it. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that from the coldneſs of this letter, it was concluded in England, that the French were beat; ſo that, in his judgment, this letter was the beſt evidence of our victory. Mr. Oldmixon thinks juſt the contrary; the reader, by peruſing the letter, will be able to judge for himſelf:

"COUSIN,

"The fleet which I have aſſembled in the Mediterranean, under the com-"mand of my ſon the count de Thoulouſe, admiral of France, has not only "diſappointed the deſigns which the joint fleets of England and Holland had "upon the coaſts of Catalonia, but has alſo put a glorious end to the cam-

"paign,

were apprehended from the defeat; and therefore, it is no leſs injurious to the glory of this nation, than to the honour of Sir George Rooke's memory, to make uſe of the diſtorted tales in this relation, to prejudice the indubitable facts contained in ours. The ſubſtance of this French account was:

"That, before the fight, the admiral ordered all the ſhips "to make ready; but the ſea being calm, he gave directions "for the gallies to prepare to tow the men of war off to ſea. "But at day-break the whole fleet weighed by favour of a "breeze that blew gently from the land, and made towards "the enemy, whom the currents had carried out to ſea. The "24th their fleet, in a line of battle, came up with the ene-"my; the marquis de Vilette, lieutenant-general, commanded "the van-guard, having behind him in a ſecond line the duke "of Turſis, with his own ſquadron of ſeven gallies, and five "of Spain. The count de Thouloufe commanded the centre, "having behind him the marquis de Royes, with four gallies, "and the marquis de Langeron had the command of the "rear-guard with eight French gallies, under command "of the count de Tourville. The enemy's van-guard was "commanded by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel; the centre by Sir "George Rooke; and the rear-guard were the Dutch ſhips, "commanded by vice-admiral Callemberg. They had ſixty "ſhips of the line, many frigates almoſt as large, and bomb-"veſſels that did them good ſervice. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel "advanced before the wind, ſeparating himſelf from the cen-"tre; but obſerving that the marquis de Vilette endeavoured "to ſurround him, he kept to the wind, and Sir George Rooke "ſeeing the danger he was in, bore upon the king's fleet.

"paign, by a general engagement, which iſſued wholly to my advantage, "though the enemies were conſiderably more in number, and had a favourable "wind. Their firſt efforts were ſuſtained, and repulſed with ſo much valour "by all the officers and equipage of my ſhips, animated by the example of "their general, that the enemies could think of nothing during the fight, "which laſted ten hours, but how to defend themſelves, how to avoid being "boarded ſeveral times by my ſhips, and to ſecure themſelves by a retreat; "and though the count de Thouloufe did all he could the two following days "to come up with them, he could not bring them to a ſecond engagement. "This happy ſucceſs obliges me to return thanks to God, by public prayers."

"The

" The fight began about ten o'clock, north and ſouth off Ma-
" laga, ten or eleven leagues from ſhore, and laſted till night.
" The fire was extraordinary on both ſides, and notwithſtand-
" ing the enemy had the advantage of the wind, which blew
" the ſmoke upon the French fleet, they always kept as near
" the wind as they could, while the count de Thouloufe made
" all poſſible efforts to approach them. The marquis de Vi-
" lette had ſo roughly uſed the van of the enemy, having ob-
" liged five of their ſhips to quit their line, that he would have
" intirely put the ſame into diſorder, had not a bomb fallen
" upon his ſtern, and ſet it on fire; which obliged him to quit
" the line, and extinguiſh the fire. Another bomb fell on the
" ſhip of the Sieurs de Belleiſle, who quitted the line to refit,
" as did likewiſe the Sieur de Grancy, Oſmont, Rouvroy, Pon-
" tac, and Roche Allard. The latter fought the ſhip of Sir
" Cloudeſley Shovel, of 90 guns, though he had but ſixty.
" The Sieur Chammeſlin boarded three times a ſhip of the
" enemy, but quitted the ſame, ſeeing ſhe was on fire in ſeve-
" ral places, but becauſe of the ſmoke, could not ſee whether
" ſunk. The bailiff of Lorrain was killed with a cannon-ſhot,
" and the Sieur de Relingue had a leg ſhot off. They were
" the count de Thouloufe's two ſeconds, and diſtinguiſhed
" themſelves very much, following the example of their gene-
" ral. The enemy continuing to ſheer off, the fight with the
" van ended about five, with the centre about ſeven, and with
" the rear towards night. The French fleet purſued with all
" their lights out; whereas the enemy, their flag-ſhips except-
" ed, had none. The 25th the wind blowing again from the
" weſt, the enemy ſailed towards the coaſt of Barbary, ſo that
" they loſt ſight of them at night. The 26th, in the morning,
" they were ſeen again about four leagues diſtance, the wind
" having again ſhifted to the eaſt, which gave them a fair op-
" portunity to renew the fight, but they did not think fit to
" approach. They were not heard of afterwards; whereupon
" it was judged they had repaſſed the Streights, and this ob-
" liged the count de Thouloufe to return the 27th to Malaga,
" with the gallies. We had about 1500 men killed or wound-
" ed. But we do not know the loſs of the enemy, which muſt

" be

" be very great; and ſeveral perſons ſaid, that two of their ſhips " ſunk [g]."

I ſhall mention but one objection to this account, becauſe I think I need not mention any more; and it is this, that whenever the French endeavour to account for their not puſhing the affair farther, they inſiſt on the miſchief done them by the Engliſh bombs; whereas nothing can be more certain, than that there was not a ſingle bomb-veſſel in the Engliſh fleet. As to the force on both ſides, and the loſs of each, I ſhall give a particular account at the bottom of the page [h]; and having done

[g] See the complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1704, p. 787. Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iv. p. 426. Lamberti, tome iii. p. 324. Memoires hiſtoriques et chronologiques, P. Daniel, journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. p. 208, 209.

[h] The Engliſh fleet, at the time of this battle, conſiſted of five diviſions, beſides the Dutch, of which there were but eleven ſhips. The ſtrength of the fleet will particularly appear from the following liſt, tranſmitted from the admiral to the queen.

	Ships names.	Men.	Guns.	Men ſlain.	Wounded.
Admiral's diviſion.	Royal Catherine,	730	90	27	94
	St. George,	680	96	45	93
	Namure,	680	96	18	44
	Shrewſbury,	500	80	31	73
	Naſſau,	440	70	15	26
	Grafton,	440	70	31	66
	Monmouth,	449	70	27	62
	Montague,	565	60	15	34
	Panther,	280	50	10	16
		4755	682	219	508
Sir Cloudeſ. Shovel's.	Barfleur,	710	96	6	24
	Eagle,	440	70	7	57
	Orford,	440	70	6	9
	Aſſurance,	440	66	6	14
	Warſpight,	440	70	17	44
	Swiftſure,	440	70	13	33
	Nottingham,	365	60	7	19
	Tilbury,	280	40	20	25
	Lenox,	440	70	23	78
		3995	612	105	303
Sir J. Leake's.	Prince George,	700	90	15	57
	Boyne,	500	80	14	52
	Newarke,	500	80	15	32
	Norfolk,	509	80	15	20
	Yarmouth,	440	70	7	26
	Berwick,	440	70	23	24
		3080	470	89	211

	Ships names.	Men.	Guns.	Men ſlain.	Wounded.
Rear-admiral Byng's.	Ranelagh,	535	83	24	45
	Somerſet,	500	80	31	62
	Firme,	440	70	25	48
	Triton,	230	50	5	21
	Dorſetſhire,	500	82	12	20
	Torbay,	500	80	21	50
	Eſſex,	440	70	13	36
	Kingſton,	365	60	14	46
	Centurion,	280	56	10	33
		3790	631	155	361
Rear-adm. Dilkes's.	Kent,	400	70	15	26
	Royal Oak,	500	76	20	33
	Swallow,	280	50	1	3
	Cambridge,	500	80	11	27
	Bedford,	440	70	12	51
	Monk,	365	60	36	52
	Suffolk,	440	70	13	38
	Burford,	440	70	11	19
		3765	540	119	249
	Total,	19,385	2935	687	1632

Slain, 687
Wounded, 1632

Total killed and wounded, { Engliſh, 2319 / Dutch, 400 } Total, 2719

done this, I believe I need add nothing to ſhew the folly of the French academy's cauſing a medal to be ſtruck upon this occaſion, as if, inſtead of being defeated, the French had gained a victory worthy the notice of poſterity [i].

After the Engliſh had in vain endeavoured to renew the fight, they repaired to Gibraltar, where they continued eight days in order to refit; and having ſupplied that place to the utmoſt of their power with ammunition and proviſion, it was thought convenient to return to England, care being firſt taken to provide ſuch a ſquadron for the Mediterranean ſervice as might ſecure our trade, and render any deſigns of the enemy abortive. On the twenty-fourth of Auguſt the admiral ſailed from Gibraltar; on the twenty-ſixth he gave orders to Sir John Leake, to take upon him the command of the ſquadron that was to remain in the Mediterranean during the winter, and then ſailed home with the reſt, where he arrived ſafely on the twenty-

Commiſſion officers ſlain; captains, Sir Andrew Leake, and captain Cow: lieutenants four, and warrant officers two. Commiſſion officers wounded; captains, Mynge, Baker, Jumper, Mighells, Kirkſon; lieutenants thirteen; warrant-officers, thirteen.

As to the French fleet, it conſiſted of three ſquadrons; the firſt, ſixteen ſhips of the line, carrying in all, 1120 guns, and 7700 men; the white ſquadron in the centre, conſiſting of 17 ſhips, carrying 1271 guns, 8500 men; the blue diviſion in the rear, conſiſting of 17 ſhips, which carried 1152 guns, 7625 men. In all, 3533 guns, 24,155 men. Beſides this, they had nine frigates, as many fire-ſhips, 12 French and 11 Spaniſh gallies, with two flutes; in all, 92 ſail. On their ſide was ſlain, a rear-admiral, five captains, ſix lieutenants, and five ſea enſigns. The count de Thouloufe himſelf wounded in the forehead, ſhoulder, and thigh; the count de Religues had his leg ſhot off. The marquis de Herbault, intendant of the fleet; Monſieur Ducaſſe, commodore of a ſquadron; M. de Chateau Regnault; the count de Phelipeaux; the count de Cominges; M. de Valincourt; the count de Thouloufe's ſecretary; ſeven captains, eight lieutenants, and about one hundred and fifty other officers were wounded; as to the loſs of private men, it amounted, in the whole, to 3048.

i In this extraordinary medal, Spain is repreſented ſitting, and her arm leaning on a pillar, with victory over her head; the legend thus: ORÆ HISPANICÆ SECURITAS, *i. e.* The ſecurity of the Spaniſh coaſts. To ſhew how this was attained, we read in the exergue, ANGLORUM ET BATAVORUM CLASSE FUGATA AD MALAGAM, XXIV AUGUSTI, M,DCC IV. *i. e.* The Engliſh and Dutch fleet beat at Malaga, 24th of Auguſt, 1704. Gerard Vanloon, hiſtoire metallique des pays bays, tome iv. p. 457.

fourth

fourth of September [k], and was received with all exterior marks of eſteem by the miniſtry, at the ſame time that the populace ſhewed for him an unfeigned affection [l].

But though Sir George Rooke had been happy enough to beat the French under great diſadvantages, yet he was not able to baffle that ſpirit of envy by which he had been ſo long perſecuted. There was a party that not only queſtioned his conduct and the late victory, but were willing to ſacrifice the glory of their country, and, as far as in them lay, to propagate the idle ſtories invented by the French, as undoubted truths, purely to gratify their own ſpleen; and this too in direct contradiction to the voice of the nation, as appeared by the many addreſſes preſented to the queen, in which the courage, conduct, and fortune of Sir George Rooke are highly extolled. To put this matter, however, out of doubt, and to ſhew the true ſenſe of the queen and the miniſtry on this ſubject, it was thought proper that his royal highneſs prince George, ſhould introduce ſuch officers of the fleet, as had deſerved beſt, to her majeſty: and accordingly on the ninth of October he preſented, firſt, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, who had the honour to kiſs her majeſty's hand; then captain John Jennings, commander of the St. George, upon whom her majeſty was pleaſed to confer the honour of knighthood [m], and on the 22d or 24th of the ſame month, George Byng, Eſq; and Thomas Dilkes, Eſq; the former rear-admiral of the red, and the latter of the white ſquadron, were likewiſe knighted [n].

k Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 680. Annals of queen Anne, vol. iii. p. 112. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4058.

l Sir John Leake had under his command, two ſhips of the 3d, nine of the 4th, four of the 5th, one of the 6th rate, and a fire-ſhip. His orders were to repair to Liſbon, from whence he was to ſend home the trade, under a convoy of four men of war. He was likewiſe to take under his command ſuch ſhips of the ſtates-general, as remained in thoſe ſeas; and it was particularly recommended to him to take care of Gibraltar. Sir George Rooke carried home five 2d, twenty-five 3d, and four 4th rates, with ſix fire-ſhips, two hoſpital-ſhips, and a yacht.

m Complete hiſtory of Europe, Oldmixon, London. Gaz. N°. 4061. which Gazette is filled with addreſſes on the ſucceſſes of the duke of Marlborough, and Sir George Rooke.

n Lond. Gaz. N°. 4064, 4065.

When the parliament came to ſit, which was on the twenty-third of October, new diſputes aroſe, and great pains were taken to prevent Sir George Rooke's conduct from meeting with public approbation: this, however, was without ſucceſs; for the houſe of commons, in their addreſs, made uſe of theſe words; "We beg leave to congratulate your majeſty upon the great "and glorious ſucceſſes with which it has pleaſed God to bleſs "your majeſty in the entire defeat of the united forces of France "and Bavaria, by the arms of your majeſty and your allies, un-"der the command, and by the courage and conduct of the "duke of Marlborough, and in the victory obtained by your "majeſty's fleet, under the command, and by the courage and "conduct of Sir George Rooke[o]." As it was known that theſe expreſſions gave offence to many of the warmeſt friends of the miniſtry, who thought there was no compariſon between the victories gained at Blenheim and Malaga, the houſe thought fit to expreſs its ſentiments more clearly; and having, on the ſecond of November, taken into their ſerious conſideration the ſervices both of the fleet and the army, they unanimouſly voted, "That her majeſty be deſired to beſtow her bounty upon the "ſeamen and land forces, who had behaved themſelves ſo gal-"lantly in the late actions both by ſea and land." To which her majeſty very graciouſly anſwered, "That ſhe would give "her directions accordingly[p]." One would have imagined, that acts of ſo ſolemn a nature muſt have ſilenced ſuch as pretended to doubt the ſervices performed by the admiral and the fleet; and yet it hath ſince appeared, that ſome of our hiſtorians[q], and many of our memoir-writers[r], have attempted to perſuade us, that, notwithſtanding theſe deciſions of the queen and parliament, the fleet did little or nothing, and that the fight at Malaga was a drawn battle; in which, however, they differ from the Dutch, who confeſs that it was the beſt fought action recorded in hiſtory; and that the ſkill of Sir George Rooke convinced the French, that it was in vain any longer to conteſt with the maritime powers the empire of the ſea.

[o] Chandler's debates, vol. iii. p. 393. [p] Annals of queen Anne, vol. iii. p. 153. [q] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 391. Oldmixon, vol. ii. p. 340, and ſuch writers. [r] Conduct of Sarah Ducheſs Dowager of Marlborough, p. 146.

Before

Before we conclude the naval tranſactions of this year, it is neceſſary that we ſhould again paſs into the Mediterranean, in order to take a view of the ſervices performed there by Sir John Leake. The Spaniards, who were the beſt judges, found our poſſeſſion of Gibraltar ſo great a thorn in their ſides, that as they very lately prevailed on the French to hazard an engagement at ſea, to facilitate their retaking of it, ſo they afterwards demanded and obtained a ſquadron of French ſhips, under the command of Monſ. de Pointis, to aſſiſt them in carrying on the ſiege. The prince of Heſſe having ſent early advice of this to Liſbon, Sir John Leake, in the beginning of the month of October, proceeded with his ſquadron to the relief of the place, and actually landed ſeveral gunners, carpenters, and engineers, with a body of four hundred marines; but receiving intelligence, that the French were approaching with a force much ſuperior to his, he found it neceſſary to return again to Liſbon.

He did this with a view only to refit, and to be in a better condition to ſupply and aſſiſt the garriſon in a ſecond expedition, for which he had very prudently directed preparations to be made in his abſence. This enabled him to put to ſea again on the twenty-fifth of October, and on the twenty-ninth he entered the bay of Gibraltar at a very critical juncture; for that very night the enemy intended to ſtorm the town on all ſides, and had procured two hundred boats from Cadiz, in order to have landed three thouſand men near the new mould. But Sir John Leake entered ſo ſuddenly, that he ſurpriſed in the bay two frigates, one of 42, and the other of 24 guns, a brigantine of 14, a fire-ſhip of 16, a ſtore-ſhip full of bombs and granadoes, two Engliſh prizes; and a Tartane and another frigate of thirty guns, which had juſt got out of the bay, was taken by an Engliſh ſhip that followed her[s].

[s] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. 17. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 391. Oldmixon, vol. ii. London Gazette, N°. 4066, 4075. Not only our own writers, but even the marquis de Quincy acknowledges the truth of this fact: he likewiſe tells us of an attempt made by 500 men, who crawled up the mountains, and appeared on the back of the town; which they had certainly taken, if they had been properly ſupported; but he ſays nothing of the Engliſh forcing them over the precipice, and leaving their mangled carcaſſes a melancholy mark of their own raſhneſs, and their countrymen's cowardice.

The

The enemy, notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, continued the ſiege, in expectation of a ſtrong naval ſuccour from France, and therefore Sir John Leake reſolved to land as many men as he could ſpare, to reinforce the garriſon; which he performed on the ſecond, third, and fourth of November, and continued ſtill on the coaſt in order to alarm and diſtreſs the enemy. On the nineteenth and twentieth, he ordered his ſmalleſt frigates to go as near the ſhore as poſſible, and then manned all his boats, as if he intended a deſcent; but this was done ſo ſlowly, and the troops feigned ſuch a reluctancy to land, as gave the Spaniſh general time to draw down a great body of cavalry, which enabled the admiral to put his deſign in execution, and to ſalute them in ſuch a manner with his great and ſmall arms, as made them ſcamper back to their camp with great precipitation. The Centurion arrived on the twenty-ſecond of November, and brought in with her a French prize from Martinico, very richly laden; and at the ſame time gave the admiral intelligence, that he had ſailed as far as was convenient into the bay of Cadiz, and had diſcovered a very ſtrong ſquadron there, which he apprehended would ſoon be in a condition to ſail. Upon this and ſome other intimations, Sir John Leake reſolved to put to ſea, and to ſtand with his fleet to the eaſtward of Gibraltar, that he might be the better able to take ſuch meaſures as ſhould be found neceſſary, as well for the preſervation of the place, as for ſecuring the ſuccours that were expected from Liſbon[t].

On the ſeventh of December arrived the Antelope, with nine tranſports under her convoy; and two days afterwards the Newcaſtle with ſeven more, having on board near two thouſand land troops. They eſcaped the French fleet very luckily; for when they were off cape Spartel they had ſight of Monſieur Pointis's ſquadron conſiſting of twenty-four ſail of men of war, under Engliſh and Dutch colours. As they expected to meet the confederate fleet under Sir John Leake and rear-admiral Vanderduſſen thereabouts, they did their utmoſt to join them; but by good fortune were becalmed. They put their boats to ſea on both ſides to tow the ſhips; but the Engliſh obſerving

[t] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 682. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1704, p. 527—529. Quincy hiſtoire militaire, tom. iv. p. 450. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. 37. p. 589, 683. London Gazette, N°. 4077, 4081.

that

that the men of war ſtretched themſelves, and endeavoured to make a half-moon to ſurround them, they made a private ſignal, which Sir John Leake would have underſtood. This ſpoiled the meaſures of the French, who were thereby diſcovered, and put up their colours, and endeavoured to fall upon the tranſports; but they eſcaped by means of their oars; and the night coming on, they got away by favour of a ſmall breeze from the ſouth-weſt. By the arrival of theſe ſuccours, the garriſon was increaſed to upwards of three thouſand men; and having already obtained many advantages over the enemy, it was no longer thought requiſite to keep the fleet, which by long ſervice was now but in an indifferent condition, either in the bay, or on the coaſt; eſpecially when it was conſidered that Monſ. Pointis was ſo near with a force equal, if not ſuperior to that of Sir John Leake. The prince of Heſſe having acknowledged this to be reaſonable, the admiral called a council of war on the twenty-firſt of December, and having laid before them the true ſtate of the caſe, it was unanimouſly reſolved to ſail with all convenient ſpeed to Liſbon in order to refit, and to provide further ſupplies for the garriſon, in caſe, as the Spaniards gave out, they ſhould receive ſuch reinforcements from king Louis and king Philip, as would enable them to renew the ſiege both by land and ſea. This reſolution was as ſpeedily executed as wiſely taken, and the fleet arrived at Liſbon in the latter end of 1704, where we ſhall leave them in order to return to what was doing at home, and the preparations made for carrying on the war by ſea with greater vigour in the next year than they had been at any time ſince the beginning of this diſpute[u].

It was a common complaint at this juncture, that we did not proſecute the war at ſea with ſo much vigour as might be expected from a nation ſo powerful on that element: that the enemy's taking our ſhips was a reproach on the nation, which ought to fall under the notice of parliament. In anſwer to this, I mean in the houſe of commons, it was ſaid, that though the facts could not be denied, yet on the other hand it muſt be allowed, that the board of admiralty could not do more than the

[u] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 681. Annals of queen Anne, vol. iii. London Gazette, N°. 4084, 4087, 4093.

ſupplies

ſupplies granted by parliament would enable them; and that therefore, if more was expected from, more ought to be done for them. This was chiefly ſaid by the admirals and their friends, who were very numerous. The houſe having conſidered the whole affair with great attention, came at length, on the ſeventh of November, 1704, to the following reſolutions, *viz.* That forty thouſand ſeamen ſhould be allowed for the year 1705, including eight thouſand marines. On the ninth they reſolved that one hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be allowed for the ordinary of the navy for the ſame year; and that forty thouſand pounds ſhould be given to the office of ordnance for the ſea ſervice, over and above the uſual proviſion; and that ten thouſand pounds ſhould be given for making a wharf and ſtore-houſe at Portſmouth. Theſe were great and glorious proviſions, ſuch as ſhewed that the people were deſirous not to ſpare their treaſure, where the credit of the crown and their own intereſt were at ſtake[w].

Yet in the latter end of this, and in the beginning of the ſucceeding year, certain inquiries were made in the houſe of lords, which did as great honour to that aſſembly, as they gave pain to ſome in the adminiſtration. A great clamour had been raiſed againſt the prince's council, for not giving ſufficient attention to merchants, and for having very little regard to the reſentment ſhewn by that houſe againſt certain perſons, and certain proceedings. Lord Haverſham's, and ſome other lords warm ſpeeches, raiſed a great heat; but before any addreſs was made to the queen, two committees of inquiry were appointed; one to inſpect the books at the admiralty-office, in order to ſee exactly what conduct the board had purſued, and the other to conſider what was done at ſea. This was certainly a very clear and methodical way of acting, and contributed to the laying

[w] It muſt be obſerved, that the ſupplies were carried in the houſe of commons before the leaſt notice was given by the miniſtry, that Sir George Rooke had loſt their favour. In this, there was a great deal of policy, becauſe the majority of that houſe of commons were Tories; and if they had been at all aware of Sir George Rooke's being forced to reſign, or, as Mr. Oldmixon phraſes it, being laid aſide, they might have been leſs inclined to receive from the miniſtry implicitly the terms of the ſupply.

open

open all the wrong ſteps that had been winked at, either on account of private friendſhips, or through the prejudices of party.

In the firſt place, the houſe obſerved, that twenty-two ſhips had been employed to cruize the whole ſummer, and they ſhewed, from their accounts returned to the admiralty-office, that they had performed their duty ſo negligently, as not to have done more than from three ſhips, commanded by active captains, might have been juſtly expected. They likewiſe complained, that there were ten flags in pay, three of which were not at ſea; that Mr. Churchill had not been at ſea in any one year this war; that Mr. Graydon had been aſhore all the laſt year, and that he had been employed, notwithſtanding a former addreſs for his diſcharge; that Sir James Wiſhart, though a rear-admiral, had the laſt year been Sir George Rooke's captain; that Sir John Munden, though he had not done his duty, had a penſion of three hundred and nineteen pounds a-year, *&c.* Though the queen could not be very well pleaſed with an addreſs which reflected on the ſupineneſs of her royal conſort, yet ſhe concealed her diſlike; and anſwered, Feb. 5, "Your addreſs contains ma-"ny obſervations, which I will conſider particularly, and give "ſuch directions upon them, as may be moſt for the advantage "of the public ſervice [x]."

Thus, between the two houſes, the buſineſs of the nation, with reſpect to naval affairs, was very fully done. The lords took care to correct, or at leaſt to point out, what was amiſs in

[x] This addreſs of the lords was preſented to the queen on the 5th of February, 1704-5. It is, without queſtion, one of the moſt valuable ſtate papers extant, as it is a noble inſtance of the true ſpirit of an Engliſh parliament. It ſhews, how inquiries may, and ought to be conducted, and how agreeable it is to the nature of our conſtitution to lay before the crown, and exhibit to the people true repreſentations of the ſtate of public affairs, that men may ſee how the money goes, which is ſaid to be raiſed for their ſervice, and not look upon the public as a bad ſteward, that receives and pays without account. This, I will be bold to ſay, was the reaſon that this war was carried on ſo much cheaper than our naval armaments have been ever ſince: for, when inquiries are frequent, frauds ſeldom happen; but when theſe are either diſcouraged, made only for form, or ſo turned as to ſerve the little purpoſes of parties, who, under colour of diſcovering the faults of a miniſtry, mean no more than to become miniſters themſelves; things muſt go from bad to worſe, and a ſpirit of plundering inſinuate itſelf through all public offices.

paſt tranſactions; and the commons made ample proviſion for the thorough ſupply of whatever was neceſſary in times to come. Yet in doing all this, ſome ſharp expreſſions eſcaped, eſpecially in the houſe of peers, which certainly flowed rather from a zeal to party, than any love to juſtice; which gave ſuch diſguſt to Sir George Rooke, that, after all the honours had been paid him, he declined any further command, as deſiring that the queen might be eaſy, and the nation well ſerved, rather than that any opportunities might be given him of adding either to his reputation or eſtate. This is the true ſtate of the caſe, as far as I have been able to learn; nor can I believe, what ſome warm people have ventured to aſſert, that the lord treaſurer, Godolphin, procured Sir George to be laid aſide, in order to gratify the duke of Marlborough; a ſuggeſtion better becoming the narrow ſpirit of a party-writer, than the wiſdom of that great lord, or the known calmneſs and equanimity of the noble duke[y].

In

[y] Mr. Hornby, the reputed author of the famous caveat againſt the Whigs, which is now become extremely ſcarce, gives the following reflections on the diſgrace of this great admiral. "In 1704," ſays he "Sir George Rooke, with "a crew of cabin-boys, took the almoſt impregnable fortreſs of Gibraltar; ſo "that, at the ſame time, Britiſh trophies were erected eaſtward as far as the "banks of the Danube, and her flags were ſeen waving on the towers of the "moſt weſtern part of Europe, where Hercules fixed his *ne plus ultra*. After "this, under great diſadvantages, both in the number, rates, and condition of "his ſhips, and, above all, in the want of ammunition, he ſo far convinced the "French how unequal a match they were for us on the watry element, that "they never after ventured to equip another royal navy; yet, how were his "ſervices undervalued by the faction here! Gibraltar, which was able to defy "the power of Spain, and to baffle and waſte their army in a fruitleſs ſiege, and "which is like to continue to future ages, an honour to our arms, and a ſafe-"guard to our commerce, was a place of no ſtrength or value, and the engage-"ment at ſea was celebrated with lampoons, inſtead of congratulations. Nei-"ther his actions in this war, nor in the laſt, his conduct in ſaving our Turkey "fleet, or his courage in deſtroying the French ſhips at La Hogue, could pre-"vail with them to allow him any ſhare of ſkill or bravery; ſo that he is to "wait for juſtice from impartial poſterity, not only in theſe qualities, but "one much more rare in this age, which he ſhewed in refuſing to aſk a privy ſeal "for a ſum of money remaining in his hands of what had been remitted to him; "as he had not waſted it in monſtrous bowls of punch, ſo he ſcorned to enrich "himſelf by converting the public treaſure to his own uſe, but juſtly accounted "for it. Theſe monuments, in ſpite of envy and detraction, will remain to

"his

In conſequence of this meaſure, however brought about, a ſort of thorough change enſued in the admiralty. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was appointed rear-admiral of England, and admiral and commander in chief of the fleet; Sir John Leake was appointed vice-admiral of the white ſquadron, as Sir George Byng was of the blue; Sir Thomas Dilkes, rear-admiral of the red; William Whetſtone, Eſq; rear-admiral of the white, and Sir John Jennings, rear-admiral of the blue. I have thrown theſe debates and promotions into the moſt regular order I could, for the reader's eaſe and my own, that I might the ſooner return to action, and to the exploits of our ſea force, under theſe new commanders; and though I have not obſerved the ſtrict rules of chronology, yet, as the promotions were the effect of the inquiries, I hope the reader will be ſatisfied with my manner of ſtating it. Theſe formalities thus ſettled, let us now proceed to the tranſactions of the fleet, under the command of Sir John Leake in the Mediterranean, who ſhewed no leſs prudence and fortitude in preſerving Gibraltar, than Sir George Rooke had done courage and conduct in acquiring it [z].

The French and Spaniards, as their own writers confeſs, were obſtinate in their reſolution of retaking Gibraltar, coſt what it would. The eagerneſs ſhewn by king Philip on this occaſion, had like to have been fatal to him; and the method he took to regain Gibraltar, had well nigh loſt him Spain, by diſguſting moſt of the nobility. Hitherto, the marquis Villadarias had commanded before the town, and had done all that a man could do, in a very bad ſeaſon, with very indifferent troops. King Philip, however, removed him, and ſent marſhal de Teſſe, a Frenchman, with the title of captain-general, to command in his place; and, at the ſame time, baron de Pointis was ordered to ſail with his ſquadron from Cadiz to block up the place by ſea. This being performed, the Spaniards made no doubt of

" his honour in the records of time, and his memory will live without the aſſiſ-
" tance or expence of a lumpiſh pile of ſtones, clamped up againſt the walls of
" Weſtminſter-abbey, as was beſtowed to commemorate the loſs of ſome of her
" majeſty's ſhips, and the more valuable lives of many of her ſubjects, for
" want of common care and diſcretion."

[z] London Gazette, N°. 4086, 4090, 4091. Burnet, vol. ii. Oldmixon, vol. ii. Chandler's debates, vol. iii.

their being quickly maſters of the city; and indeed the prince of Heſſe found the French general ſo much better acquainted with the art of war, and ſo much better ſupplied with all things neceſſary, than the Spaniard had been, that he thought it requiſite to ſend an expreſs directly to Liſbon, to deſire Sir John Leake to come with all imaginable ſpeed to his aſſiſtance [a]. Sir Thomas Dilkes was in the mean time arrived from England, with five third rates, and a body of troops; and theſe being imbarked, Sir John ſailed from Liſbon on the ſixth of March, to prevent the loſs of this important fortreſs [b].

Upon the ninth of the ſame month, he had ſight of cape Spartell, but not having light enough to reach the bay of Gibraltar, he thought proper to lie by, to prevent his being diſcovered from the Spaniſh ſhore, intending to ſurprize the enemy early in the morning; but, by bad weather, was prevented from making ſail ſo ſoon as he intended. About half an hour paſt five, he was within two miles of cape Cabretta, when he diſcovered only five ſail making out of the bay, and a gun fired at them from Europa point; whereupon, concluding the garriſon was ſafe, he gave chace to the ſhips, which proved to be the Magnanimous of 74 guns, the Lilly of 86, the Ardent of 66, the Arrogant of 60, and the Marquis of 56.

At firſt, they made for the Barbary ſhore; but ſeeing our fleet gained upon them, they ſtood for the Spaniſh coaſt: at nine o'clock Sir Thomas Dilkes, on board her majeſty's ſhip Revenge, together with the Newcaſtle, Antelope, Expedition, and a Dutch man of war, got within half gunſhot of the Arrogant, and after a very little reſiſtance ſhe ſtruck, the Newcaſtle's boat getting firſt on board her. Before one o'clock, the Ardent and the Marquis, with two Dutch men of war, and the Magnanimous, with the Lilly, ran aſhore a little to the weſtward of

[a] It was the great misfortune of king Philip, that few of the Spaniſh officers were able to ſerve him effectually; and yet none of them could bear the thoughts of ſerving under Frenchmen. His making marſhal de Teſſe captain-general, gave exceſſive offence, inſomuch, that many of the principal nobility, and ſome who had conſiderable offices about his perſon, immediately entered into intrigues for driving him out again. Quincy, hiſtoire militaire, p. 441. Memoires de La Torres, Lambert, *&c.*

[b] London Gazette, N°. 4104, 4106.

Marbella.

Marbella. The former, on board which was the baron de Pointis, ran aſhore with ſo much force, that all her maſts came by the board as ſoon as ſhe ſtruck upon the ground, and only her hull, from the traffril to the midſhips, remained above water, which the enemy ſet fire to in the night, as they did to the Lilly next morning. After the engagement was over, our ſquadron got farther from the ſhore, and on the twelfth looked into Malaga road, where her majeſty's ſhips, the Swallow and Leopard, chaced a French merchant-man aſhore, of the burden of about three hundred tons, which the enemy burnt. The reſt of the enemy's ſhips, having been blown from their anchors ſome days before Sir John's arrival, took ſhelter in Malaga bay; and ſoon after hearing the report of our guns, cut their cables and made the beſt of their way to Toulon[c].

Upon this, marſhal de Teſſe, finding it now abſolutely in vain to continue the ſiege, formed a blockade, and withdrew the reſt of his troops. M. Pointis was well received at the court of France, notwithſtanding his misfortune, neither did the marſhal de Teſſe meet with any check on account of his behaviour; and indeed it would have been hard if he had, ſince he had done all that man could do, there having been thrown into Gibraltar, by the fifteenth of March, new ſtile, more than eight thouſand bombs, and upwards of ſeventy thouſand cannon-ſhot fired, though to very little purpoſe[d].

While theſe great things were doing in the Mediterranean, Sir George Byng was ſent with a ſmall ſquadron of cruizers into the Soundings. He ſailed in the latter end of January, with a large and rich fleet of outward-bound merchant-ſhips. As ſoon as he had ſeen theſe ſafe into the ſea, he diſpoſed of his ſquadron in ſuch a manner, as he thought moſt proper for ſecuring our own trade, and for meeting with the French priva-

[c] Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon: but all theſe are taken from the account publiſhed in the Gazette, N°. 4116.

[d] The obſtinacy of the two courts, in obliging their generals to continue this ſiege, when they were thoroughly ſenſible that it was to no purpoſe, proved the ruin of their affairs in Spain, at leaſt for that campaign; and if it had not been for the accident of the earl of Galway's loſing his arm by a cannon-ſhot, which occaſioned the raiſing the ſiege of Badajoz, king Philip in all probability had been driven out of Spain. Memoires de la Torres, tom iv. p. 204. Quincy hiſtoire militaire, tom. iv. p. 442, 451. Lamberti, tom. iii. p. 514.

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teers. Amongſt other new regulations which had been the conſequence of their merchants complaint, one was the ſending a flag-officer to have the conſtant direction of the cruizers; which in this caſe appeared a very wiſe proviſion, ſince Sir George Byng, by this diſpoſition of his ſhips, was ſo fortunate as to take from the enemy a man of war of forty-four guns, twelve privateers, and ſeven merchant-ſhips, moſt of which were richly laden from the Weſt Indies. The number of men taken on board all theſe prizes was upwards of two thouſand, and of guns three hundred thirty-four. This remarkable ſucceſs made a great noiſe at that time; it was publiſhed by particular directions from the court, and has been ſince thought worthy of being inſerted in a general hiſtory; and yet there is not a word ſaid of the whole affair by Mr. ſecretary Burchet, who muſt have known all the particulars of it as well, or better than any man, which renders his omiſſion the more extraordinary. This gave ſuch a blow to the French privateers, that they ſcarce ventured into the channel all the year after, but choſe rather to ſail northward, in hopes of meeting with ſome of our ſhips homeward-bound from the Baltic[e].

We are now to give an account of the exploits that were performed by the grand fleet, which was commanded by the famous earl of Peterborough, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, as joint admirals; and the firſt orders they received, were, to proceed for the Mediterranean, with the force then ready, which amounted to twenty-nine ſail of line-of-battle ſhips, beſides frigates,

[e] See the Gazette, N°. 4107. Sir George took at this time the following prizes:

Privateers.	Guns.	Men.	Privateers.	Guns.	Men.
Thetis, a man of war of	44	250	Sanſpareil,	20	135
Deſm ria,	36	240	Minerve,	16	92
Phil ppo,	22	220	Marveilleux,	14	85
Conſtable,	30	210	Poſtboy,	10	70
Voler,	28	210	Bonaventure,	10	70
Royal,	26	200	Admirable,	12	75
Beringhen,	24	160			

As alſo ſeven French merchant-ſhips, moſt of them richly laden, from the Weſt Indies.

fire-ſhips,

fire-ſhips, bombs, and other ſmall craft [f]. On the eleventh of June they arrived in the river of Liſbon, where they found Sir John Leake, with his ſquadron, in great want of proviſions; upon which the admiral ordered them to be ſupplied out of the ſtores brought from England, and that for four months whole allowance. On the fifteenth of June a council of war was held, at which were preſent the joint admirals, Sir Stafford Fairborne, Sir John Leake, Sir Thomas Dilkes, and John Norris, Eſq; then captain to Sir Cloudeſley Shovel; of the Dutch, admiral Allemond, vice-admiral Waſſenaer, rear-admiral Vanderduſſen, and rear-admiral de Jonge; in which it was determined to put to ſea with forty-eight ſhips of the line, Engliſh and Dutch, and diſpoſe them in ſuch a ſtation between cape Spartell and the bay of Cadiz, as might beſt prevent the junction of the French ſquadron from Toulon and Breſt [g].

On the twenty-ſecond of June, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with the fleet, ſailed for Liſbon; from thence he ſailed to Altea-bay, and there took in his Catholic majeſty, who preſſed the earl of Peterborough to make an immediate attempt on the city of Barcelona, and the province of Catalonia; where he was aſſured the people were well affected to him [h]. This being agreed to, the fleet ſailed accordingly to Barcelona, and arrived on the twelfth of Auguſt. After the troops were debarked, there were many diſputes, whether the ſiege ſhould, or ſhould not, be undertaken; but at laſt the affirmative carried it; and then a propoſal was made, that the fleet ſhould land two thouſand five hundred men, excluſive of the marines, and that the Dutch ſhould land ſix hundred of their men; which was agreed to; on condition, however, that on the firſt certain intelligence of the French fleet's being at ſea, both ſeamen and marines ſhould

f Burchet's naval hiſt. book v. chap. 18. Annals of queen Anne, vol. iv. p. 137. London Gazette, N°. 4126. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was the ſeaman picked out by the oppoſite party, to rival Sir George Rooke, and mighty expectations were raiſed on account of his being at the head of the grand fleet. There was likewiſe a good deal of pains taken to equip the ſhips he was to command in ſuch a manner, as that he might want nothing abroad; but by his activity this year, juſtify their cenſures of what was done the laſt.

g Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 685. h Burnet's hiſt. of his own times, vol. ii. p. 419. Annals of queen Anne, vol. iv. p. 137. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4136, 4146.

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imbark again immediately. It was next deliberated in a council of war, whether the admiral's inſtructions, in regard to the duke of Savoy, ſhould be complied with or not; and it was reſolved, that as the winter ſeaſon was advancing, it was too late for the fleet to proceed to the coaſt of Italy: and, at the ſame council of war, it was determined to return to England the firſt fair wind after the twentieth of September [i].

On the third of September, the prince of Heſſe having formed a ſcheme for attacking Fort Mountjuic, it was put in execution; and though it coſt his highneſs his life, yet, through the extraordinary bravery of the earl of Peterborough, who renewed the attack, it was taken. This giving a happy proſpect of the reduction of the place, the gunners and carpenters demanded by my lord Peterborough, were ordered by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel to be in conſtant readineſs to land. After this ſucceſs, the ſiege was puſhed with great vigour; the trenches were opened the ninth, and batteries raiſed for fifty guns and twenty mortars. His Catholic majeſty having at length conſented to it, our bomb-veſſels threw four hundred and twelve ſhells into the town; and eight Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, under the command of Sir Stafford Fairborne, being appointed to cannonade it from the ſea, while the cannon from the batteries and fort continued to do the like on ſhore, the viceroy deſired to capitulate the twenty-third, and the capitulation being ſigned the twenty-eighth, the gate and baſtion of St. Angelo was delivered up the ſame day, and the whole city in a few days after. The ſurrender of this capital of Catalonia ſo ſtrengthened king Charles's party, that the whole principality, Roſe's only excepted, ſubmitted ſoon after [k].

i It is very clear from the original papers, which have been printed in relation to this affair, that the admiral, from the time of his coming before Barcelona, to the reducing of that city, did all that was in his power for the ſervice of king Charles; and it likewiſe appears from the letters of the prince of Heſſe to him, that he was the perſon principally depended upon by his Catholic majeſty, and to whom he conſtantly applied when diſtreſſed by his wants, or vexed by the earl of Peterborough's humours. It is no leſs clear from the ſame letters, that the earl of Peterborough applied to him in like manner in all his difficulties, and was conſtantly aſſiſted and relieved; ſo that one may ſafely aſſert, that Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was the ſoul of this expedition, and that without him nothing was, nor indeed could be done.

k Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 686, 687. The complete hiſt. of Europe for 1705, p. 323. Lond. Gaz. No. 4164, 4177, 4178.

All

All the world knows, that the reduction of Barcelona has been conſidered as one of the moſt extraordinary events that fell out in this, or perhaps in any modern war; and though we have already many accounts of it, which ſeem to attribute it, ſome to one thing, ſome to another; yet I will be bold to ſay, that nothing but the aſſiſtance given by our fleet could poſſibly have reduced it. When there wanted men to carry on the works, theſe were ſpared from the fleet; ſo were carpenters and engineers. While our army was before the place, captain Loads was ſent to reduce Denia, and captain Cavendiſh to take Terragona, both which they effected. When artillery was wanted, it was landed from the fleet, and when ammunition was wanted for this artillery, all the twenty-four and eighteen pound ſhot were landed for the ſupply of the batteries, except as much as would ſupply thirty rounds; and when the city was taken, and a garriſon eſtabliſhed there by king Charles the third, the fleet landed eighteen hundred barrels of gunpowder, eight braſs cannon, and all the three pound ſhot they had [l].

On the firſt of October it was reſolved in a council of war, that Sir Cloudeſley Shovel ſhould proceed for England with the beſt part of the fleet; that Sir John Leake, with a ſtrong ſquadron, ſhould be left in the Mediterranean; that ſix ſhips ſhould be left to attend the earl of Peterborough, two more remain at Gibraltar, and a third and fourth rate be employed at the requeſt of his Portugueſe majeſty in cruizing for the homeward-bound Brazil fleet [m].

In

[l] Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 362. Burchet, annals of queen Anne, vol. iv. p. 141. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xxxix. p. 366.

[m] In order to convince the reader of the truth of what has been aſſerted, it may not be amiſs to lay before him part of a letter written by Sir Cloudeſley to his royal highneſs the lord high-admiral, dated October 12, 1705, containing an account of what paſſed in the laſt days of this ſiege.

"The 17th, our battery of thirty guns was opened, and fourteen of them "began to play, with very great execution, upon that part of the wall where "the breach was deſigned; the earl of Peterborough came aboard, and repre-"ſented to us the great neceſſity he laboured under for want of money for "ſubſiſting the army, and carrying on the ſiege of Barcelona, and the ſer-

In purſuance of theſe reſolutions, Sir Cloudeſley, with nineteen ſhips of the line, and part of the Dutch fleet, paſſed the Streights on the ſixteenth of October, and arrived happily at Spithead on the twenty-ſixth of November following, after as glorious a ſea-campaign, as either ourſelves or our allies could expect[n].

It is but juſt, in ſuch a hiſtory as this, to mention our loſſes as well as our ſucceſſes: among theſe I was in ſome doubt, whether I ought to reckon the taking a great part of our homeward-bound Baltic fleet, with their convoy, conſiſting of three men of war, by the Dunkirk ſquadron, of which we have a large account in the French hiſtorians; I ſay, I was in ſome doubt about this, as finding no notice taken of it, either by Mr. Burchet or our Gazettes; but as I am ſatisfied

" vices in Catalonia, and, in very preſſing circumſtances, deſired the aſſiſtance of " the fleet; upon which our flag-officers came to the incloſed reſolution: To " lend the earl of Peterborough forty thouſand dollars, out of the contingent " and ſhort allowance money of the fleet. The 19th, we came to theſe reſolu- " tions, *viz.* To remain longer before Barcelona than was agreed on at firſt; to " give all the aſſiſtance in our power, and to lay a fire-ſhip aſhore with two hun- " dred barrels of powder; and a further demand being made for guns for the " batteries, we landed fourteen more, which made up in all 72 guns, where- " of 30 were twenty-four pounders that we landed here, with their utenſils " and ammunition. We continue to bombard the town from the ſea, as " our ſmall ſtore of ſhells and the weather will permit. The 20th, a de- " mand was made for more ſhot, and we called together the Engliſh flag officers, " and came to a reſolution to ſupply all the batteries with all the twenty-four " and twenty-eight pound ſhot, except a very ſmall quantity, which was accord- " ingly done.

" The 22d, the prince of Lichenſtein, and the earl of Peterborough having " deſired, at the requeſt of his Catholic majeſty, that the town of Lerida might, " for its ſecurity, be furniſhed with about fifty barrels of powder; and a further " ſupply of ſhot being demanded for the batteries a-ſhore, it was conſidered at a " council of war, and we came to the incloſed reſolutions, *viz.* To furniſh fifty " barrels of powder for Lerida, and to ſend ſo many more twenty-four and " eighteen pound ſhot a-ſhore, as would reduce the Engliſh to thirty rounds, as " likewiſe to be farther aſſiſtant upon timely notice.

" The 23d, at night, our breach being made, and all things prepared for an " attack, the town was again ſummoned, and they deſired to capitulate, and " hoſtages were exchanged; on our ſide, brigadier Stanhope, and on the enemy's, " the marquis de Rivera; and all hoſtilities ceaſed."

[n] Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 687, 688. Annals of queen Anne, vol. iv. p. 154. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4179.

that

that the Dutch writers would not be partial to our enemies in ſuch a caſe, I find myſelf obliged to relate the fact as it is ſtated by them.

The count de St. Paul, after the death of the famous John du Bart, was looked upon as the beſt ſeaman in France, and therefore was promoted to the command of the Dunkirk ſquadron, in the room of Monſ. de Pointis. We had a ſquadron under the command of Sir Thomas Dilkes, to watch that port, and another in the Soundings; yet Mr. de St. Paul found means to get out with his ſquadron, conſiſting of five men of war and five privateers, and were joined at ſea by ſeveral other privateers; on the 20th of October, O. S. they fell in with our Baltic fleet, and having directed Mr. du Bart, with one of the men of war and the privateers, to ſecure as many of the Engliſh ſhips as poſſible, Mr. de St. Paul, with the other three men of war, attacked the convoy, which made a very gallant defence, but was at laſt forced to yield, and the count d'Illiers, who commanded after the death of Mr. de St. Paul, (who was ſhot in the midſt of the action with a muſquet-ball), carried our three men of war, and twelve merchant-ſhips, into Dunkirk. I am extremely ſurprized not to find the leaſt notice of this in any of the memoir-writers; but before I part with the fact, I muſt remark a very extraordinary ſaying of Lewis XIV. when the news was brought him at Verſailles.

The perſon who told it, thought the king received him very coldly, and repeated it therefore pretty loud, that there were three Engliſh men of war, and twelve merchant-men, carried into Dunkirk. "Very well," returned the king, with a ſigh; "I wiſh they were all ſafe in any Engliſh port, if that would "reſtore me Mr. de St. Paul." This was certainly a very noble and generous ſpeech, and it was by ſuch teſtimonies of reſpect as theſe, that, in the midſt of his misfortunes, the French king always maintained a ſucceſſion of brave officers, ever ready to expoſe their lives in his ſervice[o].

At

[o] This I take from a private letter from Paris, publiſhed in the Mercure hiſtorique, 1705, and it is confirmed likewiſe by father Daniel, and other hiſtorians. Her majeſty queen Anne ſhewed no leſs regard to merit, on a recommendation from his Catholic majeſty. Captain John Norris (whom I take to

At home we had this year a ſignal inſtance of naval diſcipline, which therefore deſerves a place in this work. One captain Croſs, who commanded the Eliſabeth, gave her up to the French in the channel, after a very ſlight defence. He was tried by a court-martial on board the Triumph, on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt; Sir George Byng being preſident, and having twelve captains to aſſiſt him. It appeared there, that he ſhewed the utmoſt ſigns of fear, which intimidated the men; and that if he had behaved as he ought to have done, the enemy might have been repulſed, and the ſhip ſaved. He offered ſeveral things in his defence, ſuch as that his ſurgeon was ſick, and many of the men were drunk, and would not do their duty; but, upon a full hearing, he was declared guilty of neglect of duty, and the ſentence pronounced upon him was, that he ſhould be caſhiered, rendered incapable to ſerve her majeſty in any capacity, forfeit all the arrears due to him, and remain a priſoner for life [p].

Our trade eſcaped, generally ſpeaking, better this year, than it had done formerly; for in the month of November there arrived ten Eaſt India ſhips, that had for ſome time put into Ireland: a few days after, there came thirty Weſt Indiamen into the Downs, and the very ſame day nineteen veſſels from Barbadoes, which were given over for loſt. Yet all this could not quiet the merchants; they ſtill exclaimed grievouſly againſt the lord high-admiral's council, and things roſe to ſuch a height, that I find in ſome of the Dutch papers of that time, it was expected the queen would have reſtored the earl of Pembroke, and that his royal highneſs ſhould have been created lord high-conſtable of England; but by degrees this affair blew over, for the prince's council were extremely wiſe in one particular; they

have been the late worthy Sir John Norris) having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in an extraordinary manner in the attack of fort Montjuic, king Charles III. was pleaſed to write a letter in his favour to the queen, who knighted him, and made him a preſent of a thouſand guineas.

[p] The evidence againſt this man was very full and clear, and a reſolution having been taken to preſerve for the future very ſtrict diſcipline in the navy, it was reſolved to make ſuch an example of him as he deſerved; and this it was that induced the queen to ſuffer this ſentence to be put in execution without any mitigation, except as to his impriſonment. Annals of queen Anne, vol. iv. p. 111.

conſtantly

conſtantly printed large vindications of their conduct, and accounted ſo plauſibly for every thing that was charged upon them, that it was a very few only, and thoſe too well verſed in maritime affairs, who were able to diſtinguiſh where they were right, or where they were wrong; ſo that they never wanted a ſtrong party for them amongſt the people; and even at this day it is very difficult, if not altogether impracticable, to diſtinguiſh between the complaints that were excited by a ſpirit of party, and thoſe that were really grounded on their miſcarriages or neglects [q].

In this year our ſucceſſes had been ſo great both by ſea and land, and there appeared ſo fair a proſpect of humbling the houſe of Bourbon in Flanders, and of driving them out of Spain, that when her majeſty thought fit to recommend the Spaniſh war in a particular manner to parliament, the houſe of commons immediately voted two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, for the proſecution of thoſe ſucceſſes; and for the whole ſervice of Spain, during the ſucceeding year, they gave no leſs than ſeven hundred twenty-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and forty pounds; afterwards they voted for the ſupply of the ſea-ſervice, for the year 1706, forty thouſand men, including the marines; they then voted one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, for the ordinary of the navy; ten thouſand pounds to the office of ordnance, for the works at Portſmouth, and eighteen thouſand two hundred ninety-eight pounds ſeventeen ſhillings one farthing, for ordnance ſtores and carriages, for the eight new ſhips built to ſupply the loſs of ſuch as periſhed in the great ſtorm [r].

[q] Biſhop Burnet, vol. ii. p. 423, gives a very different account of our affairs at ſea in this year, from thoſe that I have already cited from him, and therefore it is but juſt that I ſhould preſent the reader with this: "Our affairs "at ſea were more proſperous this year, than they had been formerly. In "the beginning of this ſeaſon, our cruizers took ſo many of the French pri-"vateers, that we had ſome thouſands of their ſeamen in our hands. We "kept ſuch a ſquadron before Breſt, that the French fleet did not think fit to "venture out, and their Toulon ſquadron had ſuffered ſo much in the actions "of the former years, that they either could not, or would not, venture "out: by this means, our navigation was ſafe, and our trade was proſper-"ous."

[r] See the votes of the houſe of commons, for the year 1705. Annals of queen Anne, vol. iv. p. 197. Oldmixon's hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 367.

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After ſo generous a ſupply, the miniſtry had nothing to conſider, but how to employ it in ſuch a manner, as that thoſe, upon whom it was raiſed, might be ſatisfied that it was laid out for their ſervice; and this produced a reſolution of equipping a numerous fleet, as early as it was poſſible: but it being found by experience, that it was ſimply impracticable to man the navy, as the laws then ſtood, both houſes, to ſhew their earneſt deſire to put maritime affairs into the beſt condition poſſible, came to certain reſolutions, upon which a bill was brought in, that perfectly anſwered its purpoſe for that time, and enabled Sir Cloudeſley Shovel to man very fully, and in good time, the large fleet that was intended for the Mediterranean ſervice [s].

This, with the ſettling the terms of the union, were the matters which principally took up the attention of this ſeſſion of parliament. While the houſe was ſtill ſitting, Sir Edward Whitaker had orders to aſſemble a ſquadron to convoy the duke of Marlborough to Holland, which he did in the beginning of

[s] The houſe came to thoſe reſolutions on Thurſday the 14th of March, 1705 6, and it is neceſſary that the reader ſhould be made acquainted with them. In few words, then, they were, 1. That in order to man the navy for this year, the juſtices of peace, and other civil magiſtrates, be impowered and directed to make ſearch after ſeamen that lay concealed. 2. That the ſaid juſtices and civil magiſtrates, cauſe ſuch ſeamen, when found, to be delivered to ſuch perſons as ſhould be appointed to receive them. 3. That a penalty ſhould be laid upon ſuch perſons as ſhould preſume to conceal ſeamen. 4. That a reward be given to ſuch perſons as ſhould diſcover, and take up ſuch hidden ſeamen. 5. That conduct-money be allowed. 6. That ſeamen being turned over from one ſhip to another, ſhould receive the wages due on the former ſhips. 7. That able-bodied land-men be raiſed for the ſea ſervice. To bring theſe reſolutions to effect, they ordered, that the committee to whom the bill for the encouragement and increaſe of ſeamen, &c. was committed, ſhould have power to receive a clauſe or clauſes purſuant thereunto, and to receive a clauſe for diſcharging ſuch ſeamen, and other inſolvent priſoners, as were in priſon for debt, and delivering them into her majeſty's ſervice on board the fleet. Which being paſſed into an act, received the royal aſſent on the nineteenth. The ſame day the lords addreſſed her majeſty on the ſame ſubject, praying her to take it into her royal care, and employ proper perſons to conſider of effectual means, to reſtore the diſcipline of the navy, in order to be laid before the parliament the beginning of the next ſeſſion. Purſuant to which her majeſty, a few days after, cauſed a long proclamation to be publiſhed, for the better putting in execution the act of parliament above-mentioned.

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the month of April, and having ſeen the yachts ſafe into the Maeſe, returned by the middle of the month [t].

Before we mention the proceedings of the grand fleet, it will be neceſſary to give an account of the exploits performed by Sir John Leake, whom we lately left ſteering his courſe for the river of Liſbon. In that paſſage he had the misfortune to meet with worſe weather, and more contrary winds, than was uſual in thoſe ſeas, or in that ſeaſon. This unforeſeen accident reduced the Engliſh ſquadron to ſome ſtraits for proviſions; and the Dutch, who are much heavier ſailers, to far greater. However, when they were off cape St. Vincent, they met the Pembroke, Roebuck, and Falcon, which eſcorted a ſmall fleet of victuallers, that could not have arrived more opportunely, or have been conſequently more welcome [u].

On his coming to Liſbon, Sir John Leake had ſome propoſals made him by the Portugueſe miniſtry, which were thought altogether impracticable in the then ſituation of things, and therefore Sir John waved complying with them. In the beginning of the month of February, came letters from the admiralty, with advice of the mighty preparations that were making in the French ports, and the reſolution that had been taken by the Spaniards to ſend away their galleons directly from Cadiz, under a French convoy, for the Weſt Indies; which Sir John was directed to conſider, and, if poſſible to prevent; of which mighty hopes were conceived in England, when theſe news were made public; Sir John being held as able, and reputed withal as fortunate an admiral as any in the ſervice, and indeed deſerved to be ſo reputed [w].

[t] Annals of queen Anne, vol. v. p. 4. London Gazette, N°. 4219.
[u] Burchet's naval hiſt. book v. chap. 19. The complete hiſt. of Europe for 1706, p. 6. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4194, 4198.
[w] This ſcheme of ſending ſo great a fleet into the Weſt Indies, was of the laſt importance to the houſe of Bourbon; ſince, without a ſupply of money, the war could not be carried on in Europe; as, on the other hand, there was little hopes of preſerving the Weſt Indies in a due dependence upon Spain, without furniſhing them from time to time with proper ſupplies. If, therefore, we could have taken the galleons at this time, it is moſt evident, that we muſt have diſappointed both their deſigns, which, as affairs then ſtood, would in all probability have obliged king Philip to retire into France, at leaſt for the preſent, and perhaps have put it for ever out of his power to return to Spain.

Upon

Upon this intelligence, he called a council of war on the ſixteenth of February, in which it was reſolved, to proceed directly with the ſhips then ready, which were nine third rates, one fourth, two frigates, two fire-ſhips, and one bomb-veſſel, Engliſh; ſix ſhips of the line, one frigate, two fire-ſhips, and a bomb-veſſel, Dutch; and with theſe, in caſe the galleons were in the harbour of Cadiz, to enter it directly, if wind and weather would permit, and either take or deſtroy them. On the nineteenth another council of war was held, before which was laid a memorial of the Portugueſe miniſtry, directed to Mr. Methuen, in relation to the homeward-bound Brazil fleet; and ſtrict inſtructions from the lord high-admiral for ſuccouring his Catholic majeſty without delay [x]. Upon mature deliberation, they remained fixed to their former reſolves, with theſe additions only, that as ſoon as they had executed their intended deſign on the galleons, they would make ſuch a detachment as the Portugueſe deſired; and that whenever they ſhould be joined with the ſhips and tranſports from England at Gibraltar, whither they intended to repair, they would inſtantly ſteer their courſe for the coaſt of Catalonia.

When theſe reſolutions were formed, and the day fixed for the departure of our fleet, Sir John Leake acquainted Mr. Methuen, then our ambaſſador at the court of Portugal, that it would be neceſſary to lay an embargo on all ſhips and veſſels, that the enemy might have no intelligence of our deſign; and, upon Mr. Methuen's application, ſuch an order was granted. But as there is nothing weaker, or at leaſt nothing more ſubject to diſappointment, than human policy, ſo this point that was thought ſo neceſſary to our ſecurity, proved, by an accident, if indeed it ought to be ſo called, altogether unaccountable, the ruin of our deſign. Sir John Leake ſailed with the fleet under his command, on the twenty-fourth of February; but, when he arrived before fort St. Julian, the duke de Cadaval, who commanded there, diſcharged firſt ſeveral ſingle guns, and then fired the cannon of a whole baſtion upon

[x] Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 689. Annals of queen Anne, vol. v. p. 131. Mercure hiſt. et politique, tome xl. p. 462.

him.

him [y]. This ſurprized the admiral very much, who ſending to know the reaſon of it, the duke pretended that it was done in purſuance of the order of embargo, as if the court of Portugal could poſſibly intend to detain the fleet of the allies in their harbour. This diſpute hindered Sir John's ſailing, ſomewhat more than twenty-four hours, and in the mean time the Portugueſe, who doubted whether the embargo did not extend to the fleet of the allies, ſuffered five merchant-ſhips, two of which were Danes, and were ſuppoſed to have given notice of the deſign, to go out of the port the next day after the embargo was laid [z].

On the twenty-ſeventh Sir John Leake reached cape St. Vincent, where he met with an eaſterly wind, which decayed ſo about noon, that it became perfectly calm. Next morning, however, he lay fair for the galleons, if they had come out before the wind would ſuffer him to reach Cadiz. But that night he received advice, that the galleons had ſailed with a very hard gale at eaſt, on the tenth of March, N. S. the twenty-ſeventh of February according to ours; ſo that it is plain that if he had ſailed on the twenty-fourth he muſt have met them. He was likewiſe informed, that they conſiſted of thirty-ſix ſail, that is to ſay twenty-four galleons, and ten or twelve French privateers, from forty to fifty-ſix guns, which were ordered to ſee them ſafe into the ſea. Sir John ſteered after them, though with little hopes of coming up, unleſs the eaſt wind had left them when they were at the heighth of cape St. Vincent. Next morning he ſaw two ſail a-head, to which the fleet gave chace [a]. About ſix, the Dutch vice-admiral Waſſenaer took one of them, and ſoon after the other was taken by the Northumberland; they

[y] Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 690. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1706, p. 62. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome 40. London Gazette, N°. 4210.

[z] It was very juſtly ſuſpected, that there was more of treachery than of miſtake, in this odd affair; and, indeed, whoever conſults the hiſtory of the war in Spain, as written under the direction of lord Galway, will find ſufficient reaſon to believe, that the French had always a ſtrong party in the court of Portugal, who made it their buſineſs to thwart vigorous meaſures, and to give all the checks poſſible to the ſchemes formed by the allies, for puſhing on the war with vigour, from the ſide of Portugal; and this was ſometimes ſo barefaced, that Mr. Methuen was conſtrained to threaten them into better behaviour.

[a] Burchet's naval hiſtory. Annals of queen Anne, vol. v. p. 131, 132. London Gazette, N°. 4215.

proved to be Spaniſh ſhips bound for the Canaries; and as they ſailed from Cadiz the day after the galleons, it was thought needleſs to continue the chace any longer [b].

We are now to turn our eyes towards the conduct of king Charles III. He had been left in the city of Barcelona with a very ſmall garriſon, while the earl of Peterborough went to conquer the kingdom of Valentia, which he very happily accompliſhed, though with a very inconſiderable force [c]. The French and Spaniards in the mean time were projecting the deſtruction of king Charles's affairs at a ſingle blow; and it muſt be acknowledged, that their ſcheme was ſo well laid, that nothing but a few untoward accidents could poſſibly have diſappointed it. This deſign of theirs was to ſhut him up in Barcelona, which city they intended to attack both by land and ſea, in the beginning of the month of March, when they looked upon it as a thing impoſſible for our fleet to have ſuccoured him, as indeed it would have proved. The command of the land army was committed to marſhal Teſſe, but whether he really wanted activity in his own nature, or was ſo croſſed in all his undertakings by the grandees of Spain, that he could do nothing; I ſay, whichever was the caſe, ſo it was, that when the count de Thouloufe was ready to ſail with the French fleet from Toulon, the Spaniſh army was in no condition to form the ſiege; ſo that the whole month of March was ſpun out in preparations, and the place was not inveſted till the beginning of April [d].

This deſign was very early diſcovered here at home, and ad-

[b] The maſters of theſe two prizes owned to Sir John Leake, that they had intelligence at Cadiz of his deſign, and that this induced the galleons to ſail as they did. Now, to underſtand this perfectly, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the order for the embargo was obtained on the 22d. The two Daniſh ſhips were permitted to ſail on the 23d. Sir John Leake, with his fleet was retarded, as we have related in the text, on the evening of the 24th, and did not ſail till late on the 25th.

[c] See Dr. Friend's hiſtory of the campaign of Valentia, at the end of his account of the earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, p. 197. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 443, 444. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 207, 208. and other hiſtorians. See likewiſe the London Gazette, N°. 4216.

[d] This account I have taken from the French hiſtorians, Quincy, hiſtoire militaire, tom. v. p. 204. Lamberti, tom. iv. p. 146.

vice

vice was ſent of it to Sir John Leake before he ſailed from Liſbon; but it does not appear, that either the earl of Peterborough, or king Charles, apprehended this miſchief, at leaſt in due time, otherwiſe the king would have been provided with a better garriſon, and the place have been certainly put into a condition of making a greater reſiſtance. After miſſing his deſign on the galleons, the fleet under the command of Sir John Leake, repaired to Gibraltar, where he received a letter from his Catholic majeſty intreating his immediate aſſiſtance, in terms which ſufficiently diſcovered the deep diſtreſs he was in, and the concern and terror he was under [e].

The king's fears were far from being ill founded. M. Teſſe came before the place with a numerous army, and the count de Thouloufe landed ammunition and proviſion ſufficient for the ſervice of an army of thirty thouſand men for two months; ſo that

[e] The ſtyle and contents of king Charles's letter to Sir John Leake, are ſo ſingular, that they certainly deſerve the reader's notice.

"I THE KING.

"Admiral Leake,

"I am diſpoſed to take upon me this occaſion to adviſe you of the high riſk "this principality and my royal perſon is found in; for I make no doubt be- "fore to morrow the enemy will moleſt us. They have already blockaded me "with a ſquadron, and their army is now almoſt in ſight of this city, and by "their quick marches, have obtained ſome poſts, which, if they might have "been prevented, would very much have hindered their deſigns.

"I am reſolved, although I find myſelf with ſuch a ſmall garriſon (as a thou- "ſand men of regular troops, and four hundred horſe) not to leave this place; "for, in the preſent conjuncture, I have conſidered, that my going hence will "be the loſs of the city, and conſequently of all the other places which the "happy ſucceſs of the laſt campaign hath reduced to my obedience; for which "reaſon, it is my opinion to riſk all, and venture the caſualties that a ſiege is "incident to, putting juſt truſt and confidence in your known zeal towards the "great forwarding the common cauſe, making no doubt how much you have "contributed towards the ſuccours forwardneſs. I hope in a few days you will "appear before this place, where your known valour and activity may meet with "a glorious ſucceſs, for which I ſhall again conſtitute you the credit of my royal "gratitude.

"Given at Barcelona, the 31ſt of March, 1706.

"I the KING.

"By command of the king my maſter,

"HENRY DE GUNTER."

it is very evident, the French did all that could be expected from them by ſea; and if their endeavours had been as well ſeconded on ſhore, the place had undoubtedly been loſt. But it ſo fell out, that the Sieur de Lepara, their principal engineer, was far enough from being a perfect maſter of his trade. He made a miſtake at the beginning, which loſt him eight or ten days time, and before he could correct this, they loſt him by a ſhot from the place. This proved an irreparable misfortune; for though he was but an indifferent engineer, yet after his death it appeared they had not his equal, ſo that when they came to make an aſſault on the place, they were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Theſe circumſtances I thought it neceſſary to relate, previous to our account of Sir John Leake's proceedings; and having now ſhewn the errors, miſtakes, and misfortunes of the French and Spaniards before Barcelona, we will return to our fleet, and the meaſures taken for relieving king Charles by raiſing the ſiege[f].

On the third of April, commodore Price, with ſix Engliſh and as many more Dutch men of war, joined Sir John Leake, who, in a council of war held on the ſixth, reſolved, in obedience to king Charles's letter, to ſail immediately to Barcelona. In purſuance of this reſolution, he arrived on the eighteenth in Altea-bay, and the next day had intelligence, that Sir George Byng, with a ſquadron from England, was coming up; three days after they were joined by commodore Walker, with his ſquadron, as they had been the day before by Sir George Byng; and then it was determined to ſail north of Majorca, and that each ſhip ſhould make the beſt of her way without ſtaying for the reſt[g]. Upon the twenty-ſixth the earl of Peterborough came off from Terragona, with a ſquadron of barks, having fourteen hundred land forces on board; and when he came to the fleet, hoiſted the union-flag on board the Prince George,

[f] All the French hiſtorians agree, that their deſign on Barcelona miſcarried through their own fault, and, generally ſpeaking, relate the whole affair as I have done in the text. But if any reader of a more curious and critical diſpoſition than ordinary, would ſee a long and exact detail of this affair, he may be ſatisfied in the admirable memoirs of M. de Feuquieres, tom. iv. p. 151.

[g] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 692. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 444. London Gazette, N°. 4222.

as

as admiral and commander in chief [h]. His excellency found that the councils of war had rejected his propoſals, and indeed their rejecting them ſaved the place; ſince before his arrival, Sir George Byng, Sir John Jennings, and admiral Waſſenaer, had anchored in the road of Barcelona, and by the contrivance of Sir George Byng, a conſiderable body of troops had been thrown into the town [i].

On the twenty-ſeventh in the afternoon, the whole fleet arrived in the harbour of Barcelona, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition; for the count de Thoulouſe having received an exact account of the naval force of the allies, thought fit to ſail away with the French fleet to Toulon; which obliged the land-army (as we ſhall hereafter ſee) to raiſe the ſiege with great precipitation. This relief appeared the more ſurpriſing, and muſt have been conſequently the more grateful to king Charles, and all his faithful ſubjects, ſince it prevented their deſtruction but by a few hours, the enemy having made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for ſtorming the place that very night, when, conſidering the extreme weakneſs of the garriſon, their ſucceſs could ſcarce have been doubted [k].

Two days after the arrival of the fleet, M. de Teſſe thought fit to raiſe the ſiege in a very extraordinary manner, for which our own, and the French hiſtorians, profeſs themſelves equally at a loſs to account. His army conſiſted ſtill of fourteen thouſand men, the ſuccours thrown into the place did not exceed ſix thouſand; ſo that it was very ſtrange he ſhould leave behind him a train of one hundred and ſix pieces of braſs cannon, forty-ſeven mortars, two thouſand bombs, ten thouſand grenades, forty thouſand cannon-ſhot, two hundred barrels of muſquet-

h Dr. Friend's account of the earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, p. 55. Annals of queen Anne, vol. 5. p. 135. London Gazette, N°. 4232.

i All theſe briſk and extraordinary meaſures, which appeared by the event ſo indiſpenſibly neceſſary, were concerted as well as executed, by our admirals only: the earl of Peterborough, though he had been conſtantly before of a ſentiment directly different, when he ſaw them put in practice, and foreſaw (as he eaſily might) their good effects, very judiciouſly approved them. Impartial inquiry into the management of the war in Spain, p. 101.

k Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 693. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 447. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 370. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 240. Quincy, hiſtoire militaire, tom. 5. Feuquieres, de Larrey, &c.

ſhot,

ſhot, five thouſand barrels of powder, eight thouſand ſwords, eighteen thouſand ſacks of corn, beſides flour, rye, and oats, in proportion, not only undeſtroyed, but untouched, as if they intended it as a preſent to the beſieged, by way of compenſation for the trouble they had given them.

Yet to me the cauſe of this is pretty evident[l]; the marſhal ſaw himſelf under the neceſſity of regaining the kingdom of Caſtile, by a ſtrange ſort of a march, firſt into Rouſillon, then round by the Pyrenees, and ſo through Navarre, which conſtrained him to leave his ſick and wounded in his camp, with a letter recommending them to the earl of Peterborough's clemency: and, I make no manner of queſtion, that he choſe to let things remain as he did, that theſe helpleſs people might obtain the more favour; which, though needleſs, when he had to do with an Engliſh general, was nevertheleſs humane in him[m]. The admiral took to himſelf and his officers the honour of this great exploit, which was one of the moſt important, and withal one of the moſt honourable, that happened throughout the war[n]. His moſt Catholic majeſty, on the other hand, was no leſs ready in paying a juſt tribute of praiſe and reſpect to his merit; ſo that, if ever there was a fact ſo well eſtabliſhed as to

[l] The accounts that I have given of the raiſing of this ſiege, are taken from French hiſtorians, who are certainly like to be beſt informed, and, with reſpect to the ſtores left behind, moſt impartial: and this, I ſuppoſe, is ſufficient to ſatisfy the moſt critical reader, as to the difference between my computations and thoſe he may meet with in ſome other hiſtories.

[m] See the London Gazette, N°. 4232, already cited.

[n] This appears by Sir John Leake's letter to the prince's ſecretary, dated at Barcelona, May 1ſt, 1706, in which, among other things, he ſays, "The 27th "of laſt month I got to this place, and in a lucky time to reſcue it from falling "into the enemy's hands, for they expected to have been ſtormed the next "night. Count Thoulouſe, with the fleet under his command, which conſiſted "of about 28 of the line, retired the night before; but if it had pleaſed "God, that the wind had continued that brought Sir George Byng to me, I "believe I ſhould have been able to have given you a much better account of "his ſtrength. This comes by captain George Delavale, who is ſent by my "Lord Peterborough, with the king of Spain's, and his lordſhip's own letters "to her majeſty, in the Faulcon, which ſhip his excellency has appointed Mr. "Robert Delavale, brother to captain Delavale, to command."

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be out of all diſpute it is this, that Barcelona was relieved by Sir John Leake [o].

The next great ſervice that was attempted, was the reducing Alicant; and in ſailing thither, putting into Altea-bay, the admiral received notice, that Carthagena was diſpoſed to ſubmit: upon which Sir John Jennings was ſent to that city, who returned on the twenty-fourth of June, after leaving a garriſon in the place. But with reſpect to Alicant, the governor refuſed

[o] A more pregnant proof of this cannot be had, than from the following letter of his Catholic majeſty, to Sir John Leake, before the relief of Barcelona, indeed, but which evidently ſhews, that the king placed all his hopes in our naval force, and expected from Sir John Leake alone, that it ſhould be exerted for his preſervation. This letter, to ſay the truth, is ſo honourable to the Britiſh arms, as well as to the very worthy man to whom it is addreſſed, that I thought fit to tranſcribe the whole, otherwiſe the laſt paragraph might very well have ſerved my purpoſe.

"SIR,

"It is with no ſmall ſatisfaction, that I have been informed, from the earl "of Peterborough's letters, of your happy arrival upon the coaſt of Valentia. "I doubt not, but you have heard of the loſs of Montjuic, and of the condi- "tion my town of Barcelona is in, where I was willing to ſuffer myſelf to "be beſieged, and to endure all the hardſhips and accidents of war, to encourage "both the garriſon and my ſubjects, by my preſence, to make a long and vigo- "rous defence.

"It ſeems, by the enemy's motions, they have already received notice of "your approach; but inſtead of thinking to retreat, they have redoubled their "efforts, and fire upon the breach, which will be in a condition to be ſtormed "after to-morrow at fartheſt; and in all appearance, they will make a deſperate "attempt to render themſelves maſters of this town, before the fleet can arrive "with the ſuccours.

"Hence you will judge of the indiſpenſible neceſſity there is, that you ſhould "do your utmoſt endeavours to relieve us without loſs of time, and bring the "fleet directly hither, together with the troops, to my town of Barcelona, "without ſtopping or diſimbarking the forces elſewhere, (as ſome other per- "ſons may pretend to direct you) for they can be no where ſo neceſſary as in "this town, which is at the very point of being loſt for want of relief. Where- "fore I pray God to have you in his holy protection, and expecting the "pleaſure of ſeeing you as ſoon as poſſible, I aſſure you of my perfect eſteem and "acknowledgment.

"Barcelona, May 4, N. S. 1706. "CHARLES.

"*P. S.* Sir, you will diſcern the condition we are in by our letters, and I hope "you will come as ſoon as poſſible to ſave us, of which you alone ſhall have the "glory. For the reſt, I refer you to Mr. Stanhope's letter."

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to ſurrender, and therefore it was reſolved to beſiege it by land, while it was attacked by the fleet at ſea [p]. To facilitate this, ſeamen were landed from the fleet, and Sir George Byng, with five ſhips, anchored in a line ſo near the town, that he quickly diſmounted all the enemy's artillery, though the guns pointing towards the ſea were no fewer than one hundred and ſixty.

On the twenty-eighth in the morning, it was reſolved to attack the place on all ſides; and with this view Sir John Jennings landed the marines he brought from Carthagena. About nine in the morning the ſhips had made a breach in the round tower, at the weſt end of the town, and another in the middle of the curtain, between the mole and the eaſtermoſt baſtion, when the land-forces marching up towards the walls of the city, fifteen grenadiers, with an officer and ſerjeant, advancing, without order ſo to do, to the breach of the round tower, all the boats under the command of Sir John Jennings, went directly to ſuſtain them, but before the men landed, the grenadiers were beaten back. However, the boats proceeded, and all the men getting aſhore, captain Evans of the Royal Oak mounted the breach firſt, got into the town with two or three of the boats crews; captain Paſſenger of the Royal Anne followed, and next to him captain Watkins of the St. George, with ſome ſeamen. Sir John Jennings, with the reſt of the ſeamen and forces, who were in poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs, moved on to ſupport them; who coming into the town ſecured the poſts, and made proper diſpoſitions until the reſt got in, when Mahoni retiring into the caſtle, left them in poſſeſſion, with the loſs of but very few men [q]; colonel Petit, however, was killed in the ſuburbs, ſtanding arm and arm with Sir John Jennings, by a ſmall ſhot out of a window, as they were viewing the ground for raiſing a battery againſt the wall of the town; beſides whom there were not above thirty killed either of the ſea or land forces; and not more than eighty wounded, notwithſtanding the Spaniards had a continued communication from one houſe to another, and fir-

[p] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 450. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 694. Annals of queen Anne, vol. v. p. 304, 305. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4248.

[q] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 695. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 240. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. 41. p. 461. London Gazette, N°. 4257.

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ed on our men from the windows and holes made for that purpoſe[r].

Next day brigadier Gorge, who commanded the troops before the place, ſummoned count Mahoni to ſurrender, which he abſolutely refuſed to do; but the ſhips continuing to cannonade very briſkly, and a great number of bombs being thrown into their works, the garriſon, which conſiſted moſtly of Neapolitans, compelled the governor to give up the place, notwithſtanding all his declarations to the contrary. Brigadier Gorge took poſſeſſion of it, and was appointed governor[s].

It was even then much diſputed, whether this place was of any uſe, and whether the time and men loſt before it were not abſolutely thrown away. But, be that as it will, the conduct of Sir John Leake, and the courage of his officers and ſeamen are no way impeached thereby; nor does it at all leſſen the glory of this action, which was one of the boldeſt that ever was performed by men, that it was undertaken to little or no purpoſe[t]. Thus much is certain, that ſoon after the taking of Alicant, king Philip's forces were intirely driven out of Arragon, and that whole kingdom reduced to the obedience of his competitor.

[r] All that I have ſaid, with reſpect to the ſervice performed by the fleet, is fully confirmed by the author of the inquiry into the management of the war in Spain, who gives us the following account of this tranſaction, p. 135. "Brigadier Gorge's troops, which were ſo much wanted in Caſtile, really contributed very little towards the reduction of Alicant; for as the fleet, without any aſſiſtance from the army, had made themſelves maſters of Carthagena, not long before, by the exemplary courage and conduct of Sir George Byng, and Sir John Jennings; ſo now the ſquadron, which Sir John Leake had ordered Sir George Byng to command for that purpoſe, bombarded and cannonaded the town of Alicant with ſo much ſucceſs, that in a few days they made two practicable breaches in the wall, between the eaſt and weſt gates, which the ſailors bravely ſtormed; and Sir George Byng being in poſſeſſion of the place, forced open the gates to let the land-forces in, who having loſt their engineer Petit, were not yet even maſters of the ſuburbs."

[s] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 540. Columna roſtrata, p. 283. Annals of queen Anne, vol. v. p. 306. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4266.

[t] The truth of this fully appears in a letter from brigadier Gorge to Sir John Leake, in which he complains of being left in the midſt of enemies, in ſo diſtreſſed a condition, that unleſs Sir John was able to relieve him, he ſhould find himſelf obliged to abandon it.

After the reduction of Alicant, Sir John Leake, in the beginning of the month of September, ſailed to Altea-bay, from whence he ſent Sir John Jennings with his ſquadron, intended for the Weſt India ſervice, to refit at Liſbon. He next made the neceſſary diſpoſition for a winter ſquadron, which was to be commanded by Sir George Byng, and then proceeded to put in execution his laſt orders, which were to reduce the iſlands of Ivica and Majorca. Theſe iſlands not only belong to the crown of Spain, but their ſituation rendered them very neceſſary at this time to the allies, as affording them an opportunity of ſupplying the places they had lately reduced with proviſions, and ſecuring a proper retreat for their ſmaller veſſels, whenever it ſhould be found neceſſary to keep a ſquadron in thoſe ſeas during the winter. It does not appear, that the Spaniſh court had taken any precautions for their defence, as being intirely occupied with the thoughts of preſerving Minorca, which was looked upon as the iſland of greateſt importance, and therefore moſt of their regular troops were there [u].

On the ſixth of September, Sir John ſailed from Altea-bay, and on the ninth anchored before Ivica. This iſland, which is about fourſcore miles in circuit, abounds with corn, wine, fruit, ſalt, *&c.* and the inhabitants being a trading people, were rather inclined to ſubmit to the allies, than to remain under their old government; and therefore, on the firſt ſummons, they ſent deputies to make their ſubmiſſion, which was readily accepted, and king Charles III. immediately proclaimed [x]. On the thirteenth the fleet ſailed for Majorca, and arrived on the fourteenth before Palma. This iſland, which is one of the fineſt in the world, abounding with all the neceſſaries of life, well planted and well peopled, and ſo large as to be once accounted a kingdom, was at this time governed by the Conde de Alcudia, who was a native of the place. He was warmly in the intereſt of king Philip, and when the admiral ſummoned him, ſent him a Spaniſh anſwer, "That he "would defend the iſland as long as there was a man in it."

[u] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 696. Annals of queen Anne, vol. v. p. 306. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4267. [x] Columna roſtrata, p. 283. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1706, p. 390. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xli. p. 555.

But

But upon throwing three or four bombs into the place, which did no great miſchief, the inhabitants roſe and forced the viceroy to ſurrender. He ſhewed his wiſdom, however, where he could not ſhew his courage, by making a very prudent capitulation.

Sir John Leake left a garriſon in Porto-Pin, and two men of war to carry off the Conde, and ſuch other of the inhabitants as were diſaffected to king Charles III. and on the twenty-third of the ſame month he proſecuted his voyage for England. Before his departure he received a letter from his Catholic majeſty, who very gratefully acknowledged his ſervices he had done him, and expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction as to his conduct on all occaſions. On the ſecond of October Sir John paſſed the Streights, and on the fourth, when he was off the ſouth cape, detached Sir George Byng, with the winter-ſquadron, for Liſbon. On the ſeventeenth he arrived ſafe at St. Helen's, having been ſeparated in a ſtorm from the reſt of the fleet, which came ſoon after into Portſmouth. And thus ended as ſucceſsful a ſea-campaign as is recorded in our own, or perhaps in any other hiſtory [y].

Sir Stafford Fairborne, then vice-admiral of the red, was appointed, with a ſmall ſquadron, to look into the mouth of the river Charent, with orders alſo to deſtroy ſuch ſhips as the enemy might have at Rochfort. He ſailed for this purpoſe in the latter end of the month of April, and after continuing at ſea about three weeks, he returned to Plymouth with a few prizes [z]. Soon after he received orders to ſail for the Downs, from whence he was quickly ordered over to Flanders, to aſſiſt in taking Oſtend. Arriving before that place, he ſtood in ſo near the town, that they fired upon him, which he returned; but was ſoon after ordered to Newport, from whence, after the blockade of that place was formed, he came back to

[y] See the Lond. Gaz. N°. 4272, in which there is a large account of the capitulation with the viceroy of Majorca, which ſhews that Sir John Leake was a very able man in the cloſet, as well as the field, and knew how to treat, as well as how to act in a rougher manner.

[z] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. 26. Annals of queen Anne, vol. v. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xl. p. 637. London Gazette, N°. 4228, 4241.

Oſtend. A ſcheme had been contrived by ſome of the land-officers for deſtroying the little veſſels belonging to that port; but when it came to be executed, it was found wholly impracticable. The entrance of the harbour being long, narrow, and crooked, whatever veſſel or ſhip attempted to go in, muſt inevitably be much expoſed to the platform of guns; ſo that there ſeemed but little hopes of attempting any thing againſt the ſhips by ſea, which lay all in a cluſter cloſe to the quay, on the back ſide of the town; but there were letters in the camp which inſinuated, that as ſoon as the trenches were opened, the batteries raiſed, and ſome bombs thrown into the place, the Spaniards in garriſon, aſſiſted by the ſeamen and burghers, would oblige the French garriſon to yield.

On the nineteenth of June, the trenches were opened before the place; Sir Stafford Fairborne, with his ſquadron, cannonaded it by ſea, and at the ſame time two bomb-veſſels were ſent as near as might be, and when they came to play did great execution. Sir Stafford likewiſe cauſed all the ſmall frigates to run in as near the town as poſſible, and to diſcharge their broadſides; which they did with ſo little damage to themſelves, and ſo great hurt to the place, that the people began to mutiny, and the governor found himſelf (as he pretended) under a neceſſity of capitulating, which he did on the twenty-fifth.

Thus the city of Oſtend, which had formerly held out ſo many months, was taken in a week; though, beſides the Spaniſh garriſon, count de la Mothe, was there with a conſiderable body of French troops, which he undertook ſhould not ſerve again in ſix months; and, as one of their own writers pleaſantly ſays, it had been very happy for France, if he had for himſelf undertaken never to ſerve again. After the ſurrender of Oſtend, Sir Stafford Fairborne returned to Spithead, to aſſiſt in convoying a body of troops that were intended for a deſcent [a].

Before

[a] In the ſiege of Oſtend, the duke of Marlborough gave ſignal proofs of his perſonal courage; for, coming to make a viſit to M. d'Auverquerque, he went into the trenches, where he ſtaid a conſiderable time, and examined every thing very attentively, though the enemy, who had ſlackened their fire before, renewed it with exceſſive violence, as ſoon as they knew by the ſalute of

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Before we ſpeak of the proceedings of the grand fleet under Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, it will be requiſite to ſay ſomething of the intended deſcent which we have juſt mentioned: this was a deſign framed upon the repreſentation of ſome French Huguenots; particularly the famous marquis Guiſcard, who was afterwards engaged in a deſign to aſſaſſinate the queen. The land-forces deſigned for this ſervice conſiſted of very near ten thouſand men. They were to be commanded in chief by the earl Rivers; under him by the lieutenant-generals Earle and de Guiſcard: the earl of Eſſex, and lord Mordaunt, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Peterborough, were to ſerve in this expedition as major-generals. On the 10th of Auguſt the fleet under the command of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, ſailed from St. Helen's; but not being joined time enough by the Dutch, this project proved abortive; and it was reſolved, that the fleet ſhould proceed to Liſbon with theſe forces on board, and that they ſhould be employed in the ſervice of his Catholic majeſty [b].

It does not appear, that after their diſappointment in this ſcheme of making a deſcent on France, the miniſtry came to any reſolution as to the employment of the grand fleet, or of the land-forces on board it; it looks as if all things had been truſted to the wiſdom of the admiral, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, and of the general. The fleet was extremely late before it ſailed for the Mediterranean, *viz.* the firſt of October, and being in the Soundings on the tenth of the ſame month, the Barfleur, a ſecond rate, ſprung a dangerous leak, which obliged the admiral to ſend her home, and to take the earl Rivers, and his principal officers, into his own ſhip the Aſſociation. Proceeding in their voyage, they met with exceeding bad weather, inſomuch, that when the admiral arrived in the river of Liſbon, he had with him but four men of war, and fifty tranſports; but he had the good luck to find the reſt of the fleet arrived

the fleet, that his grace was come to the camp. In doing this, contrary to his uſual cuſtom, he ſhewed, that when he was more careful of his perſon, it was out of reſpect to the ſervice, and not for any want of that temper of mind which commonly paſſes for heroiſm.

[b] Burnet's hiſt. of his own times, vol. ii. p. 453. Annals of queen Anne, vol. v. p. 310, 311. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xli. p. 207, 303. Lon. Gaz. N°. 4252.

before

before him, ſo that he began immediately to prepare for action, and ſent two ſhips of Sir George Byng's ſquadron to Alicant, with money and neceſſaries for the army, then under the command of the earl of Galway, which was in very great want of them [c].

While he was thus employed, he heard, with great regret, of the diſorders that had fallen out in the Spaniſh court and in our army. It is very hard to ſay, who was, or who was not, in the right; but this is certain, that in conſequence of theſe diſputes, king Charles III. loſt his intereſt among the Spaniards; and though he was once maſter of Madrid, he was forced to quit it again, and his affairs began to fall into ſuch confuſion, that the admiral at Liſbon could ſcarce tell what he had to do, or how he was to act for his Catholic majeſty's ſervice, and therefore thought it requiſite to ſend colonel Worſley to Valencia, in order to receive from the king himſelf, and the general, a certain account of their affairs, and a true ſtate of the ſervices they expected from him. While this gentleman was gone, and before the admiral had it in his power to take any ſettled reſolution, the king of Portugal died, which threw the affairs of that kingdom into ſome confuſion; and that could not happen without affecting us. We before obſerved, that the Portugueſe miniſtry acted in a manner no way ſuitable to the ſtrict alliance which then ſubſiſted between our court and theirs. But now things grew worſe and worſe; and whatever ſentiments the new king might be of, his miniſters ventured to take ſome ſuch ſteps, as were not to be borne with patience by an admiral of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel's temper [d].

Upon the return of colonel Worſley, the admiral was apprized, by letters from the king and the earl of Galway, that,

[c] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. xxiv. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 245. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xii. p. 579. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4268.

[d] In order to be better informed of the particulars here mentioned, the reader may conſult our larger hiſtorians, the collections of Lamberti, and the memoirs of the count de la Torres. The narrow bounds preſcribed to my work, will not allow me to enter deeply into political diſquiſitions, for that would draw me beſide my purpoſe, ſo that whenever I touch upon them, it is only to preſerve the connection that is neceſſary to render the accounts I give of naval affairs eaſy, and fully underſtood.

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unleſs he could bring earl Rivers, and the forces under his command, and land them ſo as that they might come to their aſſiſtance, things were likely to fall into as great confuſion as they were in the winter before, whereby all the advantages would be loſt which had been afterwards procured at ſo vaſt an expence, both of blood and treaſure, by the maritime powers. Theſe advices gave the admiral ſo much the more concern, as he knew that the ſhips were ſo much damaged by the rough weather they had met with in their paſſage, that it was impoſſible to fit them ſpeedily for ſea; and that, on the other hand, the land-forces were ſo much reduced by ſickneſs, death, and other accidents, that, inſtead of ten, there were ſcarce ſix thouſand effective men. He reſolved, however, to do the beſt he could to comply with the king and the general's deſire; the rather becauſe he ſaw that nothing but ſpirit and diligence could poſſibly recover thoſe advantages, which had been loſt through diviſions and neglect of duty. He gave orders, therefore, for repairing, with the utmoſt diligence, the miſchief that had been done to his ſhips; directed the tranſports to be victualled, and made the other neceſſary diſpoſitions for proceeding with both the fleet and army for the Spaniſh coaſt, and in the mean time diſpatched five men of war with a conſiderable ſum of money and clothes for the troops[e], and was on the very point of imbarking the forces, when he was reſtrained by an order from England, of which we ſhall ſay more when we come to treat of the tranſactions of the enſuing year, to which it properly belongs[f].

In the mean time, captain William Coney, who commanded the Romney, a ſhip of fifty guns, having been diſpatched, as we before obſerved, by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, to cruize in thoſe ſeas, and being then with the Milford and Fowey, two fifth rates, they received intelligence on the twelfth of December, that a French ſhip of ſixty guns, with thirty pieces of fine braſs

[e] London Gazette, N°. 4289.

[f] I cannot pretend to ſay where the blame lay, as to the miſcarriages that happened in Spain; the reader will perhaps be beſt able to judge by comparing Dr. Friend's account of the earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, the earl of Galway's narrative, and the impartial inquiry into the wars there, which I have ſo often quoted.

cannon

cannon on board, that had been taken out of the ſhip commanded by M. de Pointis, and which he had run aſhore when he fled from Sir John Leake, lay at anchor under the cannon of Malaga, he reſolved to go and attempt her; which deſign he put in execution, though one of the fifth rates was accidentally diſabled, and the other ſeparated from him; and ſailing directly under the cannon of the place, cut her from her anchors, notwithſtanding all the fire they could make, and carried her ſafe into the harbour of Gibraltar.

On the twenty-ſixth of the ſame month he chaced, and came up with another French ſhip, called the Content, that carried ſixty-four guns. The captain of her, inſtead of attempting to fight the Engliſh ſhips, got as ſoon as he could under the cannon of a little caſtle, about eight leagues weſt of Ameria, where he crept as cloſe as it was poſſible to the ſhore. Captain Coney anchored before him, and ordered the Milford and Fowey to do the ſame, the one a-head, the other a-ſtern. They plied their guns for about three hours very briſkly, and then the French ſhip took fire, blew up, and was entirely deſtroyed, with moſt of her men. This ſhip had been detached by M. Villars, to bring the before-mentioned ſhip from Malaga [g]. Some time after captain Coney took another French ſhip, called the Mercury, of forty-two guns, which the French king had lent the merchants, and which at their expence was fitted out as a privateer [h].

I ſhould now proceed to reſume the hiſtory of affairs in the Weſt Indies, but that there remains a remarkable action or two in Europe, which I think deſerve notice, and therefore I have ſet them down here, in the cloſe of the year, by themſelves, not finding it ſo eaſy to reduce them to any particular ſervice. On the nineteenth of April, the Reſolution, a ſeventy-gun ſhip, command-

g Burchet, p. 729. Lediard, vol. ii. p. 812. But both their accounts are taken from the London Gazette, N°. 4198.

h Mr. ſecretary Burchet ſays, this happened on the 8th of July; but Mr. Lediard conjectured very rightly, that, inſtead of July, it ſhould have been January; and ſo it appears by the account we have of this tranſaction in the Gazette, N°. 4304, where the article is dated from Liſbon, February 9. N. S. which is one proof out of many of the wretched incorrectneſs of this naval hiſtory, as to dates, in which one would have expected, from its author's ſtation, remarkable regularity and exactneſs.

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ed by captain Mordaunt, youngeſt ſon of the earl of Peterborough, having his father on board, and his Catholic majeſty's envoy to the duke of Savoy, fell in with ſix large ſhips of the enemy, in his paſſage to Genoa; the earl of Peterborough perceiving the danger, deſired that himſelf, and the Spaniſh envoy, might be put on board a ſmall frigate, called the Enterprize; for as he took his buſineſs then to be negociating, not fighting, he was willing to eſcape to Oneglia, if it was poſſible, which, according to his uſual good fortune, he was lucky enough to effect.

The Milford, a fifth rate, which we have lately mentioned, was likewiſe with captain Mordaunt, but ſeeing the danger, ran from it, and eſcaped. On the twentieth the weather proved very bad, ſo that the Reſolution was in part diſabled, which gave the enemy an opportunity of coming up with her; upon which captain Mordaunt, by advice of his officers, reſolved to run her aſhore, having received a great deal of damage in the engagement. About three in the afternoon he effected this, and ran her a-ground in a ſandy bay, within a third of a cable's length of the land, and directly under the cannon of the caſtle of Ventimiglia, belonging to the Genoeſe, who notwithſtanding gave them not the leaſt aſſiſtance. About half an hour after four, captain Mordaunt, being diſabled by a ſhot in his thigh, was carried on ſhore, but would not retire far from his ſhip; and about five the French commodore manned out all the boats of his ſquadron, in order to board the Reſolution, under the fire of one of their ſeventy-gun ſhips, which plied ours warmly all the while; but the Reſolution, even in the condition ſhe was in, gave them ſuch a reception, as obliged them to return to their reſpective ſhips. On the twenty-firſt, about half an hour paſt ſix in the morning, one of the enemy's ſhips of eighty guns weighing her anchor, brought to under the Reſolution's ſtern, and about nine o'clock, a ſpring being put under the cable, ſhe lay with her broadſide towards her, while ſhe at the ſame time looked with her head right into the ſhore, ſo that it was not poſſible to bring any more guns to bear upon the French ſhip, than thoſe of her ſtern-chace; and the others being within leſs than gun-ſhot, and the water coming into the Reſolution as high as her gun-deck, captain Mordaunt ſent to his officers for their

opinion what was fitting to be done; and, purſuant to their advice, he gave them directions to ſet her immediately on fire, which they did about eleven o'clock, after the men were all put on ſhore; and by three in the afternoon ſhe was burnt to the water's edge [i].

In the month of November, a ſingular adventure happened to the Liſbon packet-boat, which was taken by a Dunkirk privateer of conſiderable force. The mate, who had the care of the packet, hid it when the privateer appeared firſt in ſight, and being ſoon after killed, the captain threw over a cheſt of papers, with a weight of lead, juſt as the enemy boarded him, which they took for the mail, and therefore did not make ſo ſtrict a ſearch as otherwiſe they would have done. At ſea they were ſeparated from the privateer, which gave eleven Engliſh ſailors an opportunity of riſing upon fifteen Frenchmen, making themſelves maſters of the veſſel, and carrying her into the Texel, where the government letters were happily found, ſewed up in an oil-ſkin caſe, and thrown into a water-caſk. We ended our laſt account of affairs in the Weſt Indies with the return of admiral Graydon's ſquadron from thence: it is now requiſite that we ſhould enter into a detail of what paſſed in thoſe parts, from that time to the cloſe of the year 1706 [k].

The complaints which had been made in almoſt every ſeſſion of parliament, of miſcarriages and miſdemeanors in the Weſt Indies, engaged the miniſtry to make choice of Sir William Whetſtone to go thither with a ſquadron of ſeven men of war, in order to ſettle affairs after the ravages which they had an account had been committed in thoſe parts. He ſailed accordingly with the trade in the ſpring of the year 1705, and arrived, on the ſeventeenth of May, ſafely at Jamaica [l]. There he ſoon received intelligence, that a ſtout ſquadron of the enemy's ſhips was on the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, and that ſeveral rich ſhips were ſpeedily expected from the coaſt of New Spain. Upon this, he ordered the ſquadron to be put in a poſture of ſailing as ſoon as poſſible, and having left a ſufficient convoy for the protection of

[i] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 691.
[k] London Gazette, N°. 4278.
[l] London Gazette, N°. 4105, 4154.

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the homeward-bound fleet, he proceeded, on the ſixth of June, for the Spaniſh coaſt [m].

On the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, being then within ſight of Carthagena, he chaced a ſhip, which in the night ran in among the Sambay keys, where there are very uncertain ſoundings and ſhoal-water, inſomuch, that the Briſtol, a ſhip of fifty guns, came on ground, but was got off again with little or no damage; however, he came up with the French ſhip, and after two hours diſpute with thoſe that were neareſt to her, ſhe ſubmitted. She had forty-ſix guns mounted, and carried out with her three hundred and ſeventy men; but buried all but one hundred and fifty, unleſs it were a few they had put into prizes. She had brought ſix hundred and forty negroes from Guinea, of which two hundred and forty died, and moſt of the reſt were put on ſhore at Martinico, the iſland of St. Thomas and Santa Martha, for they had heard that a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips was in the Weſt Indies. The rear-admiral plying then to the eaſtward, diſcovered off the river Grande two ſail, cloſe in with the land, one of which being forced on ſhore, was burnt by her own men, being a privateer fitted out at Martinico, to diſturb our trade.

The coaſt being thus alarmed, and no proſpect of any immediate ſervice, he returned back to Jamaica; but appointed three of the beſt ſailers to cruize twenty days off Anigada, in the windward paſſage, for the French in their return home, it being the uſual ſeaſon for them to go from Petit Guavas, Port de Paix, and other places; but thoſe ſhips joined him again without meeting with any ſucceſs [n].

On his return to Jamaica, he had intelligence of a rich ſhip bound from Carthagena to Port Lewis, and in order to take her, he detached the Montague and the Hector, who though they miſſed their intended prize, brought in a French ſhip of twenty-four guns, laden with ſugar, indigo, and hides. Towards the latter end of the ſame month, the rear-admiral put to ſea, to cruize off Hiſpaniola, where he met with ſuch a ſtorm, as forced him back to Jamaica in a very diſtreſſed condi-

[m] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. 20.

[n] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 698. London Gazette, N°. 4154.

tion. While the ſhips, particularly his own, were refitting, the Montague, a ſixty-gun ſhip, was ſent to cruize on the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, where he met with two French ſhips, one of forty-eight, the other of thirty-ſix guns, and the captain bravely engaged them both till he loſt them in the night. The next morning he had ſight of them again, and would willingly have renewed the engagement, but his officers and ſeamen were not in the humour to fight, and ſo the Frenchmen eſcaped. The captain, (whoſe name Mr. Burchet hath not thought fit to tranſmit to poſterity, though for what reaſon I cannot imagine), on his return to Jamaica complained to the admiral, and brought the whole affair under the examination of a court-martial, where it fully appeared, that he had done his duty to the utmoſt of his power, and he was thereupon honourably acquitted; but as for his officers, they were broke, as they well deſerved, and many of his ſeamen puniſhed [o].

The admiral, in the mean time, to repair this miſtake as far as he was able, ſent two fourth rates, the Briſtol and the Folkſtone, in queſt of thoſe ſhips, they fell in with them and the veſſels under their convoy; they behaved very briſkly in ſeizing the defenceleſs merchant-men; but though they had it abſolutely in their power to have fought at leaſt, if not to have taken the men of war, they let them ſlip through their hands, with half the fleet under their care; for which ſcandalous neglect, the ſenior officer, whoſe name is again miſſing in Mr. Burchet's hiſtory, but which I have reaſon to believe was Anderſon, came to be tried, broke, and rendered incapable to ſerve at ſea [p].

I am very ſorry that a more particular detail of theſe affairs cannot be had, becauſe the merit of hiſtory is the beſtowing

[o] Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 699. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4176.

[p] Mr. Oldmixon, who was the author of the Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 314, gives us the following account. The Briſtol and Folkſtone met with ten ſail of merchant-men, bound from Petit Guavas to France, under convoy of two French men of war, one of four and twenty, and another of thirty guns, out of which captain Anderſon, commodore of the Engliſh, took ſix merchant men, laden with ſugar, cocoa, cochineal, and indigo, and brought them to Jamaica. When he arrived, admiral Whetſtone held a court-martial, and captain Anderſon, with the other officers, were condemned to loſe their commiſſions for not engaging the French men of war.

juſt

juſt praiſes on worthy men, and ſetting ſuch a mark of diſgrace on men of another character as they deſerve. A little after theſe unlucky incidents, while the admiral was detained for want of ſtores at Jamaica, the Suffolk, where his flag was flying, by ſome unfortunate accident, which I think was never accounted for, blew up in the gun-room, where moſt of the men were killed, and ſeventy more in their hammocks were ſo burnt, that the greateſt part of them died. When things were once more put in tolerable order, he ſailed for the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, and had thoughts of ſtretching over again to the main, with a view to have ſent the orders of his Catholic majeſty, king Charles III. to the governor of Carthagena; but finding this impracticable, and himſelf much too weak to undertake any thing againſt the French in thoſe ſeas, he returned back to Jamaica [q].

I do not find in any of the accounts that I have met with, that Sir William Whetſtone was ſo much as ſuſpected of being in any degree wanting in his duty; but ſo it was, that through neglects of our admiralty, and a mercenary ſpirit in ſome of our governors of colonies, and captains of men of war, things were fallen into ſuch diſtraction in the Weſt Indies, that we were not either in a condition to hurt the enemy's ſettlements, or ſo much as able to defend our own. The truth ſeems to be, that the great fleets we fitted out every year for the Mediterranean, and the cruizers that were neceſſary upon our own coaſts, took up ſo many ſhips, that it was ſcarce poſſible to ſupply even the reaſonable demands of the Weſt Indies.

The enemy, on the other hand, had ſome very ſignal advantages; for after Sir George Rooke had taught them, that ſea-fights were not for their advantage, they had recourſe to their old trade of carrying on a piratical war; and as they had little trade to protect, and many good ſhips, they were able to furniſh out ſtout ſquadrons for this purpoſe. Add to all that has been ſaid, the great concerns they had in the Weſt Indies, where

[q] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 699. During the time that the admiral was in the Weſt Indies, he had, as ſome write, the good fortune to make prize of two rich Spaniſh ſhips, on board of which were two hundred thouſand pieces of eight, and a great quantity of valuable goods. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xli. p. 309.

now not only the French, but the Spaniſh ſettlements were immediately under their care, and where, as France had the free uſe of the ports, ſo ſhe had the direction alſo of the naval force of both nations, without which ſhe could never have carried on the war[r].

The driving the Engliſh out of the Leeward-iſlands, was the point the French had moſt in view, and having a very exact account of our condition there, the governor of St. Domingo, M. Iberville, had orders to aſſiſt in an attempt that was to be made on St. Chriſtopher's. It is in truth a very difficult thing to give a fair account of this matter, ſince the French magnify it, and ſuch of our writers as have taken any notice of it, have done all they could to leſſen and diſparage it. The moſt probable relation that I have met with amongſt many, ſets the affair in this light. The count de Chavagnac, with a ſmall ſquadron of French men of war, attacked the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's in the month of March, where they burnt and plundered ſeveral plantations; but when they came to attack the caſtle, they were repulſed with loſs[s]. They would, however, in all probability, have carried their point at laſt, if the governor of Barbadoes, on receiving information of what had happened, had not ſent down thither a ſloop, with intelligence to the governor, that a ſquadron from England was coming to his relief. This reaching the ears of the French, as it was intended it ſhould, they imbarked in much haſte, after having done a great deal of miſchief; but, however, nothing comparable to what the French writers ſay[t].

[r] I do not pretend to give the reader theſe reflections as my own, becauſe I am very ſenſible that they have been made before by other writers. All the merit that I would aſſume, is, that of introducing them properly, and ſo as to prove what it certainly imports us much to know, that the French are as vigilant in making the moſt of every advantage, as we are generally backward in uſing ſuch opportunities as our ſituation and naval force afford.

[s] Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 699. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4230. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xl. p. 618.

[t] Father Daniel, in his journal of the reign of Lewis XIV. p. 236. computes the plunder of St. Chriſtopher's at three millions of French money, or 150,000 pounds of ours; which is, I think, incredible; eſpecially, if the French retired in ſome kind of conſternation; and that they did is pretty certain, ſince the count de Chavagnac was queſtioned about it when he returned to France.

But,

But, unluckily for us, before count de Chavagnac ſailed, count Iberville joined him with his ſquadron; ſo that they had now five ſtout men of war, ſome frigates, and twenty ſloops, with which they reſolved to attack Nevis. They landed in Green-bay, in the evening of the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, which was Good-Friday; and they puſhed their operations ſo briſkly, that by the twenty-fourth, which was Eaſter-Sunday, the inhabitants made a capitulation, by which they promiſed to deliver up all their negroes, and to procure a number of priſoners, equal to that of themſelves, to be ſet at liberty in Europe, in conſideration of their not being taken off the iſland. Our Gazette ſays, that the French broke theſe articles, by treating them barbarouſly, burning their houſes and ſugar-works, and other actions of the like nature. But other accounts ſay, that the inhabitants could not comply with their capitulation, becauſe the negroes retiring into the mountains, ſtood on their defence, and when attacked, killed a great number of the French. Upon this the inhabitants came to a new agreement on the ſixth of April, in which they undertook to deliver to the French, in leſs than ſix months, one thouſand four hundred negroes, or one hundred and forty thouſand pieces of eight; upon which the French retired, carrying off with them moſt of the effects, and a great number of negroes, but fewer certainly than ſeven thouſand, as a French hiſtorian computes them [u]. A little after this unfortunate accident, commodore Ker arrived with a conſiderable force in the Leeward-iſlands, and having ſtationed ſeveral ſhips according to his inſtructions, he bore away with the reſt for Jamaica, which was then thought to be in danger, from the junction of Iberville's ſquadron, with that of Ducaſſe [w].

In the mean time rear-admiral Whetſtone ſailed with a few ſhips from Jamaica, in hopes of attacking Ducaſſe, before he

[u] Moſt of theſe particulars I have drawn from a private letter, written by a planter, but ten days after the laſt capitulation. The inquiſitive reader may conſult the Gazette, N°. 4241, and Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 254. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xli. p. 198.

[w] Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 700. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4265. Hiſtoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 212.

was

was joined by the ſuccours he expected. But this deſign being defeated by bad weather, he returned to Jamaica about the middle of July, and towards the latter end of the ſame month was joined by commodore Ker, with the ſquadron under his command. There being now ſo conſiderable a force, the admiral was very deſirous that ſomething ſhould be attempted capable of effacing the memory of paſt miſtakes, and worthy the naval force of the Britiſh nation. After mature deliberation, it was reſolved to proceed to Carthagena, where they knew the galleons were, to try what effects king Charles's letters would produce, and whether the governor might not be wrought upon by our ſucceſſes in Europe, to own him for his rightful ſovereign in America. With this view, Sir William Whetſtone and captain Ker ſailed from Jamaica on the eighth of Auguſt, and on the eighteenth arrived before Carthagena, and ſent in a packet to the governor. At firſt he trifled a little, and gave evaſive anſwers, but when more cloſely preſſed, he declared roundly, that he knew no ſovereign but Philip V. and that no other he would obey. There were at that time in the port fourteen large galleons, lying cloſe in with the city, and unrigged. The admiral was for attempting to burn them, but the pilots unanimouſly declared, that any ſuch deſign would be found impracticable, unleſs we were firſt in poſſeſſion of Bocca Chica caſtle, and the other forts; and even in that caſe, it was very doubtful whether ſhips of ſo great a ſize as theirs could get in [x].

Then it was taken into conſideration, what further ſervice might be done, and the reſult of this was, a reſolution to return to Jamaica: from whence, as ſoon as the trade was ready, the rear-admiral was to convoy them home, and commodore Ker to remain behind, in order to take upon him the command of the force left in the Weſt Indies. This ſcheme was immediately put in execution, and, upon their return, Sir William made all poſſible diſpatch, in order to get home in time; and accordingly leaving the iſland the latter end of October, he arrived at Plymouth on the twenty-third of December, 1706, with the Suffolk, Briſtol, Reſerve, and Vulcan fire-ſhip, and a

[x] Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 700. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4275.

fleet

fleet of merchant-men under his convoy, having been landed abroad, and performed little, though no man in the ſervice had ſhewn a greater ſpirit of activity, before his being ſent on this Weſt India expedition [y].

The ſquadron which commodore Ker brought into the Weſt Indies, conſiſted of ſix ſhips of the line, three frigates, and a fire-ſhip. With this force he ſtretched over from Jamaica to the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, from thence to the main, where he cruized till the fourth of September; and then the winds proving northerly, he returned to Hiſpaniola, on the coaſt of which iſland he held a council of war, in order to determine whether it might not be practicable to ſurprize Port Lewis. But the pilots not being well acquainted with the entrance into that port, it was reſolved to proceed directly to Petit Guavas, and to go to the northward of the iſland of Guanaua, in order the better to prevent their deſign from being diſcovered. On the thirteenth of September he detached captain Boyce, in the Dunkirk-prize, with all the boats in the ſquadron manned and armed, with orders to range along the bays of Leogane and Petit Guavas, in the night, with all imaginable care and caution, and ſo to diſpoſe themſelves as that they might deſtroy the enemy's ſhips in either of thoſe roads, and be able to return to the ſquadron next morning on a ſignal given. But how well ſoever this ſcheme might be laid, it miſcarried through the ill conduct of ſome of the officers, who running in too near the ſhore, alarmed the inhabitants to ſuch a degree, that any farther attempt was rendered impracticable [z].

Upon this diſappointment, commodore Ker returned to Jamaica, in order to refit his veſſels, and to repair the damage he had ſuſtained in this fruitleſs expedition. But while he was thus employed, he was attacked by a new and greater evil, occaſioned by a mortality which prevailed among the ſeamen, and that to ſuch a degree, as in a manner utterly diſabled him from any further ſervice. The merchants, however, who ſuffered for want of ſhips to protect them, loſing abundance of ſloops, laden with ſilver, upon the Spaniſh coaſts, began to complain

[y] London Gazette, N°. 4292. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xlii. p. 98. [z] Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 700. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 815.

loudly of the commodore's conduct; and even went ſo far, as to ſend home an agent, who had inſtructions to lay the matter before the houſe of commons, where, after a full and fair examination, this officer's behaviour received a cenſure, in conſequence of which he was laid aſide. In the mean time the command in the Weſt Indies fell into the hands of Sir John Jennings, who had been, as we before obſerved, detached for that purpoſe, with a conſiderable ſquadron from the Streights. But, as his proceedings belong to the ſucceeding year, we muſt refer the reader to that part of our hiſtory, for an account of them[a].

We muſt, before we leave America, take notice of a diſappointment the enemy met with in attacking Carolina. The French had long had their eyes on our northern colonies, which were then in a very flouriſhing condition; amongſt other projects that M. Iberville had been furniſhed with, one was the attacking, and, as far as it ſhould be in his power, deſtroying the province of Carolina. When therefore he had finiſhed his deſigns in the Leeward-iſlands, he ſailed with a ſquadron of ſix men of war, and ſeveral tranſports for South Carolina. He made a deſcent in the neighbourhood of Charles-town, with about eight hundred and fifty ſoldiers and ſeamen, and ſent an officer to ſummon the governor to ſurrender the city and colony to the French king, telling him at the ſame time, that he would allow him but an hour to conſider of it. Sir Henry Johnſon told him, that was much too long a ſpace, for that he did not want half a minute to reſolve on doing his duty; and that therefore he was at liberty to return, and tell thoſe that ſent him, that the Engliſh were not to be frightened with words, for they ſhould ſoon find that they were able to return blows.

Upon this ſpirited anſwer followed an attack, in which the French met with ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that they were glad to retreat with the loſs of three hundred killed, drowned or taken; and among the latter ten officers, *viz.* their chief com-

[a] I thought it more expedient to take notice of this matter here, than poſtpone it abſolutely, till we come to ſpeak of the proceedings of parliament, in the year 1707, where we ſhall however be obliged to reſume it, and where the reader will have a more particular account of what the offences were, with which this gentleman was charged.

mander

mander at land, his lieutenant, three captains of ſhips, four lieutenants, and a maſter, who together offered ten thouſand pieces of eight for their ranſoms. One of the French ſhips having ventured to make a deſcent at the diſtance of ſix miles from Charles-town, the governor ſent a detachment of militia to the aſſiſtance of the planters, who were ſo lucky as to make themſelves maſters of the ſhip, with all its crew, which conſiſted of about one hundred and forty men [b].

The French had alſo ſome deſigns upon New York, of which we had ſo early intelligence in England, that lord Cornbury, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Clarendon, was ſent over to take upon him the government; and he finding all things in great confuſion, and the few fortreſſes in that country running to ruin, firſt obtained from the aſſembly a conſiderable ſupply for that ſervice, and then ordered a general embargo to be laid, which enabled him to employ fifteen hundred men, in working on their fortifications; ſo that they were, in a very ſhort time, put into a good poſture of defence, and all the views of the enemy diſappointed on that ſide. We had not, however, as great ſucceſs in bringing home the Virginia fleet, part of which fell into the hands of the French privateers, and the reſt were ſeparated by a ſtorm, which occaſioned great apprehenſions and uneaſineſſes about them; but moſt of them, notwithſtanding, arrived at laſt ſafe in the weſtern ports. The merchants, however, raiſed loud complaints againſt the admiralty, who had now, in a great meaſure, loſt their intereſt in the houſe of commons; ſo that whatever charges were brought againſt them, had all the encouragement that could be expected, and the merchants were left at full liberty to produce their witneſſes, and to make out all that they could; which, though it afforded no remedy to theſe miſchiefs, yet it took the weight off the miniſtry, and gave the nation general ſatisfaction, as all inquiries, ſtrictly and impartially proſecuted, ever muſt [c].

[b] See the complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1706, p. 548. and the Mercure hiſt. 1707, vol. i. p. 99. Father Daniel takes not the leaſt notice of the matter, and indeed few or none of the French hiſtorians have courage enough to report fairly their defeats.

[c] Burnet, Oldmixon, Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 245.

We are now, according to the method hitherto purſued in this work, to give the reader an account of the meaſures taken for the ſupplying the ſervice of the ſucceeding year; and this the ſucceſs attending the war, both by ſea and land, enables us to do in a very ſhort ſpace. The queen opened the ſeſſions on the third of December, 1706, with a moſt gracious ſpeech, wherein ſhe took notice of what had been already done, and of the reaſons which obliged her to deſire, that as great diſpatch as poſſible might be given to the ſupplies; and how much weight her majeſty's recommendation had, will appear from hence, that though they amounted to no leſs than five millions eight hundred ninety-three thouſand three hundred eighty-one pounds fifteen ſhillings and three-pence three farthings, yet they were voted in leſs than a week; ſo that the queen came on the twenty-firſt to the houſe of peers, and having ſent for the commons, the ſpeaker preſented the bills, and in his ſpeech on that occaſion, took notice, "That as the glorious victory obtained "by the duke of Marlborough, at Ramillies, was ſo ſurprizing, "that the battle was fought before it could be thought the "armies were in the field, ſo it was no leſs ſurprizing, that "the commons had granted ſupplies to her majeſty before "the enemy could well know that her parliament was ſit-"ting[d]."

This care of the public thus ſhewn, the houſe went into the conſideration of the ſeveral expeditions executed within the compaſs of the preceding year; and after a long debate, on the twenty-ſeventh of January, in relation to the method of carrying on the war in Spain, it was carried on the queſtion, by a majority of two hundred and fifty, againſt one hundred and fifty, that the ſeveral ſums of money for the extraordinary ſervices for the year 1706, which had been agreed to by this houſe, had been advanced and expended for the preſervation of our firm ally the duke of Savoy, for promoting the intereſt of king Charles III. in Spain, againſt the common enemy, and for the ſafety and honour of the nation[e]. Not long after, the houſe proceeded to take into conſideration the report from the com-

[d] See Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p. 47. [e] Burnet's hiſt. of his own times, vol. ii. p. 469. Annals of queen Anne, vol. v. p. 435.

mittee,

mittee, to whom the petition of ſeveral proprietors of plantations in the iſlands of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher's in America, and other merchants trading to the ſame, on behalf of themſelves and the other inhabitants and traders to the ſaid iſlands, was referred, and the ſame being read, it was reſolved, "That "an humble addreſs be preſented to her majeſty, that ſhe will "be pleaſed to appoint ſuch perſons, as her majeſty ſhall think "fit, to inquire into the true ſtate of the loſſes of the people of "the iſlands of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher's, in order to lay "the ſame before this houſe the next ſeſſion of parliament, to "apply what may be convenient for the better ſecuring thoſe "iſlands, and ſupplying them with neceſſaries in order to a re-"ſettlement." The ſaid addreſs being preſented accordingly, her majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer, "That ſhe was very well "pleaſed to find the houſe of commons had ſo compaſſionate "a ſenſe of the loſſes of her ſubjects in Nevis and St. Chriſto-"pher's; as alſo with the concern they ſhewed upon this occa-"ſion for the plantations, which were ſo juſtly intitled to their "care, by the large returns they made to the public; and her "majeſty would give the neceſſary orders for what the houſe "had deſired in that matter." Accordingly her majeſty was afterwards pleaſed to appoint two gentlemen, of known ability and integrity, to go to the ſaid iſlands, to procure an exact ſtate of the loſſes of her ſubjects there, in order to their being put on ſuch a footing, as might be beſt for the particular benefit of the inhabitants, and the general good of theſe kingdoms[f].

The houſe having had notice of the great declenſion of our intereſt in, and of our lucrative trade to Newfoundland; the Marquis of Caermarthen having likewiſe acquainted them, that certain pirates had made a great and dangerous ſettlement at Madagaſcar, where they threatened to erect a kind of thieviſh republic, little inferior to thoſe on the coaſt of Barbary; and having offered to go himſelf with a ſmall ſquadron, to put an end to this miſchief while there was a probability of doing it, the houſe appointed a committee to take theſe matters into their

[f] The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1707, p. 118. Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p. 65.

conſideration;

conſideration; who, after having thoroughly examined them, came to the following reſolutions[8]:

"I. That a great number of pirates have ſettled themſelves in "the iſland of Madagaſcar, from whence they have committed "many great piracies, robberies, and depredations, very ruin- "ous to trade, and whereby the lives of many of her majeſty's "good ſubjects have been deſtroyed.

"II. That an humble addreſs be preſented to her majeſty, "that ſhe would be graciouſly pleaſed to take into her royal "conſideration, how the ſaid pirates may be ſuppreſſed, and "their further piracies, robberies, and depredations, may be "effectually prevented." Which reſolutions were on the 8th of April agreed to by the houſe. The ſame day it was reſolved, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to her majeſty, that ſhe "will be graciouſly pleaſed to uſe her royal endeavours to re- "cover and preſerve the ancient poſſeſſions, trade, and fiſhery, "in Newfoundland."

Her majeſty received theſe addreſſes very graciouſly, and promiſed that proper care ſhould be taken with reſpect to the matters contained in them: and thus ended the proceedings of this ſeſſion of parliament, with which I ſhall conclude the events of this winter.

We have now run through the naval tranſactions of about eighteen years, in which ſhort ſpace there happened ſo many things worthy of remark, and our maritime power increaſed to ſuch a degree, that it is with no ſmall difficulty that I have been able to bring them into this compaſs. But a bare relation of events will very little benefit ordinary readers, if they are not attended with ſome few reflections, in order to point out the advantages and diſadvantages which befel ſociety in conſequence of theſe tranſactions. The two wars in which we were engaged, in conjunction with the Dutch, as they demonſtrated on the one hand our mighty power at ſea, ſo on the other they put us to a prodigious expence. The houſe of commons, in the year 1702, in a repreſentation to the queen, ſay expreſsly, that from November 1688, to March the eighth, 1701, there had been raiſed

[8] Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 387. Annals of queen Anne, vol. v. p. 482.

for

for the ſervice of the war, forty-five millions five hundred ſixty-eight thouſand ſeven hundred twenty-five pounds nineteen ſhillings and two-pence half-penny; an immenſe ſum indeed! As to the expences of queen Anne's war, we ſhall take notice of them when we come to the concluſion of it: at preſent let us obſerve, that one national end, with reſpect to England, was, in this laſt war particularly, in a great meaſure anſwered, I mean the deſtruction of the French power at ſea; for after the battle of Malaga, we hear no more of their great fleets; and though by this the number of their privateers was very much increaſed, yet the loſſes of our merchants were far leſs in the latter than in the former reign, which I think was chiefly owing to a ſeries of inquiries conſtantly carried on either in one houſe of parliament or the other.

The ſucceſs of our arms at ſea, and the neceſſity of protecting our trade, joined to the popularity of every ſtep taken towards the increaſing our maritime power, occaſioned ſuch meaſures to be purſued in order thereto, as annually added to its force. The great ſtorm in 1703, the misfortunes that ſo many ſquadrons met with in the Weſt Indies, our ill luck in regard to the Dunkirk privateers, and, in ſhort, every other untoward accident which fell out within this period of time, though it bore hard upon private perſons, and was injurious to our trade in general, yet it was in the main beneficial to our marine, inaſmuch as it gave a handle for augmenting it, as every thing tending thereto was well received. Hence aroſe that mighty difference which, at the cloſe of the year 1706, appeared in the royal navy; which not only in the number, but in the quality of the ſhips of which it was compoſed, was greatly ſuperior to what it had been from the time of the revolution, or even before it.

The economy and diſcipline of our marine was alſo much mended, and thoſe jealouſies in a great meaſure worn out, which had been very prejudicial to men of the greateſt merit, during the preceding reign, as they certainly were in the latter part of this, when they were moſt unfortunately revived. The great encouragement given to the ſailors, by taking the utmoſt care of the ſick and wounded, exact and ſpeedy paying of prize-money, and the many extraordinary orders that from time to time were iſſued in their favour, and are ſtill to be met with in

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our Gazettes, from whence ſome of them have been cited in this work, gave a mighty ſpirit to our ſailors, and in a manner extinguiſhed that prejudice which has ſince revived againſt going to ſea in a man of war. Thus, in this reſpect, whatever we might do in others, the nation certainly throve by the war, that is to ſay, we grew conſtantly ſtronger, our fleets more numerous and better manned; ſo that at the time I conclude this chapter, we were much more capable of aſſerting our claim to the dominion of the ſea, than at the time the war began.

If any of my readers ſhould entertain a doubt, either as to the truth of the facts here laid down, or the validity of the judgment I have delivered upon them, I think I need only turn him over, for ſatisfaction, to foreign authors; for certainly, if they concur in ſentiment with me on this head, there ought to be no diſpute about it. But if we dip into any of the French political writers, we ſhall not fail to find them deploring the viſible decay of their maritime power, from the time of the battle of Malaga, and conſtantly blaming the adminiſtration for not bending their thoughts to the recovery of it ſo much as they ought to have done; which they, generally ſpeaking, aſcribe to the vaſt expence of the war by land, which would not, by any means, admit the diverting ſuch ſupplies as were neceſſary for the ſervice of the ſea. From theſe complaints, which are certainly well founded, it is manifeſt that, on the one hand, their maritime power declined, whilſt ours increaſed; and, on the other, that this declenſion grew ſo faſt upon them, that their ableſt miniſters thought it in vain to ſtruggle, and therefore gave up all further concern for their reputation in this reſpect, in a fit of deſpair, out of which nothing but our inactivity or negligence would recover them.

To this I may add, that as the Spaniſh naval power had been long decaying, ſo by this war it was totally deſtroyed: they had indeed a few gallies in the battle of Malaga, and it may be half a dozen men of war in the Weſt Indies; but, upon the whole, they had ſuch occaſion for ſhips of force, and had ſo few of them, that the aſſiſtance given them by the French, contributed not a little to the declenſion of their marine, as appears by the deſtruction of their men of war at Vigo, which was a loſs they were never able to repair; and though it be

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very true, that whilſt Spain was governed by a prince of the houſe of Auſtria, and lived in amity with us, we were rather bound to encourage and protect, than any way to leſſen or depreſs the Spaniſh power at ſea; yet by the paſſing of this crown into the houſe of Bourbon, our intereſt, in this reſpect, was entirely changed, and the leſſening their maritime ſtrength was a comparative augmentation of our own; and this I take to be the principal reaſon, that through the courſe of the war, France complained ſo much of the burden of Spain. For though by the returns of her plate-fleets, and letting the French for a time ſhare in the trade of the South-Seas, ſhe might repair that loſs of treaſure, which the maintaining ſo many armies for her ſervice might occaſion, yet the loſs of that maritime power, which was now to protect both ſtates, was a loſs that never could be repaired, as reaſon informed all wiſe people then, and as we have been taught by experience ſince.

It may, perhaps, be ſaid, that as the Dutch were concerned in this war as well as we, as they ſhared jointly in the dangers and expences of it, ſo they muſt have been equally gainers in reſpect to their trade and maritime power. But as to this it is moſt evident, that the French, according to the information they received from the moſt intelligent Dutchmen, take the thing to be quite otherwiſe, and argue on it to the Dutch themſelves, as if it was a fact out of diſpute, from whence they take occaſion to alledge, that while the Engliſh made a pretence of ruining the maritime power of France, they in reality aimed at doing as much for the Dutch, in order to ſecure univerſal trade, and the ſupreme power of the ſea, to themſelves. How far the fortune of war might put this in our power, I will not ſay, but this I will venture to aſſert, and hope it will be readily credited, that ſuch a thing was never in our intention. The ſupplanting allies is a ſtrain of policy common to the French, but, without partiality I may ſay, unknown to Britons. We have fought for our allies, and conquered for our allies; nay, we have ſometimes paid our allies for fighting in their own cauſe, and for their own profit; but to outwit our allies, eſpecially our favourite allies the Dutch, was, I dare ſay, never in our will, or in our power.

This indeed I muſt own, that in the conduct of this laſt war, eſpecially to the year 1706, we had as much the lead in councils as ever the Dutch had in the former war; for this we paid largely, and, I think, we had a right to it, if we got any thing by it. I muſt alſo ingeniouſly confeſs, that the economy of the Dutch greatly hurt their reputation and their trade. Their men of war in the Mediterranean were always victualled ſhort, and their convoys were ſo weak and ill-provided, that for one ſhip we loſt, they loſt five, which begat a general notion, that we were the ſafer carriers, which certainly had a good effect: ſo that, taking all things together, I doubt whether the credit of the Engliſh nation abroad, or the ſpirits of the people at home, were ever higher than at this period of time.

Hence it was that our trade rather increaſed than diminiſhed in this laſt war, and that we gained ſo ſignally by our ſtrict intercourſe with Portugal; concerning which I will take the liberty of running over a few facts that are not commonly attended to. When the war firſt broke out, Portugal was allied to the two crowns; and with great difficulty it was that we detached that monarch from their intereſt: but the means by which we detached him, ought not to remain a ſecret. In the treaty he concluded with Lewis XIV. and his grandſon, he had ſtipulated that he ſhould be protected by an annual fleet from France; but when he found that this could not be complied with, and that if he performed his part of the agreement, his coaſt would be left open to the inſults of the maritime powers, he ſaw the neceſſity of changing his party, which induced him to make a treaty with us in 1703; and when the French miniſter, M. de Chateauneuf, reproached him for thus changing ſides, Don Pedro replied, with great ſpirit, "If your maſter "had ſent thirty ſhips of the line to cruize between Liſbon and "Setubal, I had never quitted his alliance; and therefore I "would have you let him know, that he ought to blame himſelf, not me, for the conſequences."

By the treaty of commerce concluded with the ſame crown by Mr. Methuen, we were prodigious gainers; and I will even venture to ſay, that this ſingle alliance was worth more to us, than all the negociations in the former reign. The Portugueſe began to feel the comfortable effects of the mines they had diſcovered

covered in Brazil, and the prodigious commerce that followed thereupon with us, made their good fortune in this reſpect, in a great meaſure ours alſo; and ſo it has been ever ſince, otherwiſe I know not how the expences of the war could have been borne: for, as Dr. Davenant juſtly computed, the running caſh of this kingdom, at the time the revolution happened, could not be above eighteen millions; at the acceſſion of the queen we had not ſo much; but at the time of concluding the union it was increaſed again very conſiderably, which muſt be attributed in a great meaſure to our Portugal trade: and this, as I have made it manifeſt, we owed entirely to our ſuperior power at ſea.

As to our trade with the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, by the canal of Cadiz, it was certainly very much interrupted by the war at the beginning; but afterwards it was in a good meaſure reſtored, as well by our direct correſpondence with Spain, after the reduction of ſeveral provinces under the power of K. Charles III. as through Portugal, by which a very great, though contraband trade, was carried on. We were at the ſame time very great gainers by our commerce with the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies, as I am ſatisfied from ſeveral French authors, who complain that their colonies ſuffered much leſs from our naval force than they did from the loſs of this trade; which is ſtrongly confirmed by the complaints of the Jamaica merchants againſt commodore Ker, who was very negligent in protecting their ſloop trade, by which they were great ſufferers. The reaſon they aſſign alſo for his negligence, is yet a ſtronger proof; for they alledge, that he would not grant them convoys, without ſharing in their profits; and if theſe had not been very conſiderable, they could never have tempted an officer of his rank to run ſuch a riſk. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the complaints of the other colonies, which, however juſt in themſelves, yet if they, as evident it is they did, grew richer, more populous, and carried their trade farther than in former times, then it is ſurely as evident, that the nation in general gained conſiderably in this branch; to which I may add, that the act for giving a bounty upon hemp imported from our plantations, and other laws, were ſufficient inſtances of the inclination of the

miniſtry to promote commerce and navigation as far as lay in their power.

There is another remark that naturally ariſes upon this ſubject, and that is, the mighty ſpirit which appeared amongſt our merchants, and enabled them to carry on all their ſchemes with ſuch vigour, as kept a conſtant circulation of money through the kingdom, and afforded ſuch mighty encouragement to all manufactures, as have rendered the remembrance of thoſe times grateful in worſe. Our ſucceſſes abroad, our victories by land and ſea, the reſpect paid to us by all the ſtates of Europe, ſerved to heighten and ſuſtain this ſpirit, which is at once the ſource and ſoul of proſperity; and a nation grows low and lifeleſs, as ſoon as it is taken away.

There were indeed ſome accidental advantages which attended the latter part eſpecially of this period, that have not been always viſible in preceding or ſucceeding times. Amongſt theſe I reckon, in the firſt place, an unfeigned loyalty; for it was the felicity of this princeſs, that her perſon was dear to all her ſubjects, nay, even to thoſe who queſtioned her title; and this produced another advantage, which was a kind of coalition of parties, of which I rather chuſe to ſay ſomething at the end of this chapter, becauſe, after the union, parties broke looſe again, and threw us, as they will always do, into the utmoſt confuſion. At the beginning of the war, the Tories were as heartily for it as the Whigs; and if they grew weary of it by degrees, it muſt be acknowledged, that they might be tempted thereto in ſome reſpects by the ill uſage they met with.

While the duke of Marlborough was eſteemed a Tory, his ſervices were often extenuated; and though the parliament gave him thanks, there was a party that denied him merit. When he and the treaſurer went over to the Whigs, the ſcale turned ſo ſtrongly in their favour, that none could be employed who were not of this denomination; and thus Sir George Rooke was laid aſide, immediately after he had gained a victory, honourable in every reſpect, but moſt honourable in this, that it was wholly owing to the prudence and conduct of the admiral. Before the Whigs gained this aſcendency, and both parties were imbarked in the cauſe of their country, their unanimity produced thoſe ſupplies, which enabled our armies and fleets to act

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as they did; and taught the moſt haughty and faithleſs of all powers, that bounds might be ſet to its force, though not to its ambition. The laſt advantage of which I ſhall ſpeak, was the public ſpirit of parliaments in the queen's reign. If they gave in one ſeſſions, they inquired in the next; and it is impoſſible to mention any remarkable expedition within the firſt ſix years, which was not examined and cleared up by ſuch inquiries; ſo that the people ſaw and knew what they were doing, which encouraged them to pay chearfully, at the ſame time that it put them upon endeavouring to acquire by their induſtry what might maintain them happily, notwithſtanding theſe large, but neceſſary expences.

It is certainly matter of great ſatisfaction to me, and muſt be ſo to every man who wiſhes well to his country, that after running through a ſeries of ſuch events, ſetting out at firſt with the ſight of ſo great a naval power as the French king had aſſembled, while we ſtruggled under many difficulties; and when we got out of that troubleſome war, found ourſelves loaded with a debt too heavy to be ſhaken off in a ſhort interval of peace; it muſt, I ſay, be a great ſatisfaction to be able, at the cloſe of this chapter, to aſſert, that we had overcome all theſe difficulties; and, inſtead of ſeeing the navy of France riding on our coaſts, ſent every year a powerful fleet to inſult theirs, ſuperior to them, not only in the ocean, but in the Mediterranean, forcing them, as it were, intirely out of the ſea; and this, not by the thunder of our cannon, but by the diſtant proſpect of our flag; as, at the raiſing the ſiege of Barcelona, when the ſon of the French king, the famous count Thouloufe, high-admiral of France, fled from Sir John Leake, and took ſhelter in the harbour of Toulon.

By this, we not only ſecured our trade in the Levant, and ſtrengthened our intereſt with all the Italian princes, but ſtruck the ſtates of Barbary with terror, and even awed the Grand Signior himſelf ſo far, as to prevent his liſtening to any propoſitions from France. Such were the fruits of the increaſe of our naval power, and of the manner in which it was employed; and though ſome, through miſconception of the advantages flowing from this diſpoſition in thoſe princes and ſtates; and ſome again, from a perverſe humour, perhaps, of objecting againſt

againſt whatever carried us into a great expence, inveighed againſt ſending ſuch mighty fleets into thoſe ſeas; yet nothing can be plainer, than that while we continued this war, ſuch fleets were neceſſary; that they at once protected our allies, and attached them to our intereſt; and, which is of greater importance than all the reſt, that they eſtabliſhed our reputation for maritime force ſo effectually, that we feel even at this day the happy effects of that fame which we then acquired. Of what conſequence, therefore, could the expences of theſe fleets, however large, be to a nation like this? eſpecially if we conſider, that the greateſt part of it only ſhifted hands; ſince it is the peculiar property of naval expences, that, though they riſe ever ſo high, they can hardly ever impoveriſh, becauſe they are raiſed on one part of the ſociety, and laid out with the other, and, by a natural circulation, muſt certainly very ſoon return into the firſt hands.

It is a further ſatisfaction, that we can ſafely ſay our trade flouriſhed through the courſe of the war, and our merchants were ſo loyal to the queen, and ſo well affected to her government, that upon every occaſion they were ready to credit the adminiſtration with the beſt part of that immenſe wealth that had been raiſed under their protection. Theſe were glorious times indeed, if riches, victory, and honour, can render a nation glorious; and for all theſe mighty advantages, we ſtood indebted to the maternal affection of the queen; the wiſdom and probity of her miniſters; the heroic courage and generous public-ſpirit of the officers ſhe employed by land and ſea; and, above all, to the ſincere union of parties amongſt us, the contempt of private advantages, and a ſteady concern for the ſafety, reputation, and future proſperity of this nation.

LIVES

LIVES OF THE ADMIRALS:

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. XXI.

The Naval Hiſtory of GREAT BRITAIN, from the Union of the two kingdoms, to the end of the reign of her majeſty queen Anne.

AS I propoſe to make the UNION of the two kingdoms the great event from whence, in this chapter, I ſhall deduce our naval hiſtory to the preſent times; and as this event in itſelf has had a great influence on the naval power and commerce of this nation, I think I cannot act with greater propriety, than to open the chapter with an impartial account of that important tranſaction[a]. This I take to be the more

[a] There were ſeveral curious and valuable treatiſes publiſhed on this important ſubject, amongſt others, The rights and intereſts of the two Britiſh monarchies inquired into, and cleared. War between the two Britiſh monarchies conſidered. Eſſay upon the union: all theſe in quarto. The intereſts of the two kingdoms, and the conſequences of their union ſtated. The union of Great Britain in civil and religious concerns, by Simon Mackenzie, of Allangrange, in 8vo, and many others, beſides ſingle papers, &c.

neceſſary,

neceſſary, becauſe almoſt all hiſtorians, and writers of memoirs, have given too much way to their paſſions and prejudices, in what they ſay about it; and this to ſo great a degree, that they not only contradict and abuſe each other, but alſo darken things in ſuch a manner, that even the moſt intelligent reader can hardly diſcern the truth[b]. As I am not conſcious of feeling in myſelf ſo much as a ſpark of party heat; as I have ſome relation to, and at the ſame time an equal affection for both countries, without the leaſt bias in favour of either, I ſhall endeavour to give a clear, ſuccinct, and fair account of this whole buſineſs; in order to which, I ſhall begin with the motives which induced the queen's miniſtry to puſh this matter ſo earneſtly at that time: I ſhall next conſider, the advantages propoſed to each nation from this UNION, which will conſequently oblige me to ſay ſomewhat of the perſons who oppoſed, and the grounds of their oppoſition to it; after which, I ſhall give a very ſhort detail of the riſe, progreſs, concluſion, and conſequences of it.

It had been very apparent almoſt to every Engliſh miniſtry, from the time the two kingdoms had been united under one monarch, that ſomething was wanting to complete that ſtrength and harmony, which every reaſonable man looked for from this conjunction; neither was it long, before ſome able ſtateſmen perceived what it was that muſt produce this effect; and a national union accordingly was propoſed in the reign of king James I.[c]

It was defeated then, as great and good deſigns are generally defeated, through want of public ſpirit. The king was partial to his countrymen, and the Engliſh were partial to their country. The former thought it his duty to make all his old dependents rich, in a manner not over juſtifiable; and the laſt deſpiſed the poverty of that nation to ſuch a degree, that they

[b] Biſhop Burnet's hiſtory of his own times. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts. Memoirs of the affairs of Scotland, by George Lockhart, Eſq; of Carnwath. [c] See Sir Francis Bacon's weighty ſpeech upon this ſubject. See alſo what is thrown out by Francis Oſborne, in different parts of his works, upon this topic, more eſpecially in his traditional memoirs of king James I.

forgot

forgot how far their own power and riches might ſuffer from ſuch treatment.

Under king Charles I. his old hereditary ſubjects departed from their duty to him, and, a potent faction in England inclining the ſame way, the great weight of theſe northern neighbours was ſoon made but too evident, by the murder of the king, and the deſtruction of the conſtitutions of both kingdoms. After the reſtoration, the politics of Charles II. took ſuch a turn, as neceſſarily occaſioned all thoughts of a cloſer union between the two crowns to be laid aſide, it having been a maxim, during his reign, to make uſe of one nation to awe the other. The unfortunate king James II. ſat too ſhort a time on the throne, and felt too many cares, from the time he aſcended it, to form any projects of this nature, though otherwiſe much might have been expected from him; for he was certainly a better judge himſelf, of the intereſt of both kingdoms, than any prince of his line. Some thoughts there were of an union in the beginning of king William's time; but the deſign was dropped from the belief, or rather the apprehenſion, of its being impracticable[d].

The lord high-treaſurer Godolphin, one of the ableſt and moſt prudent miniſters we ever had, ſaw very ſoon the expediency of ſuch a thorough national union, for the public ſervice, and the neceſſity of it, for his own ſafety. He ſaw that, without this, the Hanover ſucceſſion could never take place, the war with France be effectually carried on, or the new ſyſtem that he was then introducing, ever be eſtabliſhed on a firm baſis. As he was far from affecting the exerciſe of a boundleſs arbitrary power, ſo, to eſtabliſh his influence in Scotland, he had, through the advice of ſome of the ſtateſmen of that coun-

[d] In the text I have given a ſuccinct account of the ſeveral deſigns formed for uniting the two kingdoms. I am not ignorant, that there were other attempts of that nature; ſuch as in the reign of king Charles II. in the beginning of that of king William; as alſo in the beginning of the queen's reign: but theſe were mere arts of ſtate policy, and not founded upon any ſettled deſign of really bringing it about; and therefore, as the nature of this work would not allow me to enter into a ſtrict chronological deduction of this affair, I thought the beſt thing I could do, was to give the reader, as far as in my power lay, a true ſtate of the matter, in the ſhorteſt compaſs poſſible.

try, given way to the paſſing ſome acts of parliament there; which enabled the people to ſtand upon even ground with the Engliſh, and put it in their power, when they were at any time croſſed, to carry things very high, and conſequently to talk much higher[e].

In order to rid himſelf of theſe difficulties, the treaſurer, in conjunction with lord Somers, formed the ſcheme of the union, which they reſolved ſhould not be a temporary expedient, but ſuch an act as might remove all their doubts and fears effectually, and for ever. When they had ſettled this project to their own ſatisfaction, they took the advice of ſome great men of the other kingdom, particularly the earl of Stair, a man of vaſt abilities, and, in all the ſenſes of the word, a perfect politician. He it was who gave them the lights they wanted; he ſhewed them how, and by what means, his countrymen might be managed; he pointed out ſuch as would oppoſe it heartily, and ſuch as would oppoſe it only till they found their account in deſiſting from that oppoſition. In ſhort, he gave both the firſt plan of, and the laſt form to this great work, and dictated the means which made it both plauſible and practicable[f].

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[e] Whatever other writers may aſſert, this was undoubtedly the fact. The Engliſh parliament had recommended the ſucceſſion, I mean the procuring the Hanover ſucceſſion to be ſettled in Scotland, very earneſtly. The parliament of Scotland, inclined to make uſe of this opportunity, to get ſome favourable conditions ſtipulated for their trade; and as quiet was at this time very neceſſary, and in the nature of the thing, perhaps, the deſires of the parliament of Scotland not altogether unreaſonable, they were allowed to paſs an act, by which the prerogative of the crown was limited, and peace and war were left, not only to the approbation, but to the conſent of parliament. This, with another act impowering the Scots to arm themſelves, alarmed the Engliſh houſe of commons to ſuch a degree, as to addreſs the queen, to order the militia of the four northern counties to be diſciplined, and to take ſome other ſteps, which had a direct tendency to plunge the two nations in a war. The treaſurer, therefore, ſaw himſelf under the neceſſity of bringing about an union, to avoid theſe mighty inconveniencies, and to enable him to carry on his great ſcheme, of ruining the power of France; which muſt certainly have miſcarried, if theſe domeſtic quarrels had come to extremities.

[f] The notion of the earl of Stair, that if a conſiderable number of the Jacobites could be brought to approve this meaſure as commiſſioners, they would be forced to ſecond it in parliament, was extremely well founded, as the event proved.

In regard to the advantages reſulting from this meaſure to both kingdoms, they were, in the judgment of the miniſtry, very great; on the ſide of England eſpecially, and of Scotland apparently. With regard to the former, the benefits derived from it were real and ſubſtantial, but ſome of them were ſuch as it was not thought proper to avow. For example, the government in England could never be ſafe, whilſt Scotland remained an independent kingdom, at liberty to make laws, ſet up trading companies, or raiſe forces whenever ſhe thought fit; nor was the ſucceſſion ſafe, while the parliament of Scotland had an indubitable right to depart from that meaſure, and a ſtrong party was actually formed in that country for departing from it.

An entire, abſolute, and uniform dominion over Scotland, was neceſſary to the ſafety, power, and commerce of England; and this dominion could be attained no other way. The danger of having princes drawn to purſue different meaſures in the different kingdoms, or to govern in England upon the maxims of northern miniſters, the miſchiefs of which had been ſeverely felt, and thoroughly underſtood, from the power of the duke of Lauderdale with king Charles II. which laſted during life, and which, without diſputing how far it was right or wrong, enabled the king to maintain his power in both countries, and that too in a higher degree than was very acceptable to a great part of his ſubjects, in either, was yet recent.

The other motives that were commonly inſiſted upon, were theſe, *viz.* The uniting the intereſts of both kingdoms, which had often thwarted each other, and thereby giving the united kingdoms, or, which was the ſame thing, England, much greater force, and conſequently much greater weight abroad; the conveniency of bringing both nations under one form of

proved. For, whatever ways and means were made uſe of, to engage the high Tories in this commiſſion, to ſign the articles of the treaty, which (except Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath) they all did; yet this is certain, that they adhered to their ſentiments in parliament, and puſhed the affair with effect; ſo that, if we conſider that it brought about a total change of the conſtitution, inſtead of being amazed at the difficulties it met with, we ſhall be ſurprized, that they were ſo eaſily got over; eſpecially if we reflect on the temper of the nation in general, and the great repugnance it muſt have had to ſome particular points in this treaty.

government, the ſeat of which muſt always remain fixed in England, and conſequently all advantages accruing to Scotland for the future, muſt be drawn to, and centre there; the extirpating the French and Jacobite intereſt, where it was evidently ſtrongeſt, introducing the Hanover ſucceſſion, ſecuring the Proteſtant intereſt, giving one turn of mind to all the people in the iſland, putting them under the ſame rulers, the ſame taxes, and the ſame prohibitions, ſo as to have but one political head, with a due ſubordination of members; theſe were conſiderations ſo high in themſelves, and of ſuch certainty in their conſequences, that the bulk of the Engliſh nobility and gentry were no ſooner acquainted with them, than they were convinced of their utility, and that it was not very eaſy to ſet the purchaſe at too high a rate; eſpecially, when they conſidered the miſchiefs to which they had been expoſed in former times from the want of ſuch an union. The miniſtry had a juſt foreſight of this, and gave themſelves, therefore, very little trouble about preparing their friends in England for the reception and execution of their ſcheme, becauſe they knew, that whenever it was propoſed and explained, it would make its own way; and their good ſenſe, and right judgment in this management, were fully juſtified by the event.

The advantages propoſed to Scotland, were the freeing that kingdom from all the grievances of which they had ſo long, and ſo juſtly complained; ſuch as, that their intereſt always gave way to that of England; that their concerns abroad were ſacrificed, inſtead of being protected; that, with equal prejudice to them, they were conſidered ſometimes as ſubjects, but moſtly as foreigners; that they were diſcouraged in carrying on their trade and manufactures; and, in fine, continually upbraided with their poverty, while it was made an invariable maxim of Engliſh policy, to keep them poor. By this union, it was propoſed to make them one nation with the Engliſh, and to admit them to a full participation of their liberties, privileges, and commerce; as alſo to a ſhare in the government and legiſlature, and a perpetual conjunction of intereſts at home and abroad; ſo that henceforward the government of the united kingdom would be equally in the hands of perſons of both countries,

which

which would prevent partiality on the one ſide, and take away many hardſhips that had hitherto been felt on the other.

In ſhort, it was inſinuated, that, for the ſake of peace and general ſecurity, the Engliſh were content to grant their neighbours, not only as good conditions as they could well expect, but even better than they could reaſonably deſire; and that, to obtain the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of Scotland, the people of England were deſirous to bury in oblivion all their former prejudices, and to contribute, as far as lay in their power, to ſupport and enrich the inhabitants of the northern part of the iſland, and to treat them ſo favourably in point of taxes, as that they ſhould have many and ſtrong reaſons to be very well pleaſed with the exchange of nominal prerogatives, for real and weighty advantages.

Such as oppoſed the union in Scotland, were either the friends of the Stuart family, or ſuch as were, from neglect or diſappointment, diſcontented under that adminiſtration. The former were in earneſt concerned for the dignity and independency of the crown of Scotland, the honour of the nobility, and the welfare of the people, conſidered by them as a nation having intereſts ſeparate from, and in ſome caſes oppoſite to, thoſe of the Engliſh. Theſe men, upon their principles, heartily diſliked the union, and had reaſon to diſlike it[g]. But as for

[g] Biſhop Burnet's reflections upon this ſubject, which he underſtood as well as any man, deſerve the reader's notice and attention. "The treaty," ſays he, "being laid before the parliament in Scotland, met with great oppoſition there. "It was viſible, that the nobility of that kingdom ſuffered a great diminution "by it; for, though it was agreed, that they ſhould enjoy all the other pri- "vileges of the peers of England, yet the greateſt of them all, which was "the voting in the houſe of lords, was reſtrained to ſixteen, to be elected by "the reſt, at every new parliament; yet there was a greater majority of the "nobility that concurred in voting for the union, than in the other ſtates of "that kingdom. The commiſſioners for the ſhires and boroughs were almoſt "equally divided, though it was evident, they were to be the chief gainers "by it; among theſe, the union was agreed to, by a very ſmall majority: it "was the nobility that in every vote turned the ſcale for the union. They "were ſeverely reflected on by thoſe who oppoſed it; it was ſaid, many of "them were bought off to ſell their country, and their birthright. All thoſe "who adhered inflexibly to the Jacobite intereſt, oppoſed every ſtep that was "made, with great vehemence; for they ſaw, that the union ſtruck at the "root of all their views and deſigns for a new revolution; yet theſe could not "have raiſed or maintained ſo great an oppoſition as was now made, if the Preſ-

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for the malecontents, they ſet up pretences of an odd, and extraordinary nature, and while they pretended zeal for the government, alledged, that Scotland would be prejudiced by the union; which, according to their principles, it was impoſſible to prove.

There was a third party in Scotland, which muſt be allowed by men of all principles, to have acted with great candour and uprightneſs. Theſe were ſtyled the Squadrone, and, if I might be allowed to tranſlate the word into political Engliſh, I ſhould call them Old Whigs. They had been very inſtrumental in the revolution, and were cordial friends to the government; but, from motives of ſtate which I ſhall not take upon me to explain, had been turned out of their places, and ill enough treated during this reign. Theſe men, however, remained firm to their principles, which led them to approve and promote the union; and they did it with great zeal. Their arguments were ſtrong and concluſive, and made the greater impreſſion, becauſe they were diſintereſted. There was, as is uſual in caſes of the like nature, a good deal of corruption practiſed; but all this would never have carried the point, if it had not been abetted by the induſtry and zeal of theſe worthy men. The earl of Stair, who was not of their number, knew this, and therefore adviſed taking them, and the country party, into the commiſſion for ſettling that important treaty; but his advice was followed by the miniſters only in the latter part, which, though it amazed the world at that time, had however the effect he expected from it, and was one great cauſe that the affair ſucceeded ſo well as it did.

All things being thus ſettled, the queen, by her commiſſion, dated at Kenſington, the 27th of February, 1706, in virtue of powers granted to her by an act of parliament, paſſed in Scot-

" byterians had not been poſſeſſed with a jealouſy, that the conſequence of " this union would be the change of church-government among them, and that " they would be ſwallowed up by the church of England. This took ſuch root " in many, that no aſſurances that were offered could remove their fears. It " was infuſed into them, chiefly by the old ducheſs of Hamilton, who had " great credit with them. And it was ſuggeſted, that ſhe and her ſon had par- " ticular views, as hoping, that if Scotland ſhould continue a ſeparate kingdom, " the crown might come into their family, they being the next in blood after " king James's poſterity."

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land, appointed thirty commiſſioners on the part of Scotland, and on the 10th of April following, her majeſty appointed as many Engliſh commiſſioners [h]. This commiſſion was opened at the Cockpit, on the 16th of April, 1706, William Cowper, Eſq; then lord-keeper, delivering the ſenſe of the Engliſh commiſſioners, and the earl of Seafield, lord high-chancellor of Scotland, acted in like manner on the part of their commiſſioners. On the firſt of May, the queen paid them a viſit, and inquired into the progreſs they had made [i].

About a month after, ſhe did the ſame; and theſe inſtances of royal care had ſuch an effect, that on the 22d of July, the commiſſioners ſigned and ſealed the articles, which were preſented to the queen the next day [k]. By theſe articles, which were in number twenty-five, the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, were united, under the title of GREAT BRITAIN; the Proteſtant ſucceſſion ſettled; one parliament eſtabliſhed; the common enjoyment of privileges and commerce ſtipulated; ſhips built in Scotland, admitted under the act of navigation; an equal diſtribution of cuſtoms and exciſes fixed; the duties upon ſalt regulated; the land-tax adjuſted in the following proportion, *viz.* that when England paid 1,997,736 l. 8 s. 4$\frac{1}{2}$ d. Scotland ſhould pay 48,000 l. and ſo in proportion; and, as an equivalent for Scotland's being charged with the debts of England, there was granted to the former by the latter, the ſum of 398,085 l. 10 s. to be applied to the diſcharge of the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland, the capital ſtock of the African and India company, with intereſt at 5 *per cent.* and for the improvement of manufactures and trade in that part of the iſland. It was alſo provided, that the monies and weights

[h] Burnet's hiſt. of his own times, vol. ii. p. 446. Oldmixon's hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 375. See the journal of the proceedings of the noble and honourable perſons who acted for both nations in the treaty of union, which began on the 16th of April, 1706, and was concluded on the 22d of July following, with the articles then agreed on in London, 1706. The queen's commiſſions to the lords commiſſioners of both kingdoms are prefixed thereto. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 232. [i] Journal of the proceedings, *&c.* p. 22. The complete hiſt. of Europe, for 1706, p. 131. [k] Burnet's hiſt. of his own times, vol. ii. p. 457. Oldmixon's hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 376. Journal of the proceedings, *&c.* p. 54, 55. The complete hiſt. of Europe, for 1706, p. 246. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4247.

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of Scotland ſhould be the ſame with thoſe of England; the Scots courts of juſtice were preſerved, together with all hereditary offices, and the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs; the repreſentative of Scotland was fixed at ſixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, which though ſmall in proportion to the Engliſh peers and commoners, yet was high in compariſon of the ſhare borne by Scotland in the taxes; the rights and privileges of the reſt of the peers were fully ſecured; ſo that, except ſitting in the houſe, they were to enjoy all the privileges of the peerage; and all the laws of either kingdom, inconſiſtent with the union, were declared null and void [l].

In the next ſeſſion of parliament in Scotland, the union was carried, though not without great debates, and ſome proteſts. In England it went eaſier. In the houſe of commons, there was little or no oppoſition; there would have been a very warm one in the houſe of lords, but it was prevented by the wiſdom of Sir Simon Harcourt, after viſcount Harcourt, and lord-chancellor, who drew the act ſo, that it would admit of no debate, but upon the general queſtion, whether it ſhould, or ſhould not paſs [m].

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[l] The advantages on the ſide of Scotland were ſuch, as enabled thoſe who ſupported the union, to ſay many ſtrong things in its favour; for whereas, when England paid two millions by way of land-tax, Scotland was to pay but forty-eight thouſand pounds, yet, in return for bearing a fortieth part of the expence, they had the eleventh part of the legiſlature given them; and the event has ſhewn, that the power of their members in a Britiſh parliament, is not ſo inconſiderable as the enemies of that treaty repreſented it to the parliament. There were, beſides, ſome other ſtrong motives which induced the better ſort of the inhabitants of Scotland to wiſh well to the union. A great part of the gentry of that kingdom, who had been often in England, and obſerved the protection that all men had from a houſe of commons, and the ſecurity that it procured againſt partial judges and a violent miniſtry, entered into the deſign with great zeal. The opening a free trade, not only with England, but with the plantations, and the protection of the fleet of England, drew in thoſe who underſtood thoſe matters, and ſaw there was no other way to make the nation rich and conſiderable. Thoſe alſo who had engaged deeply in the deſign of Darien, and were great loſers by it, ſaw now an honourable way to be reimburſed; which made them wiſh well to the union, and promote it.

[m] We have this fact from biſhop Burnet, who lays it down in a very clear and ſatisfactory manner. "When all was agreed to, (ſays he), in both houſes, "a bill was ordered to be brought in, to enact it, which was prepared by Har- "court; with ſo particular a contrivance, that it cut off all debates. The "preamble

It was carried in the houſe of commons by a majority of 274, againſt 160, and was carried up to the houſe of lords on the firſt of March, by the late earl of Wilmington, then Spencer Compton, Eſq; paſſed in that houſe by a majority of 55, to 29, and on the ſixth of March the queen came, and gave her royal aſſent; upon which occaſion her majeſty delivered herſelf thus: "I conſider this union as a matter of the greateſt importance, "to the wealth, ſtrength, and ſafety of the whole iſland; "and at the ſame time as a work of ſo much difficulty and "nicety in its own nature, that, till now, all attempts which "have been made towards it, in the courſe of above one hun-"dred years, have proved ineffectual; and therefore, I make "no doubt, but it will be remembered and ſpoke of hereafter, "to the honour of thoſe who have been inſtrumental in bring-"ing it to ſuch a happy concluſion. I deſire, and expect from "all my ſubjects, of both nations, that from henceforth they "act with all poſſible reſpect and kindneſs to one another, "that ſo it may appear to all the world, they have hearts diſ-"poſed to become one people; this will be a great pleaſure to "me, and will make us all quickly ſenſible of the good effects "of this union. And I cannot but look upon it as a particu-"lar happineſs, that in my reign, ſo full a proviſion is made "for the peace and quiet of my people, and for the ſecu-

"preamble was a recital of the articles, as they were paſſed in Scotland, toge-"ther with the acts made in both parliaments, for the ſecurity of their ſeveral "churches; and, in concluſion, there came one enacting clauſe, ratifying all. "This put thoſe upon great difficulties, who had reſolved to object to ſeveral "articles, and to inſiſt on demanding ſome alterations in them; for they "could not come to any debate about them; they could not object to the re-"cital, it being but bare matter of fact; and they had not ſtrength enough to "oppoſe the general enacting clauſe, nor was it eaſy to come at particulars, "and to offer proviſos relating to them. The matter was carried on with ſuch "zeal, that it paſſed through the houſe of commons, before thoſe, who in-"tended to oppoſe it, had recovered themſelves out of the ſurprize under "which the form it was drawn in had put them. It did not ſtick long in the "houſe of lords, for all the articles had been copiouſly debated there for ſe-"veral days before the bill was ſent up to them; and thus this great deſign, "ſo long wiſhed and laboured for in vain, was begun, and happily ended, "within the compaſs of nine months. The union was to commence on the "firſt of May, and till that time the two kingdoms were ſtill diſtinct, and their "two parliaments continued ſtill to ſit."

" rity of our religion, by ſo firm an eſtabliſhment of the Pro-
" teſtant ſucceſſion throughout Great Britain. Gentlemen of
" the houſe of commons; I take this occaſion to remind you
" of making effectual proviſion for the payment of the equi-
" valent to Scotland, within the time appointed by this act,
" and I am perſuaded you will ſhew as much readineſs in this
" particular, as you have done in all the parts of this great
" work."

It is certain, that the paſſing the union was a mortal blow to the French; and it is no leſs certain, that the French did not exert themſelves, as they might have done, to prevent it. Yet I am far from thinking with biſhop Burnet [n], (though I eſteem his account of the union very much), that this proceeded from an abſolute inability, and that they did not, according to their common practice, try the influence of their gold, becauſe they had it not; I ſay, I do not think this, becauſe I apprehend I ſhall be able to ſhew the contrary. The true reaſon, then, in my judgment, why the French were ſo cool in this affair, was this; they thought that, though the union would deſtroy their intereſt in Scotland intirely, if it could be eſtabliſhed, yet, that the ſuffering that law to paſs, was the likelieſt way for them to defeat it: for they depended upon a back game; and, looking upon it as a thing certain, that this would throw Scotland into the utmoſt confuſion, they projected an invaſion, not with any ſincere intention of fixing the ſon of king James upon the throne of Scotland, but of making uſe of him to excite a civil war in that kingdom, which, they apprehended, would at leaſt force England to conſent to the diſſolution of the union, in order to make the people of Scotland eaſy.

If this had not been their ſcheme, why did they afterwards attempt the invaſion? If want of money had been the only reaſon for their not exerting their influence, how came they by the mighty ſums of ready money, which that fruitleſs and fooliſh invaſion coſt them? I have now done with this affair of the union, and ſhall only add my opinion of it freely, which is, that both nations have been great gainers by it, and that neither have the leaſt cauſe to complain of it. If, on the one

[n] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 462.

hand,

hand, the inhabitants of North Britain have not profited as much by it as they expected, it is their own fault; for, without induſtry and application to TRADE, it is impoſſible any nation ſhould be great gainers by it; and, on the other, if the Engliſh repine at ſeeing ſo many of that nation in civil, military, and naval employments, they are blind to their own intereſts; for it is plain, that by acting in this manner, theſe men waſte all their days in the ſervice of England; whereas, if they applied themſelves to commerce and manufactures, they might live happily in their own, and enjoy there the greateſt freedom and independency.

The war had now continued long enough to make both ſides very weary of it, and yet the French were not ſufficiently humbled, to think of peace on the terms preſcribed to them. On the contrary, they found means this campaign, to bring more troops into the field, than ſince the war began; which obliged the allies to make as formidable augmentations to oppoſe them. In ſhort, as the maritime powers bore the largeſt ſhare in the expence, and reaped the leaſt immediate benefit from the continuance of the war, it was reſolved to make the utmoſt efforts this year to put an end to it. With this view, the duke of Marlborough, and the Engliſh miniſtry, concerted ſeveral ſchemes for diſtreſſing the enemy on all ſides, particularly in Spain, in Italy, and even in their own country; and this, eſpecially, by the help of the great maritime power we then had in the Mediterranean[o]. It would lead us into frequent and unneceſſary repetitions, if we ſhould enter here into a copious detail of theſe projects, and therefore, to avoid ſuch inconveniencies, we will ſpeak of each in its turn, and, as near as may be, in the order of time in which they were undertaken.

[o] It is very ſurpriſing, that France, after ſuch a ſeries of misfortunes, ſhould be able to make the figure that ſhe did this year. The truth, however, ſeems to be, that the abſolute power of her government, gave her great advantages over the allies. The emperor's conſenting to the evacuation of Italy, without ſo much as conſulting either Great Britain or Holland, was the great ſource of king Philip's ſucceſs in Spain; and whoever conſiders attentively the French ſchemes for carrying on this campaign, will eaſily diſcern, that they muſt have met with the like ſucceſs every where elſe, if it had not been for our expedition againſt Toulon. Quincy, hiſtoire militaire, tome v. p. 271. Memoires de la Torres, tome v. p. 69. Limiers, tome iii. p. 230.

In reſpect to the war with Spain, an opinion began about this time to prevail in England, that it was neglected, chiefly becauſe the miniſtry found it impracticable to puſh this, and the war in Flanders at the ſame time. The duke of Marlborough knowing how injurious this report was to his reputation, preſſed the proſecution of the war in Spain this year, with the utmoſt ſpirit; the rather, becauſe a great reinforcement of Engliſh and Dutch troops had been lately ſent thither: and it was very well known, that Sir Cloudeſley Shovel would neglect nothing that might contribute to the advancement of the ſervice. The army under the command of the earl of Galway, was very early in the field, and promiſed great things; but whether his abilities were unequal to ſuch a command, as ſome have ſuggeſted; or, as others alledge, king Charles ruined his own affairs, by marching back with a great body of troops into Catalonia; ſo it was, that about the middle of the month of April, that nobleman found himſelf under the dreadful neceſſity (at leaſt as he imagined) of either ſtarving, or fighting a ſuperior army [p].

Accordingly, on the 14th of April, his lordſhip, with about ſixteen thouſand men, ventured to give battle to the duke of Berwick, who had twenty-four thouſand, and of theſe near eight thouſand horſe and dragoons, that were very fine troops. The Engliſh and Dutch were at firſt victorious, and broke through the enemy twice; but the Portugueſe, it is ſaid, behaved very ill, or rather did not behave at all, which gave the enemy an opportunity of flanking the Engliſh and Dutch, of whom about ten thouſand were killed or taken priſoners. The earl of Galway retired with the broken remains of his army, which, however, nothing could have ſaved, but the timely appearance of our fleet [q]. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel knowing the diſtreſs our army was in, through the want of almoſt every thing neceſſary, ſent Sir George Byng, with a ſtrong ſquadron, to the coaſt of Spain for their relief. Sir George ſailed on the

[p] This is a matter much too long for us to diſcuſs, and therefore we mention in it terms not leaning to one ſide or the other.

[q] See the complete hiſt. of Europe, for 1707. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 475. Oldmixon's hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 390. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 292. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4337.

thirtieth

thirtieth of March, and coming off Cape St. Vincent, on the fifteenth of April, he received there the news of our defeat[r].

He ſoon after received a meſſage from lord Galway, acquainting him with the diſtreſs he was in, and deſiring, that whatever he brought for the uſe of the army, might be carried to Tortoſa, in Catalonia, to which place his lordſhip deſigned to retreat, and that, if poſſible, he would ſave the ſick and wounded men at Denia, Gandia, and Valencia, where it was intended the bridges of boats, baggage, and all things that could be got together, ſhould be put on board. Accordingly, he took care of the ſick and wounded men, and ſent them to Tortoſa, where the lord Galway propoſed to make a ſtand with the poor remains of the army. This ſervice employed Sir George Byng almoſt the whole month of April, and then he was in daily expectation of being joined by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, from Liſbon, either on that part of the coaſt of Spain, or at Barcelona, whither he was deſigned[s]. Thus all the great things that were hoped for, from the augmentation of our forces in Spain, were abſolutely diſappointed; and this, chiefly, through the unaccountable miſmanagement of that prince, for whoſe ſervice all theſe expenſive and hazardous expeditions were undertaken. Let us now turn our eyes to Italy, where we ſhall find a ſcene much of the ſame nature.

The firſt deſign that was formed upon Toulon, by the duke of Savoy, is very poſitively ſaid to have been concerted with the famous earl of Peterborough; but his royal highneſs, finding that nobleman had no longer any great credit at court, he changed the ſcheme entirely, and concerted by his miniſters at London a new one, with the duke of Marlborough[t]. This, to ſay the truth,

[r] Reflections militaires et politiques de marquis de St. Cruz, tome xi. p. 163, 164. [s] Burchet's naval hiſtory, b. v. chap. xxiv. Complete hiſt. of Europe, for 1707. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4334.

[t] This is a very dark and perplexed affair; and, for any thing I can perceive, moſt of our hiſtorians are at a loſs about it. The truth of the matter, to me, ſeems to be this. The duke of Savoy, and prince Eugene, firſt propoſed attacking Toulon, to the earl of Peterborough, who thereupon wrote to his court about it. In the mean time, the duke of Marlborough had propoſed the ſame thing to count Maſſey abroad, and afterwards concerted the whole ſcheme

truth, was the beſt deſign laid during the war, if we except the march into Germany, which had this advantage over it, that it was not only laid, but executed by the duke of Marlborough. The taking Toulon, if it could have been effected, would have deſtroyed for ever the maritime power of France; rendered her utterly incapable of carrying on any commerce with Spaniſh America, and have diſtreſſed her to ſuch a degree at home, as muſt have produced an immediate peace, even upon worſe terms than had been hitherto preſcribed to her. All things were ſoon ſettled between us and the duke of Savoy; he could not undertake ſuch an expedition without large ſupplies of money, and theſe we both promiſed and paid him: yet, even this would not have engaged him in ſo dangerous an attempt, if we had not given him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that our fleet ſhould conſtantly attend him; which we likewiſe very punctually fulfilled [u].

The firſt ill omen that appeared, was, the reſolution taken by the emperor, at this juncture, when his forces in Italy ſhould have been employed in promoting our deſign, to make with them the conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples. In vain our miniſters repreſented to his imperial majeſty the mighty things we had done for him and his family; the great importance of the preſent undertaking to the common cauſe, and the certainty of his acquiring Naples without reſiſtance after this expedition was over. In vain were the like applications from the Dutch; and in vain the earl of Mancheſter's journey, and the queen's letter to diſſuade him from that ill-timed attempt, though written in the ſtrongeſt terms, and all with her own hand. He alledged, that ſuch aſſurances had been given to his friends in Naples, that ſomething ſhould be immediately done for their ſervice, that it was impoſſible for him to deſiſt,

ſcheme with that miniſter, and count Briançon at London. The duke of Savoy, however, did not think fit to acquaint the earl of Peterborough, that his project was laid aſide; and this it was, if I conjecture right, that created all this confuſion.

[u] Complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1707, p. 125. It is from this period we are to date ſome part of the queen's miniſtry growing cold in the proſecution of the war, in which they ſuſpected our allies had each their private intereſts in view, while they all concurred in loading us with expences.

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and therefore, notwithſtanding all theſe applications, count Daun had orders to march with 12,000 men, part of the troops that ſhould have been employed in the expedition againſt Toulon, to invade that kingdom; which he accordingly performed [w].

The duke of Savoy, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, continued, at leaſt in all appearance, firm in his reſolution, and it was reſolved to proſecute this great deſign, with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh fleet. Accordingly, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel having joined Sir George Byng, near Alicant, ſailed for the coaſt of Italy, and on the 5th of June, came to an anchor before Final, with a fleet of forty-three men of war, and fifty-ſeven tranſports [x]. Prince Eugene went thither to confer with the admiral; and ſoon after the fleet ſailed for Nice, where, on the 29th of the ſame month, the admiral had the honour to entertain the duke of Savoy, prince Eugene, moſt of the general officers, together with the Engliſh and Dutch miniſters, on board his own ſhip, the Aſſociation [y].

After dinner, they held a council of war, and therein it was reſolved to force a paſſage over the Var, in which hazardous enterprize the Engliſh admiral promiſed to aſſiſt. On the laſt of June, this daring attempt was undertaken, to the great aſtoniſhment of the French, who believed their works upon that river to be impregnable; and ſo indeed they had proved, to

[w] Biſhop Burnet, vol. ii. p. 476, 478, reflects upon this ſtep taken by the emperor, very ſeverely; and, I think, with great juſtice. But the emperor went yet further; for he ſent ſuch orders to prince Eugene, to avoid, on all occaſions, expoſing his troops that were to be employed in the Toulon expedition, as proved one great cauſe of the miſcarriage of the allies when they came before that city.

[x] Lond. Gaz. N°. 4343. Columna roſtrata, p. 284. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xliii. p. 22.

[y] Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, though he was not one of the politeſt officers we ever had, ſhewed a great deal of prudence and addreſs, in the magnificent entertainment he made upon this occaſion. The duke, when he came on board the Aſſociation, found a guard of halberdiers, in new liveries, at the great cabbin-door. At the upper end of the table was ſet an armed chair, with a crimſon velvet canopy. The table conſiſted of ſixty covers, and every thing was ſo well managed, that his royal highneſs could not forbear ſaying to the admiral at dinner, "If your excellency had paid me a viſit at Turin, I could ſcarce have "treated you ſo well."

any

any forces in the world, except Engliſh ſeamen. The late gallant Sir John, then only captain, Norris, with ſome Britiſh, and one Dutch man of war, ſailed to the mouth of the river, and imbarking ſix hundred ſeamen, and marines, in open boats, entered it, and advanced within muſket-ſhot of the enemy's works, making ſuch a terrible fire upon them, that their cavalry, and many of their foot, aſtoniſhed at an attack they never ſuſpected, began to quit their intrenchments, and could not be prevailed upon by their officers to return [z].

Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, who followed Sir John Norris to the place of action, no ſooner ſaw this confuſion, than he ordered Sir John to land with the ſeamen and marines, in order to flank the enemy. This was performed with ſo much ſpirit, and Sir John and his ſeamen ſcampered over the works, the French thought inacceſſible, ſo ſuddenly, that the enemy, ſtruck with a panic, threw down their arms, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. The duke of Savoy immediately purſued this advantage, and in a ſingle half hour paſſed that river, which, in the judgment of the beſt officers in his army, had, without this aſſiſtance, proved the *ne plus ultra* of his expedition [a].

On the 2d of July, his royal highneſs, and prince Eugene, with the Britiſh envoy, and Sir John Norris, dined again on board the admiral; and after dinner, they entered into a conference, wherein, upon mature deliberation, his royal highneſs was pleaſed to declare, that ſince the queen of Great Britain

z Lond. Gaz. N°. 4351. Complete hiſt. of Europe, for 1707, p. 113, 114. Memoires hiſtoriques et chronologiques.

a It may not be amiſs to cite, on this occaſion, the words of the diſpatch, received from the confederate camp, July 14, N. S. as they are printed in the Lond. Gaz. N°. 4352. "The admiral himſelf followed Sir John Norris to "the place of action, and obſerving the diſorder of the enemy, commanded "him to put to land, and flank them in their intrenchments. His men ad"vanced in ſo undaunted a manner, that the enemy, fearing to be ſurround"ed, marched out of their works, and retired with great precipitation. His "royal highneſs having received from the admiral an account, that we were "in poſſeſſion of the enemy's works, ordered his troops to paſs the river, "which they did with ſo great eagerneſs, that above a hundred men were driven "down by the violence of the ſtream, and ten of them drowned; which was all "the loſs we ſuſtained, in forcing a paſs, where we expected the moſt vigorous "oppoſition."—Thus we ſee this whole affair was effected by Engliſh ſailors.

had

had earneſtly recommended to him the marching directly to Toulon, without loſing time in the ſiege of any place, of leſs importance, he was reſolved to comply with her majeſty's propoſal, and hoped for a good concluſion of the affair, through the continuance of her majeſty's friendſhip and aſſiſtance, which had encouraged him to undertake it. The army of the allies conſiſted of about 35,000 men, all inured to hardſhips, commanded by officers of the greateſt experience, and of the higheſt reputation, ſupported by a numerous fleet, commanded by an admiral of known courage and conduct, who, upon all occaſions, ſhewed the utmoſt zeal for the ſervice, and particularly in this laſt conference, where the duke of Savoy having obſerved, that even after Toulon was taken, himſelf and his army might find it impracticable to retreat; the admiral replied, "I hope better things from your royal highneſs's fortune; but, "if there ſhould be any appearance of ſuch an event's happen-"ing, your highneſs may rely upon me, I will take care to "ſupply a ſufficient number of tranſports to imbark all your "troops." The duke thanked him for his generous offer; told him, he depended chiefly on the aſſiſtance he expected from him, and that, if he would repair to the iſland of Hieres, he ſhould not long remain there, before he had advice of the army's being in the neighbourhood of Toulon, and that then he ſhould expect to ſee the fleet in the road[b].

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the confuſion into which this march of the duke of Savoy threw the French. Toulon was not in any ſtate of defence; they had no troops in that part of the country; they ſcarce knew whence to bring them. They had then in the port a better fleet than they have been maſters of ſince; beſides twenty-five frigates, fire-ſhips, and other veſſels of the ſame ſize, all of which, they were ſenſible, were in the

[b] Thus far all things went well, becauſe all parties were agreed; but from this very moment the buſineſs began to be clouded. The duke of Savoy, whatever the reaſon was, did not make the expedition he might have done; for though he began his march from the Var, on the 3d of July, yet he did not arrive before Toulon till the 15th. But when he found it neceſſary to make his retreat, he did it with much greater expedition, for though he began it on the 12th of Auguſt, he reached the Var by the 19th of the ſame month.

utmoſt danger of being deſtroyed [c]. In this diſtreſs, Lewis XIV. ſhewed leſs preſence of mind than on any other occaſion in his whole reign; for he condeſcended to recal the beſt officer in France, whom he had diſgraced, I mean the marſhal Catinat, in order to conſult him; and, after taking his advice, was prevailed upon, by female intrigues, to truſt the execution of an affair of ſuch importance to the marſhal de Teſſe, who had ſo notoriouſly blemiſhed the honour of the French arms, by raiſing the ſiege of Gibraltar [d].

To ſay the truth, the zeal of his ſubjects contributed more to the preſervation of the place, than either the monarch's care, or the ſkill of his generals; for the nobility and gentry of the adjacent provinces, did not content themſelves with arming and marching thither their tenants and ſervants, but even coined

[c] I take this from the Lond. Gaz. N°. 4357. in which there is the following liſt of the large men of war then in that port:

	Guns.		Guns.
Le Terrible,	110	L'Eclatant,	66
Le Foudroyant,	104	L'Henry,	66
Le Soliel Royal,	102	L'Ecueil,	64
L'Admirable,	100	Le Thoulouſe	62
Le Triumphant,	96	L'Eole,	62
L'Orgueilleux,	92	Le Serieux,	60
Le Triumphant,	92	Le Content,	60
Le St. Phillippe,	90	Le St. Louis,	60
Le Magnifique,	90	Le Fendant,	60
Le Tonnant,	90	Le Vermandois,	60
Le Sceptre,	90	Le Temeraire,	60
La Couronne,	86	Le Laurier,	60
La Vainqueur,	86	Le Furieux,	60
Le Monarque,	84	La Zelande,	60
Le Pompeux,	80	L'Entreprenant,	58
L'Intrepide,	80	Le Fleuron,	56
Le Neptune,	76	Le Trident,	56
Le Parfait,	76	Le Diamant,	56
Le St. Eſprit,	70	Le Sage,	54
Le Bizarre,	70	Le Ruby,	54
L'Invincible,	70	Le Mercure,	52
L'Heureux,	68	La Perle,	50
Le Conſtant,	68	La Meduſe,	50

[d] Hiſt. militaire de Louis XIV. tome v. p. 357. Reflexions militaires et politiques, de M. St. Cruz, tome viii. p. 91. Memoires du M. de Feuquiere, tome ii. p. 124.

their

their plate, and pawned their jewels, to raiſe money to pay the workmen employed in the fortifications, which were carried on with ſuch amazing alacrity, that in three weeks time, the town, as well as the port, was in a pretty good ſtate of defence; and they had, beſides, in the neighbourhood three intrenched camps, which, however, was all owing to the dilatorineſs of the allies [c].

Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with the fleet under his command, ſailed for the Hieres, after having made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for ſecuring a ſafe and conſtant intercourſe between the army, and the dominions of the duke of Savoy, upon which the ſucceſs of the whole was then thought to depend. It was the 15th of July before the ſiege of Toulon was formed, and on the 17th admiral Shovel landed, and aſſiſted at a council of war, in which many demands were made on the fleet for the ſervice of the army; and the admiral chearfully promiſed all that was in his power, which he accordingly performed. One hundred cannon were landed from the fleet for the batteries, with two hundred rounds of powder and ſhot, and a conſiderable number of ſeamen to ſerve as gunners; and cordage, nails and ſpikes, with all other things wanting for the camp, (for indeed they were but poorly furniſhed), were ſupplied from the ſhips; ſo that affairs had a very good face till the 4th of Auguſt, when early in the morning the enemy, making a vigorous

[c] One need not wonder at the ſurprize the French court was in, when the deſign of the duke of Savoy was no longer to be doubted; Toulon was then in ſuch a ſituation, that, if the duke of Savoy had marched expeditiouſly, it is not eaſy to conceive how his enterprize could have miſcarried. They did not begin to fortify the city, till he paſſed the Var, and it was the 7th of Auguſt, N. S. before M. Teſſe arrived there. Four days ſooner would have given his royal highneſs poſſeſſion of Toulon, without a blow, unleſs the French had been mad enough to have ſtood a ſtorm; and in that caſe, the diſpute muſt have been over in a few hours. As it was, the duke of Savoy found the enemy as ſtrong as himſelf, they had ſix thouſand men in the town, and twenty-four thouſand in the neighbourhood of it. The very moment the allies arrived, the generals differed, his royal highneſs ſent orders to prince Eugene, to poſſeſs himſelf of mount St. Ann, which he refuſed to do, becauſe, as I have obſerved, the emperor had ordered him not to expoſe his troops. Foul weather, too, prevented the fleet from landing artillery, and ammunition; in all this time the enemy's forces were increaſing, ſince the allies never had it in their power to inveſt Toulon.

ſally, forced moſt, if not all the confederate troops out of their works, and took poſſeſſion to the right, where they continued all day, and upon their going off deſtroyed them, drawing away eight or ten guns into the town; in which action there were killed and wounded on the ſide of the duke of Savoy above eight hundred men, among whom were the prince of Saxe Gotha, and ſome officers of diſtinction [f].

This attempt being made with ſuch ſuperiority of numbers, it put the troops under great apprehenſions, and the generals were of opinion, it would not be proper to carry on the ſiege, ſince, while the duke of Savoy's army decreaſed, the enemy continually gathered ſtrength, inſomuch that, on the ſixth of Auguſt, his royal highneſs deſired the admiral would immediately imbark the ſick and wounded, and withdraw the cannon, in order to his raiſing the ſiege, which from this time was turned only to a cannonading and bombardment. His royal highneſs alſo informed him, that he propoſed to decamp the 10th in the morning, and deſired that the fleet might accompany the army as far as the Var; which being done, it was propoſed to carry the duke, prince Eugene, and the troops which could be ſpared for ſervice in that country, on board the fleet to Spain; but ſince there was not any thing determined in this affair, the admiral ſoon after ſhaped his courſe down the Streights, as we ſhall ſee hereafter [g].

f Hiſt. militaire de Louis XIV. tome v. p. 366. Memoires de la Torre, tome v. p. 67. Memoires hiſtoriques et chronologiques.

g Many reaſons were aſſigned for the raiſing this ſiege; I ſhall mention only a few. It was ſaid, that Sir Cloudeſley Shovel diſguſted the duke of Savoy, by detaining the payment of his ſubſidies, which were due on his paſſing the Var. I apprehend, however, this fact could not be true, ſince the admiral ſailed the next day; and therefore, he muſt either have paid the money, or his royal highneſs would not have ſtirred a foot further. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that the duke was afraid of getting to Toulon before the fleet, and in that caſe, he would have wanted proviſions; all our Gazettes contradict this, and ſay, that if he had arrived there ſooner, he muſt have taken the place, and all the French magazines. I think there are three ſubſtantial reaſons which cannot be diſputed, and which ſufficiently account for the failing of this deſign. Firſt, the want of twelve thouſand imperialiſts, which, as I have ſaid, were ſent to Naples. Secondly, the diſagreement between his royal highneſs, and prince Eugene. Thirdly, the treacherous correſpondence held by the counteſs of Soiſſons, ſiſter-in-law to the prince, and the duke's near relation, of which we have an account in the Lond. Gaz. N°. 4368.

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The very day the army began to march, the fleet drew as near the place as poſſible, and five bomb-veſſels, ſupported by the lighteſt frigates, and all the boats of the men of war, under the command of rear-admiral Dilkes, advanced into the creek of fort St. Lewis, and notwithſtanding a prodigious fire from the place, bombarded the town and harbour, from noon till five the next morning, and this with all the ſucceſs that could be expected. By this means the land-army had time to quit their camp at La Villette, which they did in five columns in great ſafety, the enemy having ſomething elſe to do than to purſue them: and as to any attempts afterwards, his royal highneſs put them pretty much out of their power, by marching, in two days, as far as in his approach to the place he had marched in ſix. This diſaſtrous end had the famous ſiege of Toulon, from whence the confederates hoped, and the French feared ſo much [h].

To ſpeak impartially, one may ſafely ſet the faults of both generals againſt each other. If the duke of Savoy had arrived a week ſooner, he had carried his point: and if, on the other hand, marſhal Teſſe had underſtood his buſineſs, as well as marſhal Catinat, his royal highneſs had returned without an army [i]. After all, this buſineſs, though it miſcarried in the main, proved of great ſervice to the allies, and had many happy conſequences, which perhaps ought to balance the expence of it; for beſides the great damage the French ſuſtained in their ſhipping; the burning and deſtroying of eight of their capital ſhips; the blowing up ſeveral magazines; the burning of above one hundred and ſixty houſes in Toulon, and the devaſtations committed in Provence by both armies, to the value of thirty millions of French livres; this enterprize (which ſtruck a greater

[h] In all the party diſputes from this time, the miſcarriage of this ſiege was continually mentioned as a proof of the inſincerity of our allies.

[i] This is the opinion of all the French writers, and ſeems to be founded in truth; for it is certain, that except the loſs his royal highneſs ſuſtained by ſo quick a march, and the deſertion that attended it, he was very little incommoded by the purſuit of the enemy; and yet the ſiege and the retreat are ſaid to have coſt him thirteen thouſand men. Hiſtoire militaire, par M. Quincy, tome v. p. 369. Memoires de la Torres, tome v. p. 67. Hiſt. de Louis XIV. tome v. p. 441.

terror

terror throughout all France, than had been known there during the whole reign of Lewis XIV.) brought theſe further advantages to the common cauſe, that it cauſed a great diverſion of the enemies forces, whereby their army in Germany was weakened, the duke of Orleans's progreſs, after the battle of Almanza, retarded in Spain; the ſuccouring of Naples prevented; and the conqueſts of the allies in Italy ſecured [k].

I muſt obſerve further, that as no prince in the world knew better than the duke of Savoy how to repair faults, and recover paſt miſcarriages; ſo he gave on this occaſion a noble proof of his high ſpirit, and great preſence of mind, by inveſting the important fortreſs of Suza, which ſurrendered at diſcretion, on the 24th of September, and thereby gave him an open paſſage into Dauphine, at the ſame time that it enabled him to ſhut the French effectually out of his dominions [l].

Our admiral, not a little chagrined at the miſcarriage of an expedition upon which he had ſet his heart, after having aſſigned Sir Thomas Dilkes a ſquadron of thirteen ſail, for the Mediterranean ſervice, ſailed with the reſt of the fleet from Gibraltar [m]. On the 23d of October, he had ninety fathom water in the Soundings, in the afternoon he brought the fleet to and lay by. At ſix in the evening he made ſail again, and ſtood away under his courſes, whence it is preſumed, he believed he ſaw the light of Scilly; ſoon after which he made ſignals of danger, as ſeveral other ſhips did [n]. Sir George Byng, who was then within leſs than half a mile to the windward of him, ſaw the breaches of the ſea, and ſoon after the rocks, called the Biſhop and his Clerks, upon which the admiral ſtruck; (though, according to ſome, Sir Cloudeſley ſtruck upon the Gilſton rock, and not upon the Biſhop and his Clerks), and in two minutes there was nothing more of him, or his ſhip ſeen.

k Theſe were certain advantages, but ſuch advantages as were in no degree due to the ſkill, courage, or diligence of our allies.

l The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1707, p. 313. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4376. Annals of queen Anne. m Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 734. n Oldmixon's hiſt. of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 394. Complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1707, p. 343.

Beſides

Beſides the Aſſociation, the Eagle, captain Robert Hancock, of ſeventy guns, and the Romney, captain William Coney, of fifty guns, periſhed: the Firebrand fire-ſhip was loſt likewiſe; but captain Piercy, who commanded her, and moſt of the company were ſaved: the Phœnix fire-ſhip, commanded by captain Sanſom, ran aſhore, but was happily got off again[o]. The Royal Anne, in which Sir George Byng bore his flag, was ſaved by the preſence of mind of the officers and men, who in a minute's time ſet her top-ſails, when ſhe was within a ſhip's length of the rocks. Lord Durſley, in the St. George, ran as great hazard, and was ſaved by mere accident; he ſtruck on the ſame rocks with Sir Cloudeſley, and that wave which beat out the admiral's lights, ſet his ſhip afloat. The day after this unhappy accident, ſome country fellows took up Sir Cloudeſley Shovel's body, ſtripped him, and buried him in the ſand; but the boats crew of the Saliſbury, and the Antelope, having diſcovered it, dug him up again, put his corpſe on board the Saliſbury, by whom it was brought home to Plymouth, on the 28th of October, conveyed thence to London, and buried with great ſolemnity in Weſtminſter-abbey, where a magnificent tomb was ſoon after erected to his memory[p].

Rear-admiral Dilkes, with the ſquadron appointed for the Mediterranean ſervice, ſailed from Gibraltar on the 5th of October, in order to have eſcorted a convoy of troops, and proviſions from Italy to Catalonia. But when he was ſome leagues weſtward of Barcelona, he received ſeveral expreſſes, deſiring that he would enter that port, his Catholic majeſty having ſome matters of great conſequence to communicate to him. The admiral accordingly repaired thither, and found that the principal point in view with his Catholic majeſty was, the reduction of the iſland of Sardinia, and the defence of the Catalonian coaſts.

[o] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 485. Columna roſtrata, p. 285. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4380.

[p] We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak, hereafter, more at large of this unfortunate event, when we come to the memoirs of this admiral. There were near nine hundred perſons on board the Aſſociation when ſhe was loſt, and not a ſoul eſcaped. The chaplain happened to go on board another ſhip that morning, in order to adminiſter the ſacrament to ſome dying people, and by this means his life was ſaved.

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The propoſition made by his majeſty, not being conſiſtent with the orders Sir Thomas Dilkes had already received, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of waving, in the beſt manner he could, complying with what his Catholic majeſty deſired; and ſince the care of the imbarkation in Italy, was particularly recommended to him, by his inſtructions, he ſailed from Barcelona on the ſecond of November; but meeting with hard gales of wind, his ſquadron was ſeparated, and could not join again before the 14th, when, being off Cape Corſica, he received a letter from the king of Spain, which contained an account of the loſs of Lerida, and of the great danger of Tortoſa and Terragond [q].

He arrived at Leghorn the 19th of November, but met in the road with ſo terrible a ſtorm, that almoſt every ſhip in his ſquadron ſuffered by it. At his arrival he demanded a ſalute of ſeventeen guns, which was refuſed him: upon this, he wrote to her majeſty's miniſter at the court of the grand duke, who complained of the diſreſpect. The ſecretary of ſtate ſent him ſoon after an anſwer, importing, that the caſtle of Leghorn never ſaluted any flag under the degree of a vice-admiral firſt; and therefore Sir Thomas Dilkes, being a rear-admiral only, had no right to expect it; and as to the number of guns, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was content with eleven, and returned the ſame number [r]. On the firſt of December, this diſpute being adjuſted, he was invited on ſhore, and died a few days afterwards of a fever, cauſed, as moſt people imagined, by an Italian dinner.

Upon his deceaſe, the command devolved on captain Jaſper Hicks, who was the ſenior officer, and who ſailed from Leghorn to the coaſt of Genoa, where imbarking the troops at Vado, a little town to the weſtward of Savona, he eſcorted them ſafely to Spain, and then proceeded with his ſquadron to Liſbon, where he received orders to put it in the beſt condition

[q] Mercure hiſtorique et politique pour l'Annee, 1708, vol. i. p. 120.

[r] The court of Tuſcany was all along manifeſtly partial to the French, and this demand of Sir Thomas Dilkes was founded upon ſome extraordinary civilities that had been paid to French flags. The ſeamen always looked upon the admiral as a martyr for the honour of his country, and I wonder that nobody has touched on this matter. See Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 736.

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he could, againſt the arrival of Sir John Leake, who was coming, with the title of admiral and commander in chief, from England. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that this year the enemy had a conſiderable force in the Mediterranean, which relieved their party in the iſland of Minorca, and did other ſervices in thoſe parts; but it was in a manner by ſtealth, and in the abſence of our fleet, which, as the reader has ſeen, was then before Toulon. I ſhall conclude this ſubject, with obſerving, that how ill ſoever our affairs went in Spain, it was owing intirely to the diſputes amongſt our land-officers, and the miſchiefs and miſcarriages induced thereby: for, at ſea, all things went well; our fleets and ſquadrons did all that could be expected from them, and it ſeemed to be our misfortune, that it was not in their power to do all that was to be done [s].

If it had, we had certainly carried our point, and king Philip, notwithſtanding all the great ſuccours he received from his grandfather, had been obliged to quit his pretenſions to Spain, and the Indies [t]. But, as biſhop Burnet has ſhewn, the Auſtrian politics, at this juncture, fell in with the French; and yet we continued to ſerve that auguſt houſe, not only at the expence of our intereſt, but, as it were, in ſpite of their teeth [u].

Before

[s] Complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1707. Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, annals of queen Anne, &c.

[t] It is true, many, indeed moſt of the ancient nobility, adhered ſteadily to king Philip; but ſtill, partly from the miſunderſtanding between the kingdoms and principalities which compoſe the Spaniſh monarchy, the feuds amongſt the grandees, and the inſinuations of ſome politicians, that as they became Bourbonites only to prevent the diſmembering the dominions of their crown, they might turn Auſtrians again if they found this the only way of compaſſing this end; there was a ſtrong party for king Charles III. who, by the aſſiſtance of the maritime powers, might have been placed and kept upon the throne, at leaſt for a conſiderable time.

[u] As this is a very extraordinary aſſertion, I think myſelf obliged to cite biſhop Burnet's own words. "The court of France, finding they could not "prevail on the king of Sweden, made a public application to the Pope for his "mediating a peace. They offered the dominions in Italy to king Charles; "to the ſtates, a barrier in the Netherlands, and a compenſation to the duke "of Savoy, for the waſte made in his country; provided that, on thoſe con-"ditions, king Philip ſhould keep Spain, and the Weſt Indies. It was thought

Before I return to the conſideration of affairs nearer home, it will be proper to ſay ſomething as to a ſecret treaty between the queen of Great Britain, and king Charles III. of Spain, becauſe that was the real ſource of ſome very great events which afterwards happened, though there is very little mention made of this treaty in any of our hiſtories. Mr. Stanhope, afterwards earl Stanhope, and a great miniſter here, then managed her majeſty's affairs with king Charles. He, repreſenting the zeal with which Great Britain had always ſupported his Catholic majeſty, and the immenſe expence ſhe had been at, in order to eſtabliſh him on the throne of his anceſtors, prevailed on him, partly out of gratitude, and partly from a ſenſe of the neceſſity he lay under of depending ſtill on our protection, to conclude ſecretly a treaty of commerce, extremely favourable for the ſubjects of Britain, and which, in caſe that prince had been firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne of Spain, muſt quickly have reimburſed the nation all ſhe had laid out for the ſervice of his Catholic Majeſty.

By it, the Engliſh alone were intruſted with the Barbary trade, and were to import into all the maritime places in Spain, ſuch kind of goods from thence as ſhould appear to them proper, and without paying any higher duty, than if thoſe goods were actually the growth and merchandize of Great Britain. The Engliſh merchants reſiding in Spain, were to give ſecurity for their duties, and were to pay them ſix months after the goods were landed and ſold. A new book of rates was to be eſtabliſhed, by Engliſh and Spaniſh commiſſioners, which was not to be altered, and all merchandizes that were omitted therein, were to pay ſeven *per cent ad valorem*, according to the invoice. Theſe advantages were in themſelves very great; but there were ſtill greater ſecured by a ſeparate article, in which it was mutually agreed, that the whole commerce of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies ſhould be carried on by a joint company of Spaniſh and Britiſh merchants: but becauſe this could not be

" the court of Vienna wiſhed this project might be entertained; but the other " allies were ſo diſguſted at it, that they made no ſteps towards it. The court " of Vienna did what they could to confound the deſigns of this campaign, for " they ordered a detachment of twelve thouſand men to march from the army " into Lombardy, to the kingdom of Naples, *&c.*"

immediately

immediately carried into execution, ſince Spain and the Indies were then in the hands of king Philip, it was further ſtipulated, (as far as king Charles could conſent), that her Britannic majeſty ſhould, for the preſent, trade freely in all the ports of the Weſt Indies, with ten ſhips, each of the burden of five hundred tons, under the eſcort of as many ſhips of war as her majeſty ſhould think proper. France was to be for ever excluded from this commerce; and if, at any time afterwards, either of the contracting parties ſhould depart from this agreement, then they were to forfeit all the advantages granted them by this treaty; which was ſigned the tenth of July, 1707, by the miniſters of his Catholic majeſty, and Mr. Stanhope [w].

The perſon who was intruſted to carry this important treaty to London, imbarked, for the greater expedition, on board a ſmall veſſel bound for Genoa, which veſſel was unluckily taken by a French privateer. The expreſs, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, threw his mail overboard; but the French captain promiſing a conſiderable reward, in caſe it could be recovered, a negro ſlave undertook to dive, and bring it up; which he performed, and it was immediately tranſmitted to the marquis de Torci, the French king's miniſter for foreign affairs, who took care to ſend a copy of it, very ſpeedily, to the Hague, where it made a great impreſſion on the ſtates-general, though they did not

[w] Some people have affected to doubt, whether there ever was ſuch a treaty as this; but that was only at a time when there was a neceſſity of keeping it ſecret. Doctor Swift, who wrote the conduct of the allies, and who had as good lights as any writer of that time, ſays a little diſingeniouſly. "Our trade "with Spain was referred the ſame way; but this they will pretend to be "of no conſequence, becauſe that kingdom was to be under the houſe of Au- "ſtria, and we have already made a treaty with king Charles. I have indeed "heard of a treaty made by Mr. Stanhope with that prince, for ſettling our "commerce with Spain: but, whatever it were, there was another between "us and Holland, which went hand in hand with it. I mean that of the bar- "rier, wherein a clauſe was inſerted, by which all advantages propoſed for "Britain, are to be in common with Holland." Swift's miſcellanies, vol. iii. p. 3. The obſervation I would make, is, that the fact here laid down, is by no means true; the barrier treaty, and this with Spain, could not be carried on together, ſince the one was ſigned the 10th of July, 1707, and the other on the 29th of October, 1709. As to the treaty itſelf, the inquiſitive reader may, if he pleaſes, conſult Lamberti, vol. iv. p. 592.

think fit to complain of it, but contented themſelves with giving, as far as they were able, ſuch a turn to the war, as might render it beneficial to themſelves; and ever after aſſiſted his Catholic majeſty but coolly, and no farther than they were obliged by treaty.

It was afterwards converted into a reaſon for concluding a negociation, very favourable to their trade, with the Dutch, wherein, amongſt other things, it was agreed, that, whatever advantages we ſhould obtain from Spain, the Dutch ſhould enjoy the like; which treaty, if it was ever intended ſhould be fairly executed, would have been very injurious to us, ſince, while we bore the whole burden of the war, it would have taken from us all hopes of recompence after a peace, ſince to ſhare the Spaniſh trade with the Dutch by treaty, was very little better than agreeing to give it up to them in a ſhort ſpace of time[x].

This ſecret negociation had ſtill farther conſequences, ſince it gave the French an opportunity of ſuggeſting, in a ſeparate treaty, that article upon which the South-Sea company is founded, and without the aſſiſtance of which, the intelligent part of mankind know very well the peace of Utrecht could never have been made, or the public debts brought into that ſituation in which we now find them[y]. From theſe remarks on ſecret treaties, let us return now to the open operations of the war.

At the time that our fleets were every where ſuperior to thoſe of the enemy, our trade ſuffered in almoſt all parts of the world, by their ſmall ſquadrons of men of war, as well as pri-

[x] I have here attempted to explain the matter, as it appears to me, fairly, and naturally, by making part of the barrier treaty a conſequence of the Dutch being acquainted with our ſecret treaty; though, perhaps, at the negociation of the barrier treaty, it might not be mentioned in direct terms. For the affairs of our miniſtry began then to be pretty much perplexed, and the natural conſequence was, the conſidering their own ſupport, more than the intereſt of the nation; which is the caſe with every declining miniſtry, and has been more fatal to us, than all the efforts of our enemies.

[y] In my laſt note, I have a little digreſſed in point of time, and therefore I muſt refer the reader for the verification of this fact, to what I ſhall be obliged hereafter to ſay, in reſpect to the cauſes and conſequences of the treaty of Utrecht, in which I ſhall take particular notice of this article.

vateers.

vateers. This, though it fell heavily upon us, was a plain proof of the weakneſs of the French power; ſince it never can be conceived, that ſo haughty a prince as Lewis XIV. would have ſtooped to this piratical way of carrying on the war, if he could have maintained it in a manner more honourable [z].

Sir Thomas Hardy, who had commanded a ſquadron in the Soundings a year before, and who had this year been employed on the coaſt of Ireland, to protect the Eaſt India fleet, was, in the beginning of the month of July, ordered to eſcort the Liſbon trade. Sir Thomas, purſuant to this order, ſailed with the ſquadron under his command, and the outward-bound merchant-men. But being ſeveral times forced back by contrary winds, it was the 27th of Auguſt, 1707, before they got ninety-three leagues off the Lizard. About half an hour after two that afternoon, captain Kirktown, in the Defiance, who was in the rear of the fleet, made the ſignal of ſeeing ſix ſail, which being alſo ſeen about three, right a-ſtern from the maſt-head of the Kent; Sir Thomas Hardy brought to for the rear, that were a great way off, and ſpread very much, to come up with the body of the fleet, conſiſting in all of above two hundred ſail [a].

Between

[z] This conduct of the French king, in the ſituation his affairs were then in, we muſt allow to be extremely prudent. He found, that fitting out great fleets was an expence he could not bear; that the allies were too ſtrong for him at ſea, and therefore it was requiſite to employ ſhips in ſome other method, for his own ſervice, and his ſubjects advantage, which put him upon lending his men of war to ſuch merchants as were willing to fit them out for privateers; and the ſquadrons of Forbin, and Guai Trouin, were equipped on this account.

[a] Sir Thomas's orders were dated the 2d of July, 1707, and by them he was directed to convoy all the outward-bound ſhips that were ready to ſail, and ſee them ſafe about 120 leagues beyond the Land's-end, and then to detach with them ſome men of war, under the command of captain Kirktown; and himſelf, with the reſt of the ſhips under his command, to cruize in ſuch ſtation, or ſtations, as ſhould be thought (upon adviſing with the ſeveral captains with him) the moſt proper for meeting with, and protecting the homeward-bound Liſbon trade. This order further directed, that in caſe Sir Thomas Hardy ſhould, in his paſſage from Spithead into the Soundings, get ſight of the ſquadron of French ſhips, (which had been lately ſeen off the Lizard), he was forthwith to detach captain Kirktown from him on his voyage to Liſbon, as before

Between three and four o'clock, Sir Thomas Hardy perceiving, that the ſix ſail came up with him a-pace, notwithſtanding it was little wind, and thereby judging they might be ſeekers, made the ſignal for the ſhips that were to continue with him, to chace to windward, and alſo chaced himſelf with them, both to prevent theſe ſix ſail from taking ſome of the heavy ſailers, and to try to come up with them, in caſe they were enemies. About five, the ſix ſail were ſeen from the Kent's deck, making all the ſail they could before the wind after the fleet. Soon after they ſhortened ſail, and brought to, to ſpeak with one another; whereupon, Sir Thomas Hardy believing them to be the French ſquadron, mentioned in his orders, made the ſignal for the Liſbon fleet to part, whilſt he, with his own ſquadron, continued to chace to windward the enemy, who had formed themſelves in a line of battle. About ſix, the ſix ſail bore away, and ſtood to the eaſtward of him, and he, with his ſquadron, tacked after them, and continued the chace till near ſeven o'clock; but then conſidering that it was almoſt night, that the ſix ſail were then hauled to, and almoſt in the wind's eye, he ſaw no probability of coming up with, or keeping ſight of them, it being little wind; and, therefore, he made the ſignal for the captains with him, to adviſe with them according to his orders. The reſult of this conſultation (which was ſigned by fourteen captains) was, that Sir Thomas Hardy ſhould leave off chace; and, left the enemy, ſuppoſed to be Guai Trouin's ſquadron, of whoſe ſtrength he was informed by a letter from the admiralty, dated the 8th of July, 1707, ſhould paſs by him in the night, and fall upon the trade, which could not be protected by the convoys directed to be left with them; all the captains unanimouſly agreed, that it was for her majeſty's ſervice, to bear away, and keep company with the Liſbon fleet, till they got 120 leagues at leaſt from the Land's-end, according to his royal highneſs's order.

Sir Thomas Hardy complied with their advice, and ſaw all the fleet ſafe as far as he was directed. But, upon the com-

fore directed; and he, with the reſt of the ſhips under his command, to give chace to, and uſe his utmoſt endeavours to come up with, and take and deſtroy the ſaid ſhips of the enemy; but if he found that he could not come up with them, he was to cruize in the Soundings, as before directed.

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plaint of ſome merchants, ſurmiſing that Sir Thomas Hardy had not chaced the ſix ſail of French men of war, a court-martial was ordered to examine his conduct therein. This court, having ſifted every circumſtance of this affair, and heard the principal officers of the ſquadron upon their oaths, declared their opinion to be, that Sir Thomas Hardy had complied with his royal highneſs the lord high-admiral's orders, both with regard to the chacing the enemy, and alſo the protecting the trade; and accordingly, the court did acquit the ſaid Sir Thomas Hardy, from the charge brought againſt him. There never was, perhaps, a more juſt ſentence than this, or pronounced upon fuller evidence, and yet Sir Thomas Hardy had his conduct canvaſſed afterwards in every place where it was poſſible to call it in queſtion; which, in ſpite of all the prejudices that prevailed at that time, turned very much to his advantage; for he not only eſcaped all cenſure, but continued to be employed, and acquired greater honour from the clearing up this charge, than he could have done by barely convoying the fleet, if no ſuch accident had happened [b].

Towards the latter end of April, a large fleet of ſhips bound for Portugal, and the Weſt Indies, and making in all a fleet of fifty-five ſail, had a convoy appointed them, conſiſting of three men of war, the Royal Oak, of 76 guns, captain Baron

[b] The preſident of this council of war, was Sir John Leake, Knt. vice admiral of the white. It was held on board her majeſty's ſhip the Albemarle, October 10, 1707, in Portſmouth harbour; and the captains who, with the preſident, ſigned his acquittal, were, Hovenden Walker, Henry Lumley, Stephen Martin, T. Meads, Henry Gore, Charles Stewart, J. Paul. After this, the proceedings were laid before the queen in council, where all was heard over again, but nothing appeared which could any way impeach the honour of Sir Thomas Hardy, or the officers who acquitted him; however, to oblige the merchants, the ſentence was tranſmitted to the admiralty, and there it was examined before his royal highneſs the lord high-admiral, and the following flag-officers, admiral Churchill, Sir Stafford Fairborne, Sir John Leake, Sir Geo. Byng, Sir John Norris, and Sir James Wiſhart, who all approved the ſentence of the court-martial, and gave their opinion under their hands. One would have imagined, that here the thing muſt have ended, but it did not; for as ſoon as the houſe of commons ſat, a motion was made, that Sir Thomas Hardy ſhould attend; which he did, and gave ſo clear an account of his conduct, that the very members who had promiſed to ſupport the complaint, deſired it might be diſmiſſed.

Wylde,

Wylde, commander and commodore; the Grafton, of 70 guns, captain Edward Acton; the Hampton-Court, of 70 guns, captain George Clements. They ſailed on the firſt of May, from the Downs, and fell in, on the ſecond, with the Dunkirk ſquadron, commanded by M. Forbin, conſiſting of ten men of war, a frigate, and four privateers. The commodore drew five of the ſtouteſt merchant-ſhips into the line, and fought bravely two hours and a half; but then, captain Acton being killed, and his ſhip taken, and the Hampton-Court ſoon ſharing the ſame fate, after having ſunk the Saliſbury, then in the hands of the French, by her ſide; the commodore thought proper to ſhift for himſelf as well as he could, which it was not very eaſy for him to do, as he was immediately attacked by three of the largeſt French men of war, and had eleven feet water in his hold. He diſengaged himſelf, notwithſtanding, and with great difficulty ran on ſhore near Dungeneſſe, from whence he ſoon got off, and brought his ſhip into the Downs. But while the men of war were thus engaged, the lighteſt of the enemy's frigates, and their privateers, took one and twenty of our merchant-ſhips, and carried them, with the two men of war, into Dunkirk.

The moſt extraordinary thing that happened in this engagement, was the conduct of a midſhipman, on board the Hampton-Court, who, while the enemy were employed in plundering the ſhip, conveyed captain Clements, who was mortally wounded in the belly, into the long-boat, into which himſelf, and ſeven of the ſailors crept through the port-holes, and concealed themſelves, as well as they could, under the thouls. The enemy, in the mean time, driving with the flood, when they thought themſelves at a ſufficient diſtance, they fell to their oars, and had the good fortune to get into Rye harbour on the third of May[c]. This affair made a very great noiſe, the merchants affirming, that there was time enough for the admiralty to have acquainted commodore Wylde, that the Dunkirk ſquadron was at ſea; which, in all pro-

[c] See the Lond. Gaz. N°. 4329. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xlii. p. 653, 654.

bability,

bability, might have enabled him to have eſcaped this misfortune [d].

The French, according to their uſual cuſtom, magnified this ſucceſs of theirs exceſſively; for they aſſerted, that beſides the three men of war, there was a frigate of forty guns ſent to ſtrengthen the convoy, and that the fleet of merchant-men conſiſted of fourſcore ſail, of which they took twenty-two, and made 1200 priſoners. In Forbin's memoirs, we have ſome very extraordinary circumſtances; ſuch as, that he engaged the commodore himſelf, and killed him with a muſket-ſhot through a port-hole, while he was giving his orders ſword in hand, between decks, and afterwards made himſelf maſter of his ſhip; in which, as we have ſeen, there is not one word of truth: and all that can be ſaid in excuſe of the French relation is, that Mr. Forbin miſtook the Hampton-Court for the commodore.

All the French relations, however, do us the juſtice to own, that our captains behaved extremely well, and that their victory coſt them very dear. The French king, as ſoon as he had advice of this engagement, promoted M. Forbin to the rank of chef d'eſcadre, and gave him likewiſe the title of count [e], which he ſoon after merited by an extraordinary exploit, of which we are next to give an account.

The Ruſſia fleet being this year very numerous, and very richly laden, Sir Benjamin Ayloffe, being then governor, and

[d] Theſe facts depend upon the repreſentations made by the merchants to parliament, in the enſuing ſeſſion, and the anſwer to that repreſentation, by the council of the lord high-admiral, in his royal highneſs's name. It is, I think, not a little improbable, that the admiralty ſhould have any treacherous deſign; but there is nothing more likely, than that ſome under officers of that board, might ſend copies of letters, orders for convoys, and ſuch like papers, at the hazard of their necks; as the very ſame year Gregg did from the ſecretary's office, for which he ſuffered at Tyburn, and people very unjuſtly aſperſed his maſter.

[e] Hiſtoire militaire, tome v. p. 68. P. Daniel, p. 244. Forbin's memoirs. In ſome of theſe relations, the number of priſoners is computed at 1100, and the value of the prizes at 5,000,000 livres, that is about 250,000l. Sterling; which is a little incredible, conſidering they took ſo few ſhips; but, as the French had nothing to conſole them for their mighty loſſes, but theſe little advantages at ſea, we need not at all wonder, that they took ſo much pains to magnify them.

ſome other principal merchants, applied themſelves to the admiralty, in order to know what convoy they might expect, and particularly took notice of the apprehenſions they were under, from the Dunkirk ſquadron; they were told, that they ſhould have one fourth, and two fifth rates, with which they were very much diſſatisfied. To make them in ſome meaſure eaſy, Sir William Whetſtone had orders to convoy them beyond the iſlands of Shetland[f]. Accordingly the fleet, conſiſting of about fifty merchant-men, ſailed, and were actually convoyed, as far as his inſtructions directed, by admiral Whetſtone, who left them about three weeks before they were taken, to proceed on their voyage, under their proper convoy.

Some time after captain Haddock, who commanded, made a ſignal of his ſeeing eleven ſail of the enemy's ſhips, which ſome of the fleet not regarding, but truſting to their good ſailing, fifteen of them fell into the enemy's hand, off the iſland of Kildine, on the coaſt of Lapland, on the 11th of July; and the reſt of the fleet, conſiſting of about forty ſhips, with their convoy of three men of war, by the favour of a hard gale, and a thick fog, got into Archangel[g]. The accounts we have of this affair are remarkably dark and embarraſſed, which were calculated, probably, to juſtify the conduct of the prince's council, and admiral Whetſtone, who were much complained of; but the French accounts are clearer, though a little exaggerated.

f Lond. Gaz. N°. 4357. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 572. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xliii. p. 330.

g One captain Nenyon, commander of the ſhip Nenyon and Benjamin, made oath before the houſe of lords, that, on or about the 9th of July, 1707, his ſhip, with eleven or twelve others, were unfortunately taken in their voyage to Archangel, by the chevalier Forbin's ſquadron, conſiſting of ſeven French ſhips of war; that his ſhip was the firſt taken, and he was immediately carried on board Forbin, who demanded of him, what number of ſhips for convoy the Engliſh, bound for Archangel, had with them. He anſwered, twelve ſail: to which Forbin replied, he ſpake what was falſe; for there were only three ſhips of war, convoy to the Engliſh fleet: Forbin then declaring, that he knew admiral Whetſtone, with his ſquadron, came no farther than the iſle of Shetland, and then returned back again. This made a great noiſe, and the more ſo, becauſe admiral Whetſtone was a man not beloved, and people were very deſirous of fixing an imputation upon him, in order to get him laid aſide; but it does not appear, that in this inſtance they carried their point.

According

According to them, M. Forbin ſailed again from Dunkirk, on the laſt of May, with the ſame ſquadron; and on the 11th of July, perceiving the Engliſh fleet, he immediately fell in with them, took nineteen ſail; but being too far from any port of France, to think of carrying them in with ſafety, he firſt unloaded, and then burnt them. In the memoirs which go under his name, the matter is carried ſtill farther; for he aſſerts, that he took twenty, of which he burnt fifteen: that, afterwards, he took four more, and when they got into the harbour of Kildine, he likewiſe took four, and burnt eighteen; but he agrees, that ſoon after he deſtroyed all his prizes, and computes the value of the goods he preſerved to 1,200,000 livres.

I ſuſpect there is ſome confuſion and miſtake in theſe accounts, becauſe I find, that on the firſt of Auguſt following, he deſtroyed the Dutch homeward-bound fleet from Archangel; and as father Daniel computes the ſhips taken, and burnt, in both enterprizes, at forty ſail, I am inclined to think him nearer the truth than any of the reſt[h]. On the return of the Dunkirk ſquadron, count Forbin received orders to join that which had been fitted out from Breſt, under the command of M. du Guai Trouin, which he accordingly did, on the 8th of October.

In the latter end of Auguſt, there was a great fleet ready for Liſbon, having on board proviſions, military ſtores, and upwards of a thouſand horſes, for the king of Portugal's ſervice. The merchants were extremely uneaſy on the head of a convoy. They obſerved, that ſo many ſhips had been taken in performing the voyage to Portugal, that it not only affected the commerce, but the reputation of this kingdom, and obliged the Portugueze to ſend their orders for corn even againſt their will into Holland; for this reaſon, they earneſtly inſiſted, that

[h] Hiſtoire militaire, tome v. p. 467. P. Daniel, p. 245. During the whole war, the maritime powers ſuffered exceſſively, in the Baltic, where, almoſt every year, the Dunkirk ſquadron made many prizes; and this, at laſt, determined the Dutch to keep a conſtant force in thoſe ſeas, as long as the weather would permit, rightly judging, that no expence could be too great for the protection of their trade, and preſerving their reputation as a maritime power.

ſuch a convoy might be given them, upon this occaſion, as might effectually ſecure ſo great a fleet, (for there were no fewer than one hundred and thirty merchant-men), and thereby recover our credit at Liſbon; and, in conſequence of it, our corn trade, which had been in a great meaſure diverted into other hands for the two laſt years [j].

Theſe repreſentations were by no means pleaſing to the admiralty, where admiral Churchill, the duke of Marlborough's brother, commonly expreſſed the ſenſe of his royal highneſs's council, and thereby drew on himſelf the merchants diſpleaſure in the higheſt degree. He told them, upon this occaſion, that they ſhould be furniſhed with as ſpeedy and as ſtrong a convoy as could poſſibly be provided for them; yet it ſo fell out, that it was the 24th of September before this convoy was ready to ſail. It conſiſted of the Cumberland, captain Richard Edwards, of eighty guns; the Devonſhire, of the ſame force; the Royal Oak, of ſeventy-ſix; the Cheſter and Ruby, each of fifty guns. But, to ſay the truth, the Cheſter and Ruby were, properly ſpeaking, the convoy; for the other three ſhips were only to ſee the ſhips fifty leagues beyond Scilly. The fleet did not ſail till the 9th of October, and on the 10th, they fell in with the joint fleet of count Forbin and M. du Guai Trouin, off the Lizard [k].

The French were at leaſt twelve ſail of line-of-battle ſhips. The convoy diſpoſed themſelves in a line, and thereby gave the merchant ſhips an opportunity of eſcaping. M. du Guai attacked the Cumberland, about twelve at noon, and with the aſſiſtance of two other ſhips, after an obſtinate diſpute, carried her; the Devonſhire defended herſelf, for a long time, againſt ſeven, and till evening againſt five French ſhips; but then, by ſome accident, which will remain for ever unknown, took fire, and blew up; two only, out of nine hundred men, eſcaped; the Royal Oak made a vigorous reſiſtance, and having ſet the French ſhip which attacked her, and was commanded by M. de

[j] Hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1707, p. 435. At this period the merchants were at open war with the admiralty; and as ſome admirals were diſliked, and ſome of his royal highneſs's council naturally moroſe, there never wanted fuel enough for popular clamour.

[k] Mercure hiſt. et politique, tome xliii. p. 556, 557.

Bearnois,

Bearnois, on fire, got ſafe into Kingſale harbour; the count de Forbin took the Cheſter, and meſſieurs de Courſerat and de Neſmond took the Ruby. As for the Liſbon fleet, they very prudently ſaved themſelves during the engagement; but the French made a prodigious boaſting of the men of war they had taken, though the diſpute was ſo very unequal, and though in effect the convoy did all that could be expected from them, by ſecuring the merchants at their own expence [l].

It is certain, that misfortunes like theſe are great enough in themſelves; and, therefore, there is no need of exaggerating them, either at the time they happen, or in ſuch works as are written on ſubjects which oblige their authors to tranſmit accounts of them to poſterity. Yet, ſomething of this ſort there ſeems to be, in the following paſſage from biſhop Burnet [m], which I tranſcribe in his own words, and at large, that I may not be ſuſpected of partiality. "A convoy of five ſhips of the "line of battle, was ſent to Portugal, to guard a great fleet of "merchant ſhips, and they were ordered to ſail, as if it had "been by concert, at a time when a ſquadron from Dunkirk "had joined another from Breſt, and lay in the way waiting "for them. Some advertiſements were brought to the admi-"ralty of this conjunction; but they were not believed. When "the French ſet upon them, the convoy did their part very "gallantly, though the enemy were three to one; one of the "ſhips was blown up, three of them were taken, ſo that only "one of them eſcaped, much ſhattered. But they had fought "ſo long, that moſt of the merchant-men had time to get

[l] See the hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1707. Columna roſtrata, p. 283. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 573. London Gazette, N°. 4380. Alſo N°. 4381, where, in an article from Liſbon, dated October 31. N. S. it is ſaid, "Twenty ſail of Britiſh merchant-men are already in this port, and "as many more appear coming in at the bar, all belonging to the fleet under "the late convoy of commodore Edwards, they attribute their ſafety to the "bravery of their convoy, and particularly of the Devonſhire, which main-"tained a running fight, againſt five men of war, till the duſk of the evening, "by favour of which, moſt of the tranſports and trading ſhips made their "eſcape. There are already come in about ſix hundred of the horſe deſigned "for the ſervice of his Portugueſe majeſty."

[m] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 488.

"away,

" away, and ſailed on, not being purſued, and ſo got ſafe to " Liſbon."

In order to demonſtrate the abſolute injuſtice of this ſuggeſtion, I ſhall only obſerve, that it appears from all the French writers, that the junction of the Dunkirk and Breſt ſquadron happened in the afternoon of the 8th; that the Liſbon fleet ſailed from Plymouth on the 9th, and that the engagement happened on the 10th, before noon; ſo that any intelligence could be given to the admiralty, of the junction of the French ſquadrons, time enough to have prevented this unlucky accident, is a thing, that, to every candid reader, even at this diſtance of time, muſt appear perfectly incredible[n].

But, in the midſt of ſo many diſcouragements, the nation was not altogether deprived of good fortune, even in reſpect to theſe little diſputes; for at the very cloſe of the year, captain Haddock, in her majeſty's ſhip the Ludlow-Caſtle, got ſight, off the long ſand, of two frigates, which proved to be the Nightingale and Squirrel, formerly her majeſty's ſhips, but taken by the French, and now fitted out from Dunkirk, as privateers, and each of them having as many men as the Ludlow-Caſtle. They both lay by, till he came within gun-ſhot of them; but then made ſail from him before the wind. At eleven at night, he came up with the Nightingale, and took her, and as ſoon as the captain of the Squirrel perceived it, he crowded ſail and ſtood away. The captain of the Nightingale was one Thomas Smith, who had formerly commanded a ſloop in her majeſty's ſervice, and was broke at a court-martial for irregular practices: captain Haddock, who died lately an admiral, and who commanded the ſquadron in the Mediterranean, immediately before the laſt war, carried in his prize to Hull, from whence he thought fit to ſend up all the Engliſh who were on board the Nightingale, *viz.* captain Thomas Smith, who commanded the ſhip; Charles Aiſlaby, lieutenant; Mr. Harwood, who acted as a midſhip-man; an Iriſh prieſt, and an Engliſh ſailor, who were immediately com-

[n] The marquis de Quincy, father Daniel, and M. Forbin, in his memoirs, all agree as to theſe dates; ſo that it is impoſſible they ſhould be wrong; and it is, conſequently, as impoſſible that our prelate's ſuſpicion ſhould be right.

mitted

mitted close prisoners for high treason, and a prosecution, by the attorney-general, directed against them [o].

About the same time, arrived the welcome news of our success in Newfoundland, where captain John Underdown, commander of her majesty's ship the Falkland, having received advice on the 25th of July, that the enemy had many ships employed in the fishery, in several harbours to the northward, our commanders of ships, merchants, and inhabitants, petitioned him to endeavour the destroying of them, and by that means to encourage and protect the British trade in those places. In pursuance of which representations, on the 26th of July, captain Underdown set sail from St. John's, having taken major Lloyd, who desired to be employed in the expedition, with twenty of his company, on board the Falkland, and twenty more of the same company, on board the Nonsuch. On the 27th, they came before Bonavis, and finding there no appearance of an enemy, the commodore ordered captain Hughes upon that station, to sail with him.

On the 2d of August, they stood into the bay of Blanche, till they came off Fleur-de-lis harbour. Major Lloyd was immediately sent into the harbour in the commodore's pinnace, and the lieutenant of the Falkland, in the pinnace belonging to the Nonsuch, in order to make what discoveries they were able. They found there were several stages, and other necessaries for the fishery, to which they set fire, and afterwards they returned without any loss sustained, on board the men of war. By six the next morning they doubled the cape, and saw a ship, which, upon the brisk exchange of a few shot, struck; the commodore sent his boats aboard, and found her to be from St. Malo's, carrying about three hundred and sixty tons, thirty guns, and one hundred and ten men, called the Duke of Orleans. In another arm of the bay, named Equillette, was ano-

[o] The making examples of these sort of men, is a thing of absolute necessity in time of war; and I very much doubt, whether it is not a false kind of pity, ever to let them escape. This Smith, and one captain Rigby, who fled from hence for an infamous crime, did us prodigious mischief, by their serving the French during that war; and yet, when Rigby was taken, he was suffered to get away.

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ther large ſhip; but the place being rocky, and the water ſhallow, it was impoſſible for either the Falkland or Nonſuch to come near her; whereupon, the Medway's prize was ordered to go as cloſe in as ſhe could, with ſafety; and, at the ſame time, captain Carleton, major Lloyd, and the lieutenant of the Falkland, in boats well manned and armed, were directed to land upon the iſland under which ſhe lay. This was executed with ſo good effect, that the enemy, after having fired ſeveral broadſides, being no longer able to keep the deck, againſt our ſmall ſhot from the ſhore, ſtruck. This ſhip was of the force of twenty guns, and fourſcore men, belonging alſo to St. Malo. Having here received information, that about three leagues to the northward, in La Couche, there were two ſhips, one of thirty-two guns, and the other of twenty-ſix, both of St. Malo; the commodore gave captain Hughes directions to burn the laſt prize, and afterwards to join him at La Couche, himſelf in the Falkland, with the Nonſuch, making the beſt of their way thither.

The fifth, in the afternoon, they came into La Couche, where they found the two ſhips in readineſs for ſailing. The enemy fired ſeveral broadſides at them, which, as ſoon as our men of war returned, they ſet their ſhips on fire, and left them, going over to the next harbour, called Carouſe, in which, the commodore had received intelligence, there were four ſhips. He immediately weighed, and ſtood for that harbour, and about eight o'clock at night was joined by the Medway's prize; but there being very little wind at S. W. and much difficulty in getting out, it was about ſix the next morning before he got off the harbour's mouth. The commodore ſent in his boat, but found the enemy had eſcaped, having by the advantage of little wind, and the great number of men and boats, cut and towed out. The Britiſh ſhips ſtood to the northward, and ſaw ſeveral veſſels, to which they gave chace; about five in the afternoon they came off the harbour of St. Julian, where they diſcovered a ſhip, and having loſt ſight of the veſſels they had purſued, ſtood in for the harbour, and came to an anchor in twenty-ſix fathom water. The place where the ſhip was hauled in, being very narrow and ſhoally, the commodore ordered the Medway's prize to go as near as poſſibly ſhe could. The

enemy

enemy fired two guns, but it was not thought fit to attack her till the morning. Accordingly, the ſixth of Auguſt, at four of the clock, captain Carleton, major Lloyd, and lieutenant Eagle, went in, with all their boats well manned and armed, and immediately landing, drove the enemy from their poſts, who were likewiſe on ſhore. Our men took their boats, and went aboard their ſhip, where they found the enemy had laid ſeveral trains of powder, in order to blow her up; which being ſeaſonably diſcovered, ſhe was preſerved, and by noon they towed her out to ſea. But the Britiſh pilots being unacquainted with the coaſt, and the commodore thinking it not proper to go farther to the northward, it was reſolved to ſail back to Carouſe, and there remain till they were joined by the duke of Orleans prize, which was left at Grand Canarie, with a lieutenant and ſixty men.

In the way to Carouſe, it was thought fit to look into Petit Maiſtre, where they deſtroyed great numbers of boats and ſtages, with vaſt quantities of fiſh and oil; about ſeven at night, they came to an anchor in Carouſe harbour, and moored. On the 12th and 13th, it blew a hard gale at S. W. Having deſtroyed the fiſhery at Petit Maiſtre, and the duke of Orleans prize being come to La Couche, on the 14th, by four in the morning, they weighed and ſtood out to ſea, taking her with them, and ſteered for St. John's harbour, where the Falkland and Nonſuch, with the two prizes, arrived the 17th of the ſame month, having before given the Medway's prize orders to ſail to Trinity [p].

We ought now, according to the method that has been generally obſerved, to ſpeak of the proceedings in the Weſt Indies; but, as what was done there this year, is ſo ſtrictly connected with what happened in the following, that it is ſcarce poſſible to divide them, without deſtroying the perſpi-

[p] The damage the enemy received, was as follows. Two ſhips taken, one of thirty guns, and 110 men; and another of twenty guns, and 100 men; one ſhip taken and burnt, of twenty guns, and eighty men. Two ſhips burnt by the enemy, one of 32, and another of 26 guns; 228 fiſhing-boats burnt; 470 boats and ſhallops, that were not employed in the fiſhery this ſeaſon, burnt; 23 ſtages burnt; 23 train vats burnt; 77,280 quintals of fiſh deſtroyed; 1568 hogſheads of train oil deſtroyed.

cuity of both relations; I ſhall defer ſaying any thing of the events that fell out in that part of the world, till I come to ſpeak of them in their proper place; that is, after having accounted for the naval proceedings in the ſucceeding year. I the rather incline to make this ſmall breach in my uſual method, becauſe I am under a neceſſity of ſpeaking more largely than in other places, of what was done in parliament this year, in reference to the navy, for this weighty reaſon, *viz.* that the ſtrict inquiries made by both houſes into matters of ſuch conſequence, not only demonſtrate the vigour of our conſtitution at that time, but afford, perhaps, the very beſt precedents for reviving ſuch inquiries, that are to be met with in our hiſtory.

The firſt parliament of GREAT BRITAIN, met upon the 23d of October, when the eyes not only of this kingdom, but of all Europe, were fixed upon them. The earlieſt thing they did was, to make choice of John Smith, Eſq; for their ſpeaker; and the next, in the houſe of commons, was, to vote an addreſs of thanks to the queen, for her moſt gracious ſpeech made to them on the ſixth of November, to which day they had adjourned [q]. In the houſe of lords it went otherwiſe; inſtead of their uſual addreſs, their lordſhips proceeded to a direct conſideration of the ſtate of the kingdom, in which very warm debates aroſe, in regard to the navy eſpecially. As to this, it was affirmed, "That the lord high-admiral's name was "abuſed by ſuch as were intruſted with the management of "his authority; that the council of his royal highneſs ſtudied "nothing but how to render their places profitable to themſelves and their creatures, though at the expence of the na"tion; that it was viſible, their own haughtineſs, together "with the treachery, corruption, and careleſſneſs of their de"pendents, were the true ſources of thoſe miſchiefs which be"fel our merchants, and diſcredited the moſt glorious reign "in the Britiſh annals. But, though reaſon and experience "ought to have convinced theſe men of their own incapacity, "yet they had, with a brutiſh obſtinacy, perſiſted in the pur-

[q] Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 394. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 328. The complete hiſt. of Europe, for 1707, p. 395.

"ſuit

" ſuit of their own meaſures, haughtily rejecting the advice of " the merchants, when offered in time, and ſaucily contemning " their complaints, when ſufferers by the very errors they had " predicted[r]."

This produced the appointing of a committee, in which this matter might be reſumed, upon the 19th of December, at which her majeſty was preſent. The ſheriffs of London, who were Benjamin Green, Eſq; and Sir Charles Peers, Knt. preſented a petition, ſigned by two hundred of the moſt eminent merchants of the city of London, ſetting forth the great loſſes they had lately ſuſtained at ſea, for want of convoys and cruizers; and praying, that ſome remedy might be ſpeedily applied, that the trade of the nation might not be entirely deſtroyed[s].

The houſe went as heartily into this matter as the ſufferers could deſire, and appointed the 26th to hear the merchants further, in a grand committee, where they were permitted to make a regular charge, and encouraged to exhibit their evidence. In the courſe of this inquiry, it fully appeared to their lordſhips, that many ſhips of war were not fitted out to ſea, but lay in port neglected, and in great decay. That convoys had been often flatly denied the merchants, and that, when they were promiſed, they were ſo long delayed, that the merchants loſt their markets, were put to great charges, and, where they had periſhable goods, ſuffered great damage in them. The cruizers were not ordered to proper ſtations in the channel; and, when convoys were appointed, and ready to put to ſea, they had not their ſailing orders ſent them till the enemies privateer ſquadrons were laid in their way, and with ſuperior force prepared to fall on them; which had often happened.

[r] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 489. Oldmixon. Annals of queen Anne. Chandler's debates, vol. ii. p. 180—183.

[s] It is eaſy to diſcern, from the ſcope of this petition, and the ſupport it met with, that public ſpirit flouriſhed during this reign. It was not pretended, that any reſpect due to the crown ſhould protect ſuch as were bad ſervants; or, that attacking them, was offending majeſty. It was not ſaid, that expoſing them reflected on his royal highneſs, or that in a time of war we ought to be ſilent on ſuch ſubjects; but it was ſaid, produce your facts, make good the charge, and we will procure you juſtice.

Many advertiſements, by which theſe misfortunes might have been prevented, had been offered to the admiralty; but had not only been neglected by them, but thoſe who offered them, had been ill treated for doing it. To carry theſe things as far as poſſible, they cauſed an exact report to be drawn of their proceedings; ſent it to the admiralty-office; received the beſt anſwer that could be given from thence; heard the merchants by way of reply to this, digeſted the whole into a ſecond report, and, together with an addreſs ſuitable to a matter of ſuch mighty conſequence, laid it before her majeſty, on the firſt of March 1707, and expreſſed themſelves thereupon, in terms it would be extremely injurious to deprive the reader of the pleaſure of reading, conſidering the ſtrict connection it has with the ſubject of this work, the true ſpirit of patriotiſm that appears therein, and the excellent example afforded thereby; and therefore I have placed it at the bottom of the page[t]. Her majeſty

[t] I ſhall cite here only their lordſhips concluſion, after ſetting forth the grievances complained of by the merchants, the anſwer by the admiralty, and the merchants replication.

"May it pleaſe your majeſty,

"We having thus performed, what we take ourſelves to be indiſpenſibly "obliged to, cannot doubt but it will be graciouſly accepted by your majeſty, "as coming from moſt dutiful ſubjects, who ſincerely wiſh they may never "have occaſion hereafter to make addreſſes to your majeſty, but to congratu- "late your ſucceſſes, or to return humble acknowledgments for the bleſſings "of your reign.

"We beſeech your majeſty to believe, that none of your ſubjects do ex- "ceed us in true reſpect to his royal highneſs the lord high-admiral. His great "perſonal virtues require it, and his near relation to your majeſty makes it "our duty. And as we do not mean that any thing in this addreſs ſhould in "the leaſt reflect upon him; ſo we are very well aſſured, his royal highneſs "will never ſuffer other perſons to protect themſelves under his name, from a "juſt purſuit of ſuch faults or neglects, as immediately tend to the ruin of "trade, and the deſtruction of Britain.

"There cannot be a plainer proof, that ſome perſons employed by the lord "high-admiral, have made the worſt uſe imaginable of the truſt he honours "them with, than in their preſuming to lay ſuch an anſwer before the houſe "of lords in his name.

"For (not to take notice of the many things which in the ſecond report have "been already laid before your majeſty), throughout the whole paper, there "is not the leaſt hopes given, that for the future any better care ſhall be taken

"of

majeſty received this addreſs very graciouſly, and promiſed to pay all the regard thereto, that the nature of the thing, and the reſpect due to the advice of the hereditary council of her kingdoms deſerved.

The houſe of commons alſo went into a grand committee, on the affairs of the navy, of which Sir Richard Onſlow was chairman; they heard with great attention all the merchants had to ſay, and carefully examined all the evidence they could produce; and though there were ſome people who endeavoured to ſtop the mouths of the merchants, when they ran out into invidious characters of thoſe officers by whom they thought themſelves wronged, yet the majority of the houſe were inclined to hear their ſentiments, and encouraged them to go on. Both lords and commons concurred in carrying to the throne, ſuch complaints as appeared to be well founded; and with this view their lordſhips, on the 7th of February, addreſſed the queen to lay aſide captain Ker [u]; and on the 26th of the ſame month,

" of the trade; on the contrary, the whole turn of the anſwer ſeems to be in-
" tended, for expoſing the complaints of the merchants, rather than pitying
" their loſſes. We are ſure, nothing can be more remote from the goodneſs
" and compaſſion of the lord high-admiral's temper, and the tender regard he
" has always ſhewn for your majeſty's ſubjects.

" May it pleaſe your majeſty,

" It is a moſt undoubted maxim, that the honour, ſecurity, and wealth of
" this kingdom, does depend upon the protection and encouragement of trade,
" and the improving, and right managing its naval ſtrength. Other nations,
" who were formerly great and powerful at ſea, have, by negligence and miſ-
" management, loſt their trade, and have ſeen their maritime power intirely
" ruined. Therefore, we do in the moſt earneſt manner beſeech your ma-
" jeſty, that the ſea affairs may always be your firſt, and moſt peculiar care.
" We humbly hope, that it ſhall be your majeſty's chief and conſtant inſtruc-
" tion, to all who ſhall have the honour to be employed in your councils,
" and in the adminiſtration of affairs, that they be continually intent and
" watchful in what concerns the trade and fleet; and that every one of them
" may be made to know, it is his particular charge to take care that the ſeamen
" be encouraged, the trade protected, diſcipline reſtored, and a new ſpirit and
" vigour put into the whole adminiſtration of the navy."

[u] The houſe of lords, in their addreſs, inform her majeſty, that a complaint had been lodged before them, by Mr. Thomas Wood, in behalf of himſelf and divers other Jamaica merchants, againſt captain William Ker, late commander of a ſquadron of her majeſty's ſhips at that iſland, for refuſing to grant convoys for their ſhips to the Spaniſh coaſt of America; and in particular, that the

month, the houſe of commons preſented an addreſs of the ſame nature, againſt the ſame perſon [w].

the ſaid Mr. Thomas Wood had offered to the ſaid captain Ker, the ſum of ſix hundred pounds as a gratuity, if he would order one of her majeſty's men of war, under his command, to go as convoy to the Neptune ſloop, and Martha galley, loaden with woollen and other goods of her majeſty's ſubjects. That the ſaid captain Ker, at that time, ſeemed pleaſed with the propoſal, and ſaid, the Windſor ſhould be the ſhip; and ordered Mr. Wood to make what diſpatch he could, in getting the galley and ſloop ready. On which encouragement, he got them ready to ſail, and bought three hundred negroes to put on board them, and then acquainted captain Ker therewith, and with the great charge he was at in maintaining the negroes, and his fear of ſickneſs. Captain Ker then ſaid, he feared he could not ſpare a man of war; but the next day ſent Mr. Tudor Trevor, captain of the Windſor, to acquaint Mr. Wood, that captain Ker ſaid, he thought Mr. Wood could not have offered leſs than two thouſand, or at leaſt fifteen hundred pounds. Whereupon Mr. Wood declared, the ſum was ſo great, that the trade could not bear it, and ſo the ſloop and galley proceeded on the voyage without convoy; and in their return the ſloop, loaded with great wealth, being purſued by French privateers, and having no convoy, and crowding two much ſail to get from the enemy, was unhappily overſet and loſt. The ſaid Mr. Thomas Wood alſo made another complaint, that upon a further application to the ſaid Mr. Ker, for a convoy for three ſloops, bound for the ſaid Spaniſh coaſts, he promiſed to give the Experiment man of war, commanded by captain Bowler, as a convoy; for which the ſaid Mr. Wood agreed to give eight hundred pounds, four hundred pounds, part whereof, was paid the ſaid Bowler, and the other four hundred pounds was made payable by note to one Mr. Herbert, for the uſe of Mr. Ker, which note was ſent in a letter to Mr. Ker, and by him put into Mr. Herbert's hands. And, beſides that, as a farther encouragement for allowing the ſaid convoy, Mr. Ker had an adventure of fifteen hundred pounds in the ſaid ſloops, without advancing any money. To this complaint Mr. Ker put in his anſwer, and both parties were fully heard by themſelves, and their witneſſes; and upon the whole matter, the houſe came to this following reſolution: "That the ſaid complaint of the ſaid Mr. Wood, againſt the ſaid captain Ker, "as well in relation to the Neptune and Martha galley, as alſo in relation "to the other three ſloops, that went under the convoy of the Experiment "man of war, hath been fully made out, and proved to the ſatisfaction of "this houſe."

The queen gave only a general anſwer to this addreſs, but did not ſay poſitively that ſhe would comply with it.

[w] On the 26th of February, upon the report of Sir Richard Onſlow, from the committee of the whole houſe, the commons came to three reſolutions againſt commodore Ker; to which they added a fourth, *viz.* "That an humble addreſs be preſented to her majeſty, lying before her the ſaid reſolutions, and humbly deſiring, that her majeſty will be pleaſed not to employ "the ſaid captain Ker in her majeſty's ſervice for the future." This addreſs having been preſented to the queen, ten days after her majeſty declared, that ſhe would comply with it.

Theſe

Theſe warm proceedings had a proper effect; they convinced ſuch as ſat at the admiralty-board, that it was dangerous to treat Britiſh merchants with contempt; as, on the other hand, it taught the officers to know, that having friends at the board, or being tried, where no evidence could reach them, would not always ſecure them from puniſhment[x]. On the complaint of the merchants, however, againſt Sir Thomas Hardy, though proſecuted with great heat, both houſes concurred to vindicate him, which was ſufficient to encourage the officers of the navy to do their duty; ſince, where they could prove they had done this, it was moſt clear they ran no hazard; but, if purſued by clamour, were ſure to come off with reputation[y].

As the ſeaſon for action was now coming on, the lord high-admiral made the following promotions: Sir John Leake was de-

[x] Upon a fair computation, made about this time, of the loſs of ſhips at ſea, ſince the beginning of this war, it was found, that the loſs the French had ſuſtained in their ſhipping, far exceeded that of Great Britain, ſince we had only thirty men of war taken, or deſtroyed, and one thouſand one hundred forty-ſix merchant ſhips taken, of which three hundred were re-taken. Whereas, we had either taken or deſtroyed, eighty of their ſhips of war, and taken or burnt one thouſand three hundred forty-ſix of their merchantmen, including thoſe deſtroyed in the Weſt Indies. By way of ſupplement to this liſt, it may not be amiſs to take notice, that it appeared from the lord high-admiral's anſwer to the report of the houſe of peers, there were one hundred ſeventy-five of the enemies privateers taken, as alſo the re-captures by her majeſty's ſhips of war, from the 4th of May, 1702, to the 1ſt of December, 1707, were one hundred twenty-eight; which amounted, by appraiſement, to above the ſum of 82,975l. and the re-captures by privateers, within that time, to 38,054l. both which ſums amount to 121,030l. excluſive of cuſtoms.

[y] Upon a complaint to the houſe of lords, of a maſter of a Canary ſhip, that Sir Thomas Hardy had refuſed to convoy him from Plymouth, their lordſhips ordered Sir Thomas to attend the houſe, who directed him to attend the committee. The latter took occaſion to examine, likewiſe, the papers relating to his trial; and after they had read them, the next day Sir Thomas Hardy, with two merchants, and the maſter of the Canary ſhip, were called in before their lordſhips; Sir Thomas having ſhewed his orders, to warrant his refuſal of convoy, he was ordered to withdraw; and ſoon after captain Philips, deputy uſher of the black rod, came out to Sir Thomas, and told him, that their lordſhips found, he had fully juſtified himſelf, and done his duty in every reſpect; and therefore, that he was diſcharged from any further attendance upon that committee.

clared

clared admiral of the white, and admiral and commander in chief of her majeſty's fleet; Sir George Byng, admiral of the blue; Sir John Jennings, vice-admiral of the red; Sir John Norris, vice-admiral of the white; the lord Durſley, vice-admiral of the blue; Sir Edward Whitaker, rear-admiral of the red; and John Baker, Eſq; rear-admiral of the white [z]. Some alterations were likewiſe made in his royal highneſs's council [a].

An act paſſed for regulating convoys, and cruizers; and a further term of fourteen years and a half was granted to the Eaſt India Company, in conſideration of their advancing 1,200,000 l. for the public ſervice, there being granted in the whole, for the year 1708, no leſs than 5,933,657 l. 17 s. 4 d. a ſupply unheard of in former times, and for a great part of which we ſtand indebted to this day. Of this, upwards of 2,300,000 l. were intended for the ſervice of the fleet, and great things were expected, eſpecially ſince all parts of the iſland ſeemed heartily united in one intereſt; and the carrying on the war, humbling France, and exalting the houſe of Auſtria, were every where conſidered as the great objects of our care [b]; as being eſſentially neceſſary to the welfare of the nation.

But, before our projects were thoroughly adjuſted, the French actually played off one of theirs; which put us into great confuſion, and had like to have had much worſe conſequences. This was, the attempt upon Scotland, in favour of the chevalier de St. George; which was the *Nomme de Guerre* they were pleaſed to give the perſon, whom the queen ſoon af-

[z] London Gazette, N°. 4405. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1708, page 5.

[a] Henry Saint John, Eſq; afterwards lord viſcount Bolingbroke, having reſigned the office of ſecretary of war, Robert Walpole, Eſq; afterwards earl of Orford, and then one of the prince's council, ſucceeded him; and in the month of April following, the earl of Weemys, a nobleman of Scotland, and Sir John Leake, were added to his royal highneſs's council, in order to oblige both nations. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 591. Oldmixon, vol. ii. p. 400.

[b] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 396. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 316. Chandler's debates, vol. iii.

ter

ter diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Pretender[c]. The deſign is ſaid to have been carried on with great ſecrecy; but this muſt be underſtood only of the French court; for it was ſufficiently known, and talked of in Scotland, long before it was undertaken[d]. I do not think, that ſo idle an expedition demands, in a work of this nature, a very critical explanation, and therefore, I ſhall content myſelf with ſaying, that it ought to be reckoned amongſt the number of thoſe affronts, of which the French have never been ſparing to this nation, and was chiefly deſigned to ſhew how much, in ſpite of all the power of the allies, Lewis XIV. was able to alarm and diſtract us.

The troops, intended for this attempt, were about eleven or twelve battalions, under the command of the marquis de Gace, afterwards ſtyled the marſhal de Matignon. The fleet conſiſted of but eight men of war, which was commanded by the count de Forbin, who is ſaid to have diſliked the deſign, becauſe, very probably, he knew the bottom of it; for it is very certain, the French never intended to land, and refuſed the chevalier to ſet him on ſhore, though he would have gone with his own ſervants. The true ſcheme of the French king was, to create a diverſion, and, if poſſible, raiſe a rebellion in Scotland, that, by means of trials and executions, the queen and her miniſtry might be ſufficiently embarraſſed at home, and have the leſs leiſure to proſecute their views abroad; and, from theſe motives, he ordered his miniſters in all foreign courts to talk in very magnificent terms, of the ſuccours he gave to the king of England, as he thought fit to call him, that, on the rebound, they might make the louder noiſe in Britain, and induce us to believe our danger the greater, and more inevitable[e].

In this reſpect, the French politics had their effect; for, on general Cadogan's ſending over an expreſs, diſcloſing the whole

[c] See the proclamation in the London Gazette, N°. 4416, as alſo the queen's ſpeech to both houſes, March eleventh, 1707-8. in the Gazette, N°. 4418. [d] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 499. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 402. Boyer's life of queen Anne. [e] Quincy hiſtoire militaire de Louis XIV. tom. v. p. 478. Lamberti, tome v. p. 17. Memoires de Forbin, which appears from this part of them to be ſpurious.

deſign, the queen, by Mr. ſecretary Boyle, acquainted the houſe of commons therewith, on the fourth of March, and received a very loyal addreſs from them, as well as from the lords[f]; but the apprehenſions expreſſed here, and in Holland, had ſuch an effect upon the monied intereſt, that it occaſioned a prodigious run upon the bank, and diſturbed our foreign remittances ſo much, that all thinking people were at this time convinced of the great riſk a nation runs, that engages in a foreign war, while heavily loaded with debts at home. Our public ſecurities fell ſurprizingly, and things would have fallen into downright confuſion, if the fright had not been quickly over.

This was owing to the care of the admiralty, who, with remarkable diligence, fitted out a fleet of twenty-four men of war[g], with which Sir George Byng and lord Durſley ſailed for the French coaſt, on the 27th of February, without diminiſhing the convoy of the Liſbon fleet; which, when we had time to conſider it, appeared prodigious, and ſufficiently convinced the French, that a real invaſion was not at all their buſineſs[h]. On Sir George Byng's anchoring before Gravelin, the French officers laid aſide their embarkation; but, upon expreſs orders from court, were obliged to reſume it, and on the ſixth of March actually ſailed out of Dunkirk; but being ta-

[f] The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1708, p. 124. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 324. [g] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 500. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 326. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xliv. p. 333.

[h] The run upon the bank ſo much alarmed the exchequer, that all ways and means poſſible were concerted, to put an immediate ſtop to it; in order to which, the lord high-treaſurer not only allowed ſix, inſtead of three *per cent.* for all the money circulating by their bills, but alſo ſupplied them with large ſums of money out of his private fortune, as the dukes of Marlborough, Newcaſtle, Somerſet, and other noblemen alſo did; which, with the calling in of 20 *per cent.* upon their capital, brought all things right again ſooner than it could have been expected. On the 20th of March the houſe of commons came to a reſolution, that whoever deſignedly endeavoured to deſtroy, or leſſen the public credit, eſpecially at a time when the kingdom was threatened with an invaſion, was guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanor, and was an enemy to her majeſty and her kingdoms.

ken ſhort by contrary winds, came to an anchor till the eighth, and then continued their voyage for Scotland [i].

Sir George Byng purſued them with a fleet of forty ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and fire-ſhips. He afterwards detached rear-admiral Baker, with a ſmall ſquadron, to convoy the troops that were ſent from Oſtend, and proſecuted his expedition with the reſt [k]. On the 13th of March, the French were diſcovered in the Frith of Edinburgh, where they made ſignals, but to no purpoſe, and then ſteered a N. E. courſe, as if they intended to have gone to St. Andrews. Sir George Byng followed them, and took the Saliſbury, an Engliſh prize, then in their ſervice, with ſeveral perſons of quality on board; finding it was altogether impoſſible to come up with the enemy, he returned with the fleet to Leith, where he continued till he received advice of count Forbin's getting back to Dunkirk, and then proceeded to the Downs, purſuant to the orders he received from the miniſtry, from whence he ſoon came to London, where he was moſt graciouſly received by the queen his ſovereign, and by his royal highneſs prince George of Denmark [l].

One would have imagined, that this apparent ſucceſs muſt have ſatisfied every body; and that, after defeating ſo extraordinary a ſcheme, as at that time this was allowed to be, and reſtoring public credit, as it were, in an inſtant, there ſhould have been an univerſal tribute of applauſe paid to the admiral, by all degrees of people. Yet, this was ſo far from falling out, that Sir George Byng had ſcarce ſet his foot in London, before it was whiſpered, that the parliament would inquire

[i] Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1708, p. 130. See the marſhal Matignon's letter to monſieur Chamillard, the ſecretary of ſtate, dated Dunkirk, April 7th, in Lamberti, tome v. p. 24.

[k] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 500. See the London Gazette, No. 4418.

[l] The Saliſbury prize was a very conſiderable thing, if we conſider the number of perſons taken on board. For, beſides lord Griffin, lord Clermont, Charles Middleton, and Francis Wauchope, Eſqrs. who had all followed the fortunes of king James; there were likewiſe ſeveral land and ſea-officers in the French ſervice, of very great diſtinction, five companies of the regiment of Bearn, and all the ſhip's company, conſiſting of 300 men. London Gazette, No. 4420.

into his conduct; which took riſe from a very fooliſh perſuaſion, that having once had ſight of the enemy's fleet, he might, if he pleaſed, have taken every ſhip as well as the Saliſbury [m].

The truth of the matter was, that the French having amuſed the Jacobites in Scotland, with a propoſal about beſieging the caſtle of Edinburgh, Sir George Byng was particularly inſtructed to uſe all means for preventing that, by hindering the French from landing in the neighbourhood. This he effectually did, and, by doing it, anſwered the principal end for which he was ſent. But the ſame malicious people, who firſt propagated this ſtory, invented alſo another, *viz.* that Sir George was hindered from taking the French fleet, by his ſhips being foul; which actually produced an inquiry in the houſe of commons, and an addreſs to the queen, to direct, that an account might be laid before them of the number of ſhips that went on the expedition with Sir George Byng, and when the ſame were cleaned [n]. That done, they reſolved the thanks of the houſe ſhould be given to the prince, as lord high-admiral, for his great care in ſo expeditiouſly ſetting forth ſo great a number of ſhips, whereby the fleet under Sir George Byng was enabled, ſo happily, to prevent the intended invaſion.

This was a very wiſe and well-concerted meaſure, ſince it fully ſatisfied the world of the falſehood of thoſe reports, and at the ſame time gave great ſatisfaction to the queen, and her royal conſort, the prince of Denmark, who had both teſtified an unuſual concern in relation to the report of the houſe of lords, which they conceived affected his royal highneſs's character, as lord high-admiral; and therefore, to give this meſſage of thanks a better grace, and make it more acceptable, the utmoſt care was taken in the choice of thoſe who were appointed to carry it [o].

Thus

[m] Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 407. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 331. The complete hiſt. of Europe, for 1708, p. 174.

[n] Chandler's debates, vol. iii. p. 95.

[o] The names of the perſons appointed to carry his royal highneſs the meſſage, were, Sir Richard Onſlow, Mr. ſecretary Boyle, Mr. Compton, Mr. Scobel, colonel Bierly, lord William Paulet, the earl of Hertford, Mr. Heyſham, admiral

Thus ended this affair of the invaſion, which made ſo much noiſe at that time, and which has been handed down in ſo many different lights to poſterity. An affair, indeed, which ſpeaks the true policy of France, and ſhews how artfully ſhe can ſerve her own ends, and with how great readineſs ſhe betrays, and gives up to deſtruction, ſuch as are ſimple enough to truſt her. But, through the wiſdom of the Britiſh miniſtry, joined to the cunning of ſome of the nobility of Scotland, who were taken into cuſtody upon this occaſion, and who, it is generally thought, gave ſuch lights as enabled the government to take theſe effectual methods; the latter part of the French ſcheme proved as abortive as the firſt; all the priſoners being ſoon after ſet at liberty, and every thing being done to ſatisfy and quiet the people of that country [p].

The great point the miniſtry had in view this year, was, to put the affairs of his Catholic majeſty into better order, and to repair, as far as it was poſſible, the many unlucky conſequences of the fatal battle of Almanza. Sir John Leake, who commanded the grand fleet, was ſo early at ſea, that on the 27th of March he arrived at Liſbon; having, in his way thither, ſeen the merchant ſhips bound to Virginia, and the Canaries, with their reſpective convoys, well into the ſea, and taken care for the ſecurity of others deſigned to the ports of Portugal [q]. Here he found the ſhips that had been left with captain Hickes, which were fourteen of the third rate, beſides ſmall frigates, and bomb-veſſels; and at a council of war it was reſolved, that, as ſoon as the tranſports were ready to receive the horſe on board, the fleet ſhould proceed to Vado, and that ſuch of the ſhips of war as could not be got ready by that time, ſhould follow to Barce-

admiral Churchill, Mr. Bromley, Sir Godfrey Copley, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Sir Thomas Lyttleton, Sir David Dalrymple, Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Morriſon, Mr. Brewer, Sir John Swinton, Sir John Erſkine, Mr. Halden, Mr. Cockburne, Sir John Holland, and Mr. Wortley.

[p] It is evident from the French writers, that they are as much divided in their ſentiments, and conſequently as much in the dark as we. Marſhal Matignon's letter ſhews plainly, it was, on the ſide of France, a mere temporary diverſion. Thoſe who were ſuſpected to have invited it were inſincere, and the perſons embarked, were the dupes of friends and foes.

[q] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 749. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 504. London Gazette, N°. 4414, alſo N°. 4414.

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lona, where there would be orders left how they ſhould farther proceed. But, as for the Dutch ſhips, they were all ſeparated in bad weather, between England and Liſbon. It was alſo determined, at the deſire of the king of Portugal, to appoint the Warſpight, Rupert, and Triton, to cruize off the Tercera, or Azores iſlands, for the ſecurity of his majeſty's fleet expected from Brazil; nor was there any care omitted to guard the Streights mouth, leſt otherwiſe our trade ſhould ſuffer by the enemy's cruizers or privateers[r]. The procuring tranſport ſhips, and putting them in a condition for receiving the horſe, took up a conſiderable time; but, on the 23d of April, the admiral was ready to ſail with as many as could carry fifteen hundred, with one ſecond rate, twelve third rates, two fourths, a fire-ſhip, bomb-veſſels, *&c.* together with twelve ſhips of the line of battle of the ſtates-general; and, upon advice from colonel Elliot, governor of Gibraltar, and from other hands, that ſome French ſhips of war were ſeen cruizing off the Streights mouth; one third, and one fourth rate, and another of the Dutch ſhips of war, were appointed to ſtrengthen thoſe before ordered to ply up and down in that ſtation[s].

The admiral ſailed from the river of Liſbon, on the 28th of April, and, in his paſſage up the Streights, he, on the 11th of May, being about twelve leagues from Alicant, had ſight of ſeveral veſſels, which he took for fiſhing-boats. But he had a better account of them the next day, for having detached before ſome light frigates from Barcelona, to give notice of the approach of his fleet, one of them had the good luck to take a

[r] Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 349. Oldmixon, vol. ii. p. 413. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1708, p. 187, 188. London Gazette, N°. 4428.

[s] There was an abſolute neceſſity of ſending ſo ſtrong a fleet to the relief of the king of Spain, for without it he muſt have been obliged to quit that kingdom. The enemy had no leſs than three armies in the field, under the command of the duke of Orleans, the duke of Noailles, and the marquis de Bay; while king Charles was in a manner ſhut up in his city of Barcelona, and had no hopes of his being delivered, but by our fleets tranſporting the German troops, that lay ready for his ſervice in Italy. Yet, very ſoon after the arrival of Sir John Leake in theſe ſeas, his affairs began to change their aſpect, and he had a conſiderable army in the field, under the command of that conſummate officer count Staremberg. Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, annals of queen Anne. Complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1708.

French

French frigate of twenty-four guns, and thereby obtained an account of the convoy that was expected. Upon this, the captains of our frigates made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for intercepting them [t]. The next day, the French convoy appeared in ſight, conſiſting of three men of war, one of forty-four, another of forty, and the third of thirty-two guns, with ninety ſettees and tartanes laden with wheat, barley, and oil, for the uſe of the duke of Orleans's army, and bound for Peniſcola, near the mouth of the Ebro. The Britiſh frigates bore down immediately upon the enemy's men of war, and theſe abandoning their barks, and endeavouring to make their eſcape, came in view of the confederate fleet, which, ſeeing ſeven men of war, concluded they were enemies, and thereupon the admiral made a ſignal to give them chace. But as the great ſhips could not follow them near the coaſt, the French made their eſcape in the night. The vice-admiral of the white, who ſailed on the left with his diviſion, perceiving the barks near the coaſt, ſent his long-boats and ſmall ſhips, and took ſeveral of them [u]. The next morning they ſaw ſome of them diſperſed, which were likewiſe ſecured by the long-boats: and ſome barks of Catalonia, coming out of their harbours at the ſame time, to have a ſhare in the booty; ſixty-nine of them were taken, and the reſt diſperſed [w].

On the 15th of May, the admiral arrived at Barcelona, where he was joined by ſeveral of our ſhips, and complimented by the

[t] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 750. London Gazette, N°. 4435. Mercure hiſtorique et politique l'Anneé, 1708, tom. xliv. p. 670, 673.

[u] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 750. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1708, p. 188. London Gazette, N°. 4447, as alſo N°. 4453. Authors differ as to the number taken, as do the Gazettes likewiſe.

[w] This might have proved an affair very conſiderable in its conſequences, if the duke of Orleans, who commanded the army of king Philip, had not been one of the firſt generals of the age; but he foreſeeing that this accident might happen, had provided againſt it, by ordering a great quantity of oats and beans, which had been laid up for the uſe of the cavalry, to be employed in making bread, till his army could be better ſupplied. This capture, however, proved of the utmoſt ſervice to king Charles, as it enabled his army, after it was once formed, to take the field ſome weeks ſooner than it could otherwiſe have done; and the readineſs with which the admiral cauſed the cargoes of his prizes to be ſent to the king's magazines, ſufficiently proves the public ſpirit of Sir John Leake, and the great concern he had for this ſervice.

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king of Spain, on his late ſucceſs; his Catholic majeſty took this opportunity of deſiring a ſquadron might be left under his direction at Barcelona, while the fleet croſſed to Italy, to bring over the reinforcements he expected, and the queen of Spain, who, it was thought, was by this time arrived at Genoa. He ſignified alſo his deſire, that the proviſions lately taken might be laid up in his magazines, which were but indifferently furniſhed; that care might be taken for reducing Sardinia as ſoon as poſſible, and that, whenever the ſervice would permit, ſuch diſpoſitions might be made, as would contribute to the conqueſt of Sicily, which kingdom he judged might be recovered by the forces that were then under count Daun, and the care of the then viceroy of Naples.

As to the proviſions, the admiral ordered they ſhould be diſpoſed of, as the king required; but with reſpect to his other demands, the admiral thought it neceſſary to call a council of war, to determine which ſhould be executed, ſince it appeared abſolutely impracticable to undertake them all. At this council were preſent, beſides himſelf, Sir John Norris, Sir Edward Whitaker, Sir Thomas Hardy, and two of the Engliſh captains; as alſo baron Waſſenaer, and two of the Dutch [x]. It was there, after mature deliberation, determined to leave with the king two third rates, one fourth, and one fifth rate of ours, and two ſhips of the ſtates-general, and with the reſt of the fleet, to proceed forthwith to the port of Vado, in order to the tranſporting the horſe and foot from thence to Barcelona, as alſo her majeſty the queen of Spain, if ſhe ſhould be ready when the fleet arrived [y].

[x] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 751. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 504. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. xlv. p. 9.

[y] The great reaſon that his Catholic majeſty was ſo deſirous of having a ſquadron to cruize on the coaſt of Catalonia, was the apprehenſions he was then under, that the French would attempt to ſend a new convoy of proviſions from Provence, and Languedoc, into Spain. Beſides, during the abſence of the fleet, his affairs were in ſuch a diſtreſſed condition, that it was abſolutely neceſſary he ſhould have always a naval force in the neighbourhood of Barcelona, to ſecure his perſon, in caſe of any unforeſeen accident; and theſe were the reaſons that determined the admiral, and the council of war, to comply with his majeſty's requeſt, to the utmoſt of their power.

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The admiral ſailed in purſuance of this reſolution, and on the 29th of May ſafely anchored before Vado; but finding nothing in readineſs, he ſent Sir Thomas Hardy to wait on the queen of Spain at Milan, where he arrived the 18th of June, and was received with all poſſible marks of reſpect and eſteem [z]. Upon his preſſing inſtances, her majeſty conſented to ſet out immediately for Genoa, where ſhe arrived on the firſt of July, embarked on the ſecond, and arrived happily at Mataro on the 14th [a].

After having conducted the queen, with all imaginable reſpect, to Barcelona, the admiral thought next of the reduction of Sardinia, which he performed almoſt as ſoon as he arrived. He appeared before Cagliari on the firſt of Auguſt, and having ſummoned it, the marquis of Jamaica, who commanded there for king Philip, declared his reſolution of holding out to the laſt extremity. Upon this, the admiral ordered the place to be bombarded all that night, and the next morning major-general Wills landed about 1800 men, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking the city; but the Spaniſh governor, believing himſelf now at the laſt extremity, ſaved them any further trouble by coming to a ſpeedy capitulation [b]. The reduction of this iſland, was of equal advantage to the common cauſe, and to that of king Charles; for it gave great ſecurity to our navigation, and enabled his Catholic majeſty to ſupply himſelf from thence, as often as he had occaſion, with corn and other proviſions [c].

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[z] Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 414. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1708, p. 247. London Gazette, N°. 4453, 4457, 4460.

[a] As it was certainly known, that king Philip's conſort contributed not a little to fix the Spaniards firmly to the king her huſband's intereſt; it was reſolved the year before, to fix upon a wife for king Charles, and accordingly, the princeſs Eliſabeth Chriſtiana of Wolfenbuttle was choſen. She lived many years after her huſband, and was mother to the empreſs queen of Hungary. Before her marriage, her imperial majeſty was a Proteſtant, nor did ſhe change her religion, till ſhe had adviſed with the Lutheran clergy, who declared, that ſhe might hope for ſalvation in the church of Rome.

[b] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 752. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 512. London Gazette, N°. 4479. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. xlv. p. 325, 422, 485.

[c] This iſland lies to the north of Corſica, from which it is divided by a ſmall and ſhallow arm of the ſea. It has on the eaſt, the ſea of Sicily; on the weſt,

The admiral had ſcarce completed the conqueſt of this iſland, before his aſſiſtance was required for the reducing another; and therefore ſailing from Cagliari the 18th of Auguſt, he arrived before Port Mahon on the 25th; but not finding lieutenant-general Stanhope, (afterwards earl Stanhope, and ſecretary of ſtate), he ſent two ſhips of the third rate to Majorca, to haſten the embarkation of thoſe which were to be furniſhed from that iſland. Theſe returned the 1ſt of September with ſome ſettees, laden with military ſtores for the army; nor was it more than two days, before the Milford, and three Dutch ſhips of war, arrived with the lieutenant-general, being followed by five third rates, convoy to fifteen tranſports, that had on board them the land forces; whereupon a council of war was held of the ſea officers, and it was reſolved, that the ſhips which were to return to Great Britain, ſhould leave behind them, to aſſiſt in the attempt, all the marines, above the middle complement of each of them, and that the ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch, deſigned to be continued abroad with Sir Edward Whitaker, ſhould remain at Port Mahon, to aſſiſt with their marines and ſeamen in the reduction of that place, ſo long as the lieutenant-general ſhould deſire it; due regard being had to the ſeaſon of the year, the time their proviſions might laſt, and the tranſporting from Naples to Barcelona, four thouſand of the emperor's troops for the ſervice of his Catholic majeſty. It was alſo reſolved, that the Engliſh ſhips ſhould ſpare the forces as much bread as they could, and both they and the Dutch all their cannon-ſhot, except what might be neceſſary for their own defence; and that, when every thing ſhould be landed, which was neceſſary for the ſiege, the admiral ſhould proceed to England, with one ſecond rate, and ſix thirds of ours, and eight Dutch ſhips of the line; but ſome time after this, he ſent home two Engliſh and two Dutch ſhips of war, with the empty tranſports of both nations, in or-

the Mediterranean; on the ſouth, the coaſt of Afric, from which it is not diſtant above fifty leagues. It is divided into two parts by the rivers Credo and Lirſo, and is extremely fruitful in corn, oil, honey, and all the neceſſaries of life. As ſoon as the Engliſh fleet appeared, the clergy declared unanimouſly for king Charles; and the admiral had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the new viceroy he carried over, eſtabliſhed in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his government in the ſpace of a week, and without the loſs of ſo much as a man. The reader will find the capitulations at large, in the complete hiſt. of Europe, for 1708, p. 261.

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der to their being diſcharged. The ſiege was carried on with ſuch vigour, that, by the end of October, the place ſurrendered, and the garriſon, conſiſting of about a thouſand men, marched out, and were afterwards tranſported on board our veſſels, ſome to France, and others to Spain, according to the articles of the capitulation [d].

Before this conqueſt of Port Mahon, Fort Fornelle, which had beneath it a harbour little leſs conſiderable, though leſs known than Port Mahon, had ſubmitted to the obedience of king Charles. This ſervice was owing to captain Butler, and captain Fairborne, who battered that fort, with the two ſhips under their command, till they obliged it to ſurrender. The place was naturally ſtrong, and was, beſides, tolerably fortified; having four baſtions, and twelve pieces of braſs cannon: yet, it coſt but four hours time, and the loſs of ſix men killed, and twelve wounded. They found in the garriſon, a hundred cannon, three thouſand barrels of powder, and all things neceſſary for a good defence.

Some little time after, the general ſent a detachment of about a hundred Spaniards, with three hundred or more of the marquis Piſaro's regiment, to Citadella, the chief town of the iſland on the weſt ſide thereof. Sir Edward Whitaker diſpatched two ſhips of war thither; which place put them to no great trouble, for the garriſon, immediately ſurrendering, were made priſoners of war, conſiſting of a hundred French, and as many Spaniards. Being thus poſſeſſed of this important iſland, we had thereby the advantage of an excellent harbour, which, during the war, was exceedingly uſeful to us in the cleaning and refitting ſuch of our ſhips as were employed in the Mediterranean; and not only magazines of ſtores were lodged there for that purpoſe, but ſuch officers appointed to reſide on the place,

[d] The troops under the command of general Stanhope, conſiſted of no more than two thouſand ſix hundred men, which were landed at Port Mahon on the 14th of October. They were not able to batter the place till the 28th, and two days after it ſurrendered; about fifty men were killed and wounded in the ſiege, and among the former, captain Stanhope of the Milford, brother to the general, a young gentleman of great hopes, and who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf remarkably upon this occaſion. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 753. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 512. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. xlv. p. 373, 488.

as were judged requiſite, and a vaſt expence ſaved thereby to the nation[e].

But it is now time we ſhould return to the fleet, which, as we obſerved, ſailed under the command of Sir John Leake for England, the ſixth of September. His excellency, on his arrival at Gibraltar, being there informed, that four French men of war had taken ſome of our merchant ſhips, running, as they called it, without convoy, near cape Spartel, and carried them into Cadiz; he thought proper to leave a ſmall ſquadron, conſiſting of two third rates, one fourth, and a fifth, to cruize in that ſtation, in order to prevent ſuch accidents for the future, and then purſued his voyage to England, where he arrived ſafely at St. Helen's, on the 19th of October[f], having met in the Soundings with the ſquadron cruizing there under the command of lord Durſley, afterwards earl Berkley, and for ſome time at the head of the admiralty.

[e] The reduction of the iſland of Minorca, was ſo conſiderable a ſervice, that all imaginable pains were taken to make the Britiſh nation ſenſible thereof, by giving an exact relation of that whole proceeding in the Gazette; and after general Stanhope had tranſmitted an account of the conqueſt of the whole iſland, the earl of Sunderland, then principal ſecretary of ſtate, wrote the following letter to his excellency upon that ſubject:

"SIR,

"I received on Monday the favour of yours of the 30th September, N. S. by "captain Moyſer, with the welcome news of your taking Port Mahon; which "though it came at the ſame time as the news of taking of Liſle, yet was not at "all leſſened by it; every body looking upon our being in poſſeſſion of Port "Mahon, as of the laſt conſequence to the carrying on the war in Spain; be- "ſides the other advantages, if we are wiſe, we may reap from it, both in war "and peace. I cannot expreſs to you the ſenſe the queen, and every body "here, have of your zeal and conduct, in this affair, to which this very impor- "tant ſucceſs is ſo much owing. I heartily condole with you for the loſs of "your brother, which, indeed, is a public loſs to us all, he was ſo deſerving a "young man. I muſt not omit telling you, the queen does entirely approve of "your leaving an Engliſh garriſon in Port Mahon, for the reaſons you mention, "though ſome of them muſt be kept ſecret. Her majeſty doth approve alſo of "the governor you have named," &c. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 753. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 350, 351. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1708, p. 312. London Gazette, N°. 4481.

[f] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 753. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. xlv. p. 531.

Sir

Sir Edward Whitaker had now the ſole command of the ſquadron left for the Mediterranean ſervice, and was conſequently expoſed to all the difficulties which uſually happen to officers under different orders. On one ſide, he was bound to regulate his conduct by the inſtructions left him by Sir John Leake; on the other, he was continually ſolicited by king Charles, to undertake this or that expedition for his ſervice. The chief thing the imperial court had at this time in view, was, the reduction of the iſland of Sicily, an enterprize not to be undertaken, but in conjunction with our fleet; and, as it afterwards proved, not then neither; for when Sir Edward had diſpoſed every thing in the beſt manner poſſible, for the ſupporting this deſign, the viceroy of Naples declared, there were ſuch diſcontents in that kingdom, as would not allow him to ſend any troops from thence; but, if Sir Edward Whitaker would furniſh him with a ſmall ſquadron, he was ready to undertake the reduction of the places on the coaſt of Tuſcany, which belonged to the crown of Spain[g].

In compliance with this requeſt, the Defiance, and the York, with the Terrible bomb-veſſel, were ſent into the road of Piombino; but the Germans, as uſual, were ſo backward in their preparations, that it was neceſſary to continue a month longer in thoſe ſeas; to very little purpoſe, at leaſt with reſpect to either of the deſigns before-mentioned: but, in regard to a diſpute that then ſubſiſted between his holineſs and the imperial court, and which had almoſt riſen into a war, it had a better effect; for our chacing ſome of the Pope's gallies, and threatening to bombard Civita Vecchia, contributed not a little to bring down the pontiff's haughty ſtomach, and inclined him to an accommodation upon terms acceptable to the imperial court.

All this time, Sir Edward Whitaker himſelf was at Leghorn, attending the motions of the German troops, where he unexpectedly received a letter from king Charles III. of a very extraordinary nature. His majeſty acquainted him therein, that the enemy had not only beſieged the city of Denia, in Valencia,

[g] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 754. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 350. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1708, p. 313.

but

but had threatened alſo to attack Alicant, in which they were to be ſupported by a French fleet of fifteen ſhips of the line. For theſe reaſons, and to prevent his being ſurrounded in Catalonia, his majeſty earneſtly intreated him not to paſs the Streights, as by Sir John Leake's inſtructions he was required to do, but to remain upon the coaſt of Spain; aſſuring him, if he did otherwiſe, he would charge upon him all the misfortunes that might happen to his affairs. General Stanhope alſo wrote much to the ſame purpoſe; upon which it was reſolved, in a council of war, to proceed immediately to Vado, to take on board there a reinforcement of German foot, for the ſervice of king Charles, and then ſail directly for Barcelona[h].

In purſuance of this deſign, Sir Edward Whitaker left Leghorn on the 27th of November, and having executed it very ſucceſsfully, arrived ſafely at Barcelona. There the king acquainted him by letter, that, according to what had been agreed on, at a council of war held in his royal preſence, the moſt conſiderable ſervice the ſquadron under his command could do, at that juncture, was to return to Italy, and convoy the troops from thence deſigned for Catalonia; but withal, recommended to him not only the convoying the tranſports, with corn from Majorca, and their being afterwards ſent to Sardinia, for a further ſupply, and for horſes to mount their cavalry, but that, when he ſhould be on the coaſt of Italy, he would appoint ſuch ſhips as cardinal Grimani might deſire, to ſecure the paſſage of the Pharo of Meſſina, which might conduce to the

[h] The affairs of king Philip continued to proſper, after the battle of Almanza, on all ſides. The duke of Orleans commanded the beſt part of the year, and after making himſelf maſter of Tortoſa, had certainly carried his conqueſts farther, if the French court had not thought fit to recal him; the reaſons of which extraordinary ſtep have been ſomewhat differently reported. It is, on the one hand, alledged, that the princeſs of Urſins, who at that time entirely governed king Philip, fell into a correſpondence with the enemies of the duke of Orleans at the French court, and by a multitude of intrigues, rendered him odious to his uncle, Lewis XIV. On the other hand, it is as confidently affirmed, that his royal highneſs held a ſecret correſpondence with the allies, and had actually formed a project for ſupplanting king Philip. Whatever his political ſchemes might be, he certainly ſhewed himſelf an able general, ſince, by keeping count Starenberg employed in Catalonia, he gave the chevalier d'Aſfeldt time to conquer and ſecure the kingdom of Valencia.

more ſpeedy accommodation of affairs that were negociating at Rome.

Hereupon it was agreed, that the Dutch ſhips ſhould proceed directly to Majorca, and convoy the tranſports to Barcelona, and from thence to Cagliari, as ſoon as they ſhould be unladen, while the reſt of the ſquadron made the beſt of their way to Leghorn, where arriving, they met with very bad weather; but had advice, that matters were accommodated at Rome, the Pope having owned Charles III. king of Spain; and from the marquis de Prie, that three thouſand effective men ſhould be ready to embark at Naples, as ſoon as they arrived there[i]. Theſe negociations took up the remaining part of the winter, and therefore, here we are to put an end to our account of Sir Edward Whitaker's ſquadron, the proceedings of which we ſhall reſume, when we come to ſpeak of the naval tranſactions of the enſuing year.

The ſquadron appointed to cruize in the Soundings, was commanded this year by lord Durſley, who was very fortunate in protecting our trade, but not altogether ſo happy in chacing the French ſhips that appeared from time to time upon our coaſt, which was intirely owing to the foulneſs of his ſhips, and to the cleanneſs of theirs. In the middle of the ſummer, a reſolution was taken, to make a deſcent on, or at leaſt to alarm, the coaſt of France; and Sir George Byng as admiral, and lord Durſley as vice-admiral, of the blue, were appointed to command the fleet deſtined for that purpoſe, and lieutenant-general Erle had the command of the land-forces. Many things were given out with relation to this expedition, the true

i The Pope had all along ſhewn a great inclination to favour the French intereſt, and the emperor having differed with him about their temporal rights, the Pope began to raiſe troops, and to behave as if he intended to diſpute the point after the manner of ſovereigns; but the German troops entering the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and living there at diſcretion, and the Engliſh fleet threatening his coaſts, he was conſtrained, much againſt his will, and after ſtruggling againſt it to the utmoſt of his power, to acknowledge king Charles, and to ſubmit, in every other reſpect, to the terms preſcribed by the emperor. About the ſame time, ſeveral of the fortreſſes on the coaſt of Tuſcany were reduced by the countenance of our fleet; and ſomething, probably, had been attempted in Sicily, but that king Philip ſent over thither count Mahoni, an experienced officer, with a ſeaſonable reinforcement of three thouſand men.

deſign

deſign of which was diſturbing the French naval armaments on their coaſts, and obliging the French court to march great bodies of men to protect their maritime towns, which neceſſarily occaſioned the diminiſhing of their army in Flanders. On the 27th of July, the fleet, with the tranſports, having the troops on board which were intended for the deſcent, ſailed from Spithead, and came the next day to an anchor off Deal. The 29th, they ſtood over to the coaſt of Picardy, as well to alarm as to amuſe the enemy, and to be ready for further orders. The firſt of Auguſt the fleet ſailed again, and anchored the next day in the bay of Boulogne, where they made a feint of landing their troops; the third, they ſtood in pretty nigh the ſhore, to obſerve the condition of the enemy. The fourth they weighed; but anchored again about noon in the bay of Eſtaples.

Here a detachment of troops were actually landed; but the project on ſhore, which this deſcent was to have countenanced, being by this time laid aſide, an expreſs brought new orders from England, upon which the troops were re-embarked. The ſeventh, they ſtood over again to the coaſt of England, and, being joined by ſeveral more tranſports in Dover road, arrived the 11th in the bay of La Hogue. The 12th, it was deſigned to have landed the troops; but, upon viewing the coaſt, they found ſo many of the enemy's forces brought together, to oppoſe a deſcent, and ſo many forts and batteries on ſhore, that it was judged impracticable. The 14th, the fleet ſailed again to the weſtward; but, the wind coming about the next day, they altered their courſe, and lay before Cherbourg, but found no proſpect of doing any thing there. The ſame day, the lord Durſley, in the Oxford, with ſix other men of war, and frigates, ſailed to the weſtward to cruize in the Soundings. The 17th, the reſt of the fleet returned to the bay of La Hogue; but the men growing ſickly, and proviſions falling ſhort, Sir George Byng returned to Spithead on the 28th [k].

When

[k] Mr. ſecretary Burchet takes not the leaſt notice of this expedition, though we have a very large account of it in the Gazettes, N°. 4458, 4459, 4460, 4461, *&c.* The French hiſtorians, likewiſe, magnify the great advantage they obtained by repelling this invaſion. After thus alarming the French coaſt, and creating the enemy inexpreſſible trouble, the duke of Marlborough deſired, that

When the ſquadron under lord Durſley had been victualled, and refitted, at Plymouth, he ſailed from thence on the 28th of September, with five ſhips of war, and was joined the next day by the Hampſhire, which had taken a ſmall French privateer. His lordſhip took another himſelf, of twenty-four guns, belonging to St. Malo, which had done a great deal of miſchief. On the 7th of November his lordſhip returned to Plymouth, and ſoon after the Hampſhire brought in a privateer of 16 guns, and a rich merchant-man bound to the Weſt Indies; the Saliſbury likewiſe brought in two prizes, and, through the great vigilance of this noble commander, the whole coaſt was very thoroughly protected. In the middle of December, his lordſhip having cleaned his ſhip, put to ſea again with his ſquadron, and, on the 29th, ſaw two ſhips, which chaced him; but when they came near, they bore away, and then his lordſhip returned the compliment, by chacing them with all the ſail he could make, and at laſt came within gun-ſhot, when their commander lightened them by throwing many things overboard, and ſo they eſcaped; which gave great concern to his lordſhip, the one being a ſixty, the other a fifty-gun ſhip: ſo that, after a ſhort cruize, he returned with his ſquadron to Plymouth, without being able to make any other prize than a French fiſhing-veſſel from the banks of Newfoundland.

This indefatigable diligence of his lordſhip, though it was not attended with any extraordinary ſucceſs, gave great ſatisfaction to the merchants, as it hindered the French privateers from venturing near our coaſts, as they had done for many years before, to the inexpreſſible damage of our trade, as well as to the prejudice of our reputation as a maritime power. It was, therefore, juſtly reſolved, to give his lordſhip an extraordinary mark of her majeſty's favour, by promoting him to the rank of vice-admiral of the white; and though this was ſomewhat retarded by the death of his royal highneſs the lord-

that this body of troops might be landed at Oſtend, which was accordingly performed on the twenty-third of September, at ſo critical a juncture, that it is thought, if they had not arrived as they did, the city of Liſle could ſcarce have been taken.

high-admiral, yet it took place in the ſpring of the ſucceeding year [l].

Before we part with this ſubject, in order to account, as we have promiſed to do, for what happened this year in the Weſt Indies, it is requiſite to ſpeak of the paſſage of the queen of Portugal on board our fleet to Liſbon. Her majeſty was ſtyled, before her marriage, the arch-ducheſs Mary-Anne of Auſtria, daughter to the emperor Leopold, and ſiſter to the emperor Joſeph. This marriage was thought to be highly advantageous to the common cauſe, and was therefore very grateful to our court, who readily offered to ſend her majeſty to Liſbon on board a Britiſh ſquadron. In the beginning of the month of September ſhe ſet out for Holland, where rear-admiral Baker attended, with a ſmall ſquadron, to bring her over [m]; which he accordingly did on the 25th of that month, and landed her at Portſmouth, where ſhe ſtaid ſome days at the houſe of Thomas Ridge, Eſq; and the queen, being then at Windſor, ſent inſtantly the duke of Grafton to compliment her majeſty on her part, as his royal highneſs the prince of Denmark did the lord Delawar [n]. On the ſixth of October, about three in the afternoon, the queen of Portugal went on board the Royal Anne, where her majeſty was received by Sir George Byng, and, on her going off, the governor ſaluted her with all the cannon of the place; and the next morning, at 7 o'clock, the fleet weighed and put to ſea, when all the cannon of the town were again diſcharged.

Sir George Byng proceeded with a fair wind, and, after a quick and eaſy paſſage, brought her majeſty ſafely into the river of Liſbon, on the 16th of the ſame month. The king, with

[l] What I have here advanced, is on all hands allowed, and even by biſhop Burnet himſelf, who confeſſes, that much greater care was taken of our trade, and the French privateers were more effectually reſtrained, than in any year ſince the war began. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 720. Burnet, Oldmixon, complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1708. Annals of queen Anne. Columna roſtrata, p. 288.

[m] Boyer's hiſtory of queen Anne, p. 354. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xlv. p. 306. London Gazette, N°. 4466, 4469. [n] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 515. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 354. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xlv. p. 410. London Gazette, N°. 4471.

ſeveral

ſeveral magnificent barges, went on board the Royal Anne to welcome the queen; and, returning from thence, their majeſties landed at the bridge of the palace, under a magnificent triumphal arch, from whence they proceeded through a vaſt crowd of people to the royal chapel, where they received the nuptial benediction, and heard *Te Deum* ſung. His majeſty conducted the queen to her apartment, and they ſupped in public with the infantas. There were great rejoicings upon this occaſion, and fire-works and illuminations for three nights together. The queen having generouſly expreſſed her great ſatisfaction as to the entertainment ſhe had received during her ſtay in England, undoubtedly the king was very liberal in his magnificent preſents to the admiral and others that conducted her. The arrival of the queen was attended with ſome other circumſtances, which increaſed the joy of the people; for, on the 12th, four ſhips from Brazil came into the river, and reported, that the reſt of that ſo long expected fleet were near the coaſt [o]. Several other ſhips came in afterwards, ſo that, out of about a hundred ſail, there were but thirty or forty wanting, which were detained by contrary winds. The cargo was rich, and there was a good quantity of gold in ſpecie aboard [p].

Sir George, the very next day after his arrival, had intelligence, that ſome French ſhips of conſiderable force had been ſeen upon the coaſt, which were ſuppoſed to be waiting for the reſt of the homeward-bound Brazil fleet. Upon this, he immediately ſailed in queſt of them, though without ſucceſs, ex-

[o] The complete hiſt. of Europe, for 1708, p. 313. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4478, 4484, 4487. This fleet is ſaid to have been the richeſt that ever arrived in the river of Liſbon, as we have remarked in the text, having on board ten thouſand arobas of gold, each aroba weighing thirty-two pounds weight, and a great quantity of diamonds, beſides merchandize, and was valued, in the whole, at fifty-two millions of cruſadoes.

[p] Colonel Godfrey, who had married the duke of Marlborough's ſiſter, was ſent to Portſmouth, to defray the expences of the queen of Portugal's houſehold, while ſhe continued there, and accordingly he kept eight tables all that time. Her majeſty, in teſtimony of her grateful ſenſe of the honours paid her by our court, made a preſent to the duke of Grafton of a diamond ring, worth twelve thouſand crowns, and gave admiral Byng her picture, ſet with diamonds, to a very great value. Her paſſage was remarkably happy, as ſhe was not above ten days at ſea. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xlv. p. 524.

cept that the news of being at ſea forced them to retire, and thereby ſecured the ſafe arrival in port of the remaining thirty-four ſhips, which dropped in by degrees. About the middle of November, Sir George received orders to proceed to Port Mahon, to winter there, and to leave Sir John Jennings at Liſbon with a ſmall ſquadron. But, before he left that river, he received the queen's inſtructions to wear the union flag in the Mediterranean [q]. He ſailed on the 27th of December, with ſix ſhips of the line, two fire-ſhips, and three ſtore-ſhips or tenders, leaving directions with Sir John Jennings, to appoint the firſt ſhips he ſhould have clean, to guard the mouth of the Streights; and having ſent two third rates, two fourths, and a fifth a-head of him to Alicant, to aſſure the governor of the caſtle there of his aſſiſtance, he arrived himſelf about the height of cape Palos the third of January, when ſtanding in for Alicant, the wind came off from the land ſo freſh, at N. N. W. that he could not fetch the bay, ſo that he bore away to Port Mahon; but when he had got within four leagues of that place, which was on the fifth, the wind came to the north, and N. N. E. blowing extreme hard, with much ſnow; and the next day it was ſo very tempeſtuous, that it ſeparated moſt of the ſquadron, forcing him almoſt as high as Sardinia; but on the 12th, he got into Port Mahon, where he found moſt of the ſquadron [r].

When we laſt mentioned the exploits of the Engliſh navy in America, we gave an account of the arrival there of Sir John Jennings, who commanded in theſe parts from October 1706, to January 1707, without having it in his power to perform any thing very remarkable. He was ſucceeded in his command by commodore Wager, who arrived at Jamaica in the ſummer of the year 1707, and diſpoſed all things in ſuch a manner, that the deſigns of the enemy were rendered abſolutely abortive; the ſeveral Engliſh ſettlements were thoroughly protected, and ſuch convoys granted the merchants, as put the trade of that part of the world into a much better condition than it had been ſince the breaking out of the war; all which was

[q] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 757. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 355.
[r] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 757. Boyer's life of queen Anne. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xlvi. p. 252. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4517.

very

very honourably acknowledged by the planters and merchants[s].

In the beginning of the year 1708, that part of the world was much alarmed with the news of M. du Caſſe's arrival, with a French ſquadron of great force, and which, it was ſuppoſed, had ſome deſign upon the iſland of Jamaica. This apprehenſion, however, ſoon went over, upon the commodore's receiving certain intelligence, that du Caſſe was ſailed for the Havannah, in order to conduct home the galleons. It is certain, that under his convoy they might have been abſolutely ſafe, ſince he had double the ſtrength of the Engliſh fleet in thoſe ſeas; and, therefore, we may very well admire, that commodore Wager ſhould even form a deſign upon theſe treaſure-ſhips, and much more that he ſhould ſucceed in it, in ſpite of all the care and vigilance of M. du Caſſe, at once the moſt able and moſt active ſea-officer then in the French ſervice[t].

Such as knew the diſpoſition of the late Sir Charles Wager will readily acquit me of flattery, when I venture to give this character of him: that he was an officer who valued his reputation as much, and his fortune as little, as any man that ever was in the Britiſh ſervice. Avarice, therefore, had no ſhare in this project of his, which was grounded only in a deſire of doing his duty, and reſtoring the reputation of the Britiſh arms, which had not been a little ſunk in that part of the world, eſpecially by the covetouſneſs and cowardly proceedings of ſome of our commanders. The commodore underſtood perfectly the route of the galleons: he knew that they were to ſail from Porto-Bello to Carthagena, and from thence to the Havannah, and, as he was very ſenſible that it was to no purpoſe to attempt them after they had joined du Caſſe, he was reſolved to try if

[s] The commodore was a man particularly agreeable to people in that part of the world, from his diſintereſted diſpoſition, and from his deſire to contribute in every reſpect to the protection of their trade, which he did not only without ſeeking, but even without accepting any gratifications, as the merchants themſelves wrote to the board of admiralty.

[t] Hiſtoire militaire, tome vi. p. 124.

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it was not poſſible to intercept them in their paſſage from Porto Bello to Carthagena [u].

With this view he ſent captain Humphrey Pudner, in the Severne, to watch the enemy's motions in Porto Bello, from whom he received advice, on the 23d of May, that on the 19th the galleons were ſailed. The commodore had then with him the Expedition, Kingſton, Portland, and Vulture fire-ſhip, and cruized to the 27th, in expectation of the galleons, but not meeting with them, the commodore began to fear they had intelligence of his being on the coaſt, and were gone for the Havannah [w].

On the 28th of May, about noon, the galleons, in all ſeventeen ſail, were diſcerned from his top-maſt-head, and at the ſame time they diſcovered him; but, deſpiſing ſo ſmall a force, reſolved to proceed. He chaced them till evening, when they, finding they could not weather the Baru, a ſmall iſland which lay in their paſſage to Carthagena, reſolved to diſpute the matter there, and ſtretching therefore to the northward with an eaſy ſail, they drew as well as they could into a line of battle. The admiral, who wore a white pennant at the main-top-maſt-head, in the centre, the vice-admiral, with the ſame pennant at the fore-top-maſt-head, in the rear, and the rear-admiral, who bore the pennant on the mizen-top-maſt-head, in the van, about half a mile from each other, there being other ſhips between them [x].

[u] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 705. Columna roſtrata, p. 292. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1708, p. 251.

[w] This was an affair of prodigious conſeqnence; for, firſt, the galleons had not returned to Europe for ſeveral years, and conſequently were extravagantly rich. This very ſquadron that was attacked by commodore Wager, had on board forty-eight millions of pieces of eight. The Spaniards and French depended intirely upon this ſupply, their caſh and credit being abſolutely worn out, ſo that their mint bills were at thirty and forty *per cent.* diſcount. It was for theſe reaſons, that care was taken to ſend ſo ſtrong a French ſquadron into the Weſt Indies, and under the command too of an officer, who, beſides his high reputation in every other reſpect, was the beſt acquainted of any man with thoſe ſeas.

[x] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 705. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xlv. p. 230, 307. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 598.

Of

Of the ſeventeen, two were ſloops, and one a brigantine, which ſtood in for the land; two others of them were French ſhips, which running away, had no ſhare in the action; the reſt Spaniards. The commodore inſtantly made his diſpoſition; he reſolved to attack the admiral himſelf, gave inſtructions to captain Simon Bridges, who commanded the Kingſton, to engage the vice-admiral, and ſent his boat to the Portland, commanded by captain Edward Windſor, with orders to attack the rear-admiral, and as there was no immediate occaſion for the fire-ſhip, ſhe plied to the windward [y].

The ſun was juſt ſetting when commodore Wager came up with the admiral, and then, beginning to engage, in about an hour and half's time, (it being dark), ſhe blew up, not without great danger to the Expedition, from the ſplinters and planks which fell on board her, on fire, and the great heat of the blaſt [z]. Hereupon the commodore put abroad his ſignal lights, for keeping company, and endeavoured to continue fight of ſome of the enemy's ſhips; but finding, after this accident, they began to ſeparate, and diſcovering but one, which was the rear-admiral, he made ſail after her, and coming up about ten o'clock, when he could not judge which way her head lay, it being very dark, he happened to fire his broadſide, at leaſt many guns, into her ſtern, which did ſo much damage, that it ſeemed to diſable her from making ſail, and being then to leeward, he tacking on the Spaniard, got to windward of him, and the Kingſton and Portland, (which had, by reaſon of the darkneſs of the night, or the blowing up of the Spaniſh admiral, which made it very thick thereabouts, loſt ſight of the other ſhips), following his lights ſoon after, came up with him, and aſſiſted in taking the rear-admiral, who called for quarter about two in the morning. On board of this ſhip he ſent his boats to bring to him the chief officers, and before the riſing

[y] Commodore Wager was wont to ſay, in private converſation, that a man who would not fight for a galleon, would fight for nothing; and, probably it was in a full perſuaſion of this, that he attempted ſo numerous a ſquadron with ſo ſmall a force.

[z] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 315. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 351. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4459.

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of the ſun, he ſaw one large ſhip on his weather-bow, and three ſail upon the weather-quarter, three or four leagues off ours, lying then with their heads to the north, the wind being at N. E. an eaſy gale. Then he put out the ſignal for the Kingſton and Portland to chace to windward, not being able himſelf to make ſail, being much diſabled; and, as he had a great part of his men in the prize, ſo were there no leſs than three hundred Spaniſh priſoners on board his own ſhip[a].

On Sunday the 30th, the wind being from the N. E. to N. N. W. and but little of it, the Kingſton and Portland had left off chace; but he made the ſignal for continuing it, which they did, and ran him out of ſight, the fire-ſhip ſtill continuing with him, and he having lain by ſome time, not only to put the prize in a condition of ſailing, but to refit his own rigging, made ſail eaſtward on the 31ſt, when the Kingſton and Portland joined him, and gave him an account, that the ſhip they chaced was the vice-admiral; to which, as they ſaid, they came ſo near as to fire their broadſides into her; but were ſo far advanced towards the Salmadinas, a ſhoal off Carthagena, that they were forced to tack and leave her. This gave the commodore great uneaſineſs, and determined him to call the captains of theſe ſhips to account; but, in the mean time, he ſent them orders to take or deſtroy a galleon of forty guns, which he underſtood, by a Swediſh ſhip that had been trading at Baru, had taken ſhelter in that iſland.

She was juſt coming out of port as the Kingſton and Portland appeared; upon which her crew ran her aſhore, ſet her on fire, and blew her up, ſo that nothing could be got out of her, as our captains affirmed, and this, as it appeared to the commodore afterwards, was true. On the ſecond of June, the commodore finding his proviſions and water ſhort, the wind contrary, and nothing more to be done in thoſe parts, reſolved to ſet the Spaniſh priſoners a-ſhore, according to their requeſt, on the iſland of Baru, and then proceed for Jamaica; which he performed accordingly, and the Spaniſh rear-admiral re-

[a] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 706. Burnet, The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1708. Annals of queen Anne. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 414.

tained,

tained, as long as he lived, a grateful ſenſe of the commodore's civility [b].

On the 8th of July, the Expedition, Kingſton, and Vulture fire-ſhip, brought the prize ſafe into Port-Royal harbour, where the commodore ſoon after arrived. He found, at his return, the new act of parliament for the diſtribution of prizes; and though he had before permitted the ſailors to plunder as they thought fit, when the prize was taken, yet now he appointed agents, in obedience to that act of parliament, and ordered captain Long to deliver up near thirty thouſand pounds worth of ſilver and effects, that he had taken between decks, in order to ſatisfy the ſailors of the uprightneſs of his intentions. He likewiſe took care to diſpatch proper intelligence to England, that ſhips might be fitted out to cruize for the galleons that had eſcaped; and, on the 23d of July, he held a court-martial on the two captains who had behaved ſo indifferently in the late engagement [c].

A few

[b] According to the account given to the commodore by theſe priſoners, of the ſtrength and value of the ſquadron, and which ſeems to deſerve more credit than any others, the admiral, called the St. Joſeph, carried ſixty-four guns, and had ſix hundred men, of whom ſeventeen only were ſaved, and had on board about ſeven millions in gold and ſilver; the vice-admiral mounted ſixty-four guns, and had between four and five hundred men, with about ſix millions; the rear-admiral mounted forty-four guns, but carried eleven more in her hold, and had only thirteen cheſts of pieces of eight, and fourteen ſous of ſilver, the reſt of the galleons were, for the moſt part, loaded with cocoa. It is very remarkable, that in all the action, the commodore had but two men killed, and nine wounded. I ſhall take this opportunity of adding a ſuccinct account, of a gallant exploit performed by an Engliſh officer, a little before the taking the galleons. Captain Colebay, commander of a privateer ſloop, of about an hundred men, meeting with fourteen ſail of brigantines and ſloops, laden with valuable goods, going from the galleons at Porto Bello, to Panama, under convoy of a guard ſloop, bravely fought the guard ſloop, and took her and ſix more. The Spaniards offered the captain one hundred and eighty thouſand pieces of eight for the ranſom of the ſloop, which he refuſed.

[c] In the London Gazette, No. 4476, we have the following account of the proceedings of this court-martial:

At a court-martial held on board her majeſty's ſhip Expedition, at Port Royal, in Jamaica, the 23d of July 1708,

PRESENT,

Charles Wager, Eſq; commander in chief of a ſquadron of her majeſty's ſhips in the Weſt Indies, PRESIDENT:

A few days after, the commodore received a commiſſion, appointing him rear-admiral of the blue [d], which bore date before his taking of the galleon; and therefore, as Mr. Lediard very juſtly obſerves [e], ought not to be conſidered as a reward for that action; in which light, however, many other writers have

Captain Barrow Harris, of the Aſſiſtance; captain Tudor Trevor, of the Windſor, captain Humphrey Pudner, of the Severne; captain Stephen Hutchins, of the Scarborough; captain Henry Long, of the Expedition; captain Abraham Tudor, of the Dolphin.

All duly ſworn, according to an act of parliament.

Captain Simon Bridges, commander of her majeſty's ſhip the Kingſton, was tried for not having performed his duty in a late action with the Spaniſh galleons, on the coaſt of Carthagena, in New Spain, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of May laſt; and it did appear by evidence upon oath, that the ſaid captain Simon Bridges, through miſconduct, did not uſe his utmoſt endeavours to engage, and take the enemy, on the 28th of May laſt, at night; and that he did too negligently purſue the chace of the Spaniſh vice-admiral, the 29th and 30th: and that he left off chace, when within gun-ſhot of the ſaid ſhip, doubting the pilot's knowledge, and bearing near the ſhoal, called Salmadinas, though the pilot offered to carry the ſhip within the ſaid ſhoal, after the ſaid vice-admiral; but no want of perſonal courage being alledged againſt him, this court does only find him guilty of the breach of part of the 12th, and part of the 14th articles of war, and for the ſaid offence, do diſmiſs him, the ſaid captain Simon Bridges, from being captain of her majeſty's ſhip Kingſton.

Captain Edward Windſor, commander of her majeſty's ſhip the Portland, being tried for not doing his duty, in a late action with the Spaniſh galleons, on the coaſt of Carthagena, in New Spain, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of May laſt; it did appear, by evidence upon oath, that the ſaid captain Edward Windſor was ſlack in his duty, by not bearing ſo near the enemy as to keep ſight of ſome of them, when they were engaged on the 28th at night; that upon chacing the enemy next day, by ſignal from the commodore, he left off chace, and bore down to the Kingſton in the evening, when he ought not to have done ſo; and that on the 30th, when the Kingſton and Portland chaced the vice-admiral of the galleons, near the Salmadinas, he ſhortened ſail before he came up with the ſaid ſhip, ſo far as he might have done; but it appears, that he was led into theſe miſtakes through want of judgment, and having too great a regard to captain Bridges, of the Kingſton, as a ſenior officer. This court having duly conſidered the whole matter, do find him guilty of the breach of ſome part of the 12th, and part of the 14th articles of war, and for the ſaid offence, do diſmiſs him, the ſaid captain Edward Windſor, from being captain of her majeſty's ſhip Portland.

[d] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 709.

[e] Naval hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 838.

placed

placed it[f]. Captain John Edwards arriving at Jamaica, with the Monmouth, a third rate, the Jerſey, a fourth, and the Roebuck, a fifth rate, brought the rear-admiral orders, to ſend home with him, the Expedition, Windſor, Aſſiſtance, Dolphin, Dunkirk's prize, and Vulture fire-ſhip, with which he complied; and by the latter end of September, they all ſailed for England, the Dunkirk's prize excepted, which frigate, not being in a condition to be truſted home in the winter, the rear-admiral ſent her out on a ſhort cruize, with the Monmouth, (the ſhip in which he was to hoiſt his flag), under the command of his firſt lieutenant, when, in the Expedition, captain Purvis and they brought in two French merchant ſhips, one of one hundred, the other of one hundred and fifty tons, loaden with wine, brandy, and other goods, from Rochelle to Petit Guavas; but cruizing ſoon after, on the north ſide of Hiſpaniola, the Dunkirk's prize chaced a French ſhip, until ſhe ran on ſhore near Port Françoiſe, and following her too near, the pilot not being well acquainted, ſhe ſtruck upon a ledge of rocks, where, being a very weak ſhip, ſhe ſoon bulged; captain Purvis, with ſome of his men, got upon a ſmall key, or uninhabited iſland, within ſhot of the French ſhip; and though ſhe had fourteen guns, and ſixty men, and fired ſmartly upon them, yet having his own boats, with a canoe he had taken, and having made a ſtage, from whence he was ready to attack them, the French demanded quarter, and ſurrendered the ſhip, upon agreement, that her commander and men ſhould be put on ſhore; and with this ſhip captain Purvis arrived at Jamaica, with all his company, except twenty-one, who refuſed to aſſiſt in the attempt, believing it altogether impoſſible to ſucceed therein[g].

Upon intelligence ſent the rear-admiral from the admiralty, that M. du Guai Trouin was ſailed with a ſtrong ſquadron, which it was believed might be intended to execute ſome deſign upon the iſland of Jamaica, a council of war was held on the 1ſt of December, 1708, where were preſent, beſides rear-ad-

[f] Columna roſtrata, p. 293. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1708, p. 251. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 599.

[g] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 709. Annals of queen Anne. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii.

miral Wager, captain Trevor, of the Kingſton; captain Pudner, of the Severne; captain Hutchins, of the Portland; captain Vernon, of the Jerſey; captain Charles Hardy, of the Roebuck; and it being judged, that, if they made ſuch an attempt, it would be againſt the harbour of Port Royal; it was determined, that all her majeſty's ſhips there, except ſuch as it might be neceſſary to ſend to windward, for intelligence, or on any other extraordinary occaſion, ſhould be drawn up in a line, at the entrance of the ſaid harbour, ſo as that, with the aſſiſtance of the fort, they might in the beſt manner poſſible defend it, and moſt annoy the enemy. The 18th of January, another council of war was called, and ſince the letter of advice before-mentioned was dated almoſt ſix months before, it was conſidered, whether the ſquadron ſhould be kept any longer together, ſince the enemies ſhips had not appeared; in which it was at length determined, they ought to be employed on neceſſary ſervices. Thus we have brought the proceedings in the Weſt Indies down to the cloſe of this year, and, according to the method hitherto purſued, we are now to return home, and to give an account of ſuch remarkable events there, as have relation to the affairs of the navy [h].

On the 27th of October, a court-martial was held on board the Royal Anne, at Spithead, for the trials of captain Richard Edwards, of the Cumberland; captain John Balchen, of the Cheſter; and captain Baron Wild, of the Royal Oak; the two firſt for loſing their ſhips, and the laſt for breaking the line, diſobeying his commanding officer's orders, and neglect of duty. After a ſtrict examination of witneſſes, and free liberty given to the perſons accuſed to make their defence, and to produce whatever teſtimonies were in their power, captain Edwards was moſt honourably acquitted, and declared to have done his duty, in every reſpect, both as captain and commodore; and captain John Balchen was alſo acquitted; but captain Baron Wild being found guilty of neglect of duty, and diſobeying orders, was

[h] The French writers themſelves own, that affairs went very ill in this part of the world; and biſhop Burnet, who is uſually hard enough upon the miſcarriages at ſea, has nothing to ſay as to this year's conduct, but that we did not take ſo many of the galleons as was expected; yet he lays this at the right door, I mean at that of the captains who were broke by the court-martial.

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not only caſhiered, but declared incapable of ever ſerving in the royal navy [i].

On the 28th of October, died his royal highneſs George prince of Denmark, lord high-admiral of England, and her Britiſh majeſty's conſort, at Kenſington, of an aſthma [k]. He was born in 1653; married to her majeſty the 28th of July, 1683; and on the 13th of November, 1708, he was interred in the abbey-church of Weſtminſter, at ten in the evening. At this hour, the ordnance on the platform, and on board all the ſhips in the harbour of Portſmouth, were fired, a minute after each other, which laſted for ſome hours; and the next morning the union flag was hoiſted again, which had been taken down on the news of his royal highneſs's death [l]. Her majeſty was pleaſed to keep the admiralty in her own hands, for about three weeks; and, on the 25th of November, ſhe appointed Thomas earl of Pembroke [m] lord high-admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, to the great ſatisfaction of the whole nation [n].

The new parliament meeting on the 18th of November, and having choſen Sir Richard Onſlow, Bart. for their ſpeaker, the lord high-chancellor, in a ſpeech from the throne, recommended a proviſion for the navy, and eſpecially for the building of

i Annals of queen Anne. Lediard's naval hiſtory. k Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 357. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 415. London Gazette, N°. 4484. l The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1708, p. 432. London Gazette, N°. 4488, 4489. m Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 516. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 602. London Gazette, N°. 4492.

n Biſhop Burnet gives this account of the matter: "In the end of October, "George prince of Denmark died, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, after he "had been twenty five years and ſome months married to the queen: he was "aſthmatical, which grew on him with his years; for ſome time he was conſi- "dered as a dying man, but the laſt year of his life he ſeemed to recover a "better ſtate of health. The queen had been, during the whole courſe of her "marriage, an extraordinary tender and affectionate wife; and in all his ill- "neſs, which laſted ſome years, ſhe would never leave his bed, but ſometimes "ſat up half the night in the bed by him, with ſuch care and concern, that ſhe "was looked on, very deſervedly, as a pattern in this reſpect. This prince "had ſhewed himſelf brave in war, both in Denmark and Ireland: his temper "was mild and gentle: he had made a good progreſs in mathematics: he had "travelled through France, Italy, and Germany, and knew much more than "he could well expreſs; for he ſpoke acquired languages ill and ungraceſully."

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new ſhips, and fortifying our ports. On the ſixth of December, the houſe of commons addreſſed, for an account of the number of men, that might be wanting to man her majeſty's navy, for the year 1709; which was promiſed, and upon this, accounts being laid before the houſe, they agreed to it immediately, and voted the ſame number of men, with the ſame allowance, and the ſame ſum for the ordinary uſe of the navy, as had been given the year before; but ſoon after, the commons thought fit to appoint a committee to inquire into the number of ſhips employed as cruizers and convoys; as alſo to diſcover the true reaſons of the great increaſe of the navy debt; and on their report, they came to a reſolution on the 24th of March, "That an addreſs "be preſented to her majeſty, to deſire that ſhe would be pleaſ- "ed to give directions to the proper officers, to lay before the "houſe, an account of all the ſums of money granted, or vo- "ted, ſince her majeſty's acceſſion to the crown, and how far "the ſame had proved deficient." At the ſame time, they ordered the commiſſioners of the navy to lay before them the cauſes of the increaſe of the debt of the navy. But, to this addreſs, it ſeems, the miniſtry did not think fit her majeſty ſhould give any anſwer; ſo the affair dropped for that time[o]. It is certain, and indeed it was very natural, this conduct of the court gave great offence; yet the commons were ſo hearty in the proſecution of the war, that, with their uſual liberality, they gave for the ſervice of the year 1709, no leſs a ſum than 6,457,830 l.

There were alſo in this ſeſſion ſome other things done for promoting trade and the plantations, ſuch as a grant of 103,203 l. for the relief of the inhabitants of St. Nevis, and St. Chriſtophers, and a vote in favour of the trade to Africa[p]; but the moſt remarkable was, the joint addreſs of both houſes, that her majeſty would be pleaſed not to conclude any peace with the French king, unleſs he conſented to demoliſh the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk; which point being accordingly inſiſt-

[o] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 516. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 414, 415. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1709, p. 43, 44. Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p. 114.

[p] Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 379. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1709, p. 98. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii.

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ed upon in the conferences at the Hague, with M. de Torci, for ſettling the preliminaries of a general peace; and that miniſter ſhewing greater reluctance to conſent to this, than to any other of the articles, alledging, that his maſter bought, and paid for this town and port, beſides laying out immenſe ſums upon it ſince; which ſo provoked prince Eugene, that he could not help telling the French miniſters, with great warmth, that he wondered they ſhould ſpend ſo many words about it, and that they ought rather to admire the generoſity of a princeſs, who, having it in her power to preſcribe them harder terms, and force them to deliver that, with what other places ſhe pleaſed, and revive many pretenſions of the crown of England, gave an unparalleled example of her moderation [q]. This had ſuch an effect, that the point was immediately given up, and the following article makes the ſeventeenth of the preliminaries they agreed on.

"His moſt Chriſtian majeſty promiſes, to cauſe all the forti-
"fications of the town of Dunkirk, the harbour, and Ryſ-
"banck, and others depending on the ſame, without any ex-
"ception, to be demoliſhed at his own charges; ſo that one
"half of the fortifications be demoliſhed, and one half of the
"harbour filled up within two months, and the other half of
"the ſaid fortifications razed, and the other half of the ſaid
"harbour filled up in two other months, the whole to the ſa-
"tisfaction of the queen of Great Britain, and the lords the
"States-general of the United Provinces; and it ſhall never
"be allowed to re-eſtabliſh the ſaid fortifications, or render the
"harbour navigable, directly or indirectly [r]."

I have taken particular notice of this, in order to ſhew how unanimous all parties in this nation have ever been, as to their ſentiments on this head; for it was lord Somers who moved this affair in the upper houſe: and therefore, the meaſure ought to be conſidered as a direct proof of the diſpoſition of the Whig miniſtry, as the inſerting a like clauſe in the treaty of Utrecht, plainly ſhews the ſenſe of Tory miniſters; whence I conclude, that there muſt be a total revolution of parties in this country,

[q] Complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1709, p. 140. [r] Theſe articles may be found in all the general collections; particularly in the complete hiſtory of Europe before mentioned, p. 145.

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before there can ariſe a ſet of men capable of weakening this part of our ſecurity, in any reſpect, by conſenting to, or even conniving at the reſtoring this port, ſo fatal to the commerce of the two maritime powers. To theſe points, I ſhall add the inquiry into the conduct of the miniſtry in the late invaſion, which was juſtified by the reſolutions of the houſe of commons, and the diligence of the admiralty commended[s].

Before we proceed to the operations of the year 1709, it may not be amiſs to take notice of a great naval promotion made by her majeſty, for this reaſon, becauſe it was one of the nobleſt teſtimonies of her majeſty's concern and regard towards ſuch of her ſubjects as had ſerved with extraordinary diligence and activity at ſea; for the poſt of rear-admiral of Great Britain having been vacant ſince the death of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, her majeſty, of her mere grace and favour, without the interpoſition of any of her miniſters, beſtowed it on Sir JOHN LEAKE, with this remarkable compliment, "That ſhe was put in mind of it "by the voice of the people."

Early in the ſpring, lord Durſley, who commanded in the Soundings, was at ſea with his ſquadron, and took ſeveral prizes from the French; and on the 22d of February, his lordſhip having only with him the Kent, Plymouth, Monk, and Litchfield, fell in with eleven ſail twelve leagues from Scilly. This happened about three in the morning, and their lights being ſeen, his lordſhip made the ſignal for wearing, which was obeyed, though not without imminent danger of falling amongſt the enemy; for this proved to be M. du Guai Trouin's ſquadron. However, through the darkneſs of the weather, his lordſhip miſſed them; and then ſtretching away for Plymouth, captain Stuart of the Dartmouth, whom his lordſhip had ſent in a little before with a prize, informed him, that he had been chaced by nine large ſhips off the Lizard, and that they were the ſame, in his judgment, which had fallen in with, and engaged captain Tollet in his paſſage from Ireland[t]. This affair having made a great noiſe, and doing extraordinary honour to the bravery of

[s] Burnet, Oldmixon, complete hiſtory of Europe, annals of queen Anne, Chandler's debates, &c.

[t] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 722. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1709. Annals of queen Anne.

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our Engliſh officers, I ſhall give a particular account of it from the captain's own papers.

On the 25th of February, captain Tollet, in the Aſſurance, of 70 guns, with the Sunderland, of 60, Hampſhire and Angleſea, of 50 guns each, ſailed from Corke, and being joined by the Aſſiſtance, a 50 gun ſhip, as alſo with the trade from Kingſale, continued his voyage for England. On the ſecond of March, about five in the morning, being then eight leagues S. S. W. of the Lizard, he ſaw four ſail ſtanding after him. About ſeven, they came within random ſhot; whereupon he made the ſignal for drawing into a line of battle, and another for the merchant-men to bear away as they beſt could for their own ſecurity; ſome of them, with the Angleſea and the Sunderland, having before loſt company. About eight, the enemy bore down in a line, and when they were come within muſket ſhot, they hoiſted French colours.

The French commodore, who was in a ſhip of 70 guns or upwards, came ranging along the larboard ſide of the Aſſurance, and fell aboard her, ſo that they engaged yard-arm and yard-arm, for the ſpace of almoſt half an hour; during which, the Frenchman plied captain Tollet ſo warmly with ſmall ſhot, as to cut off moſt of his marines and ſeamen that were quartered on deck. They then put off, and fell on board again on the lee ſide of the Aſſurance, firſt ranging on her bow, and then on her quarter, while ſhe fired her upper deck, and part of her lower deck guns, with ſuch vigour, that ſhe obliged the enemy to ſheer off, and ſtand away a-head towards the merchant-men. The three other ſhips, which were of 40 or 50 guns, then came ranging along-ſide the Aſſurance, firing ſeveral broad-ſides into her, and after that bore away as the former. The damage ſhe received was very great; her ſides were ſhot through and through in many places; her ſhrouds and back-ſtays cut to pieces, as likewiſe her main and falſe ſtay; which, if not timely ſeen, had occaſioned the loſs of her maſt. Her fore-ſail and fore-top-ſail were torn to pieces; her beſt bower cut away; one of the flukes of the ſpare anchor ſhot off, and her ſmall bower, by the enemies boarding, drove through her bow. All poſſible diſpatch was made in fitting her rigging, which, with the bending of a new fore-ſail, and fore-top-ſail, took up ſome time. After this

the ſhips of war all bore down, to ſecure what merchant ſhips they could, expecting to have engaged the enemy again; but they declined it. The captain of the Aſſurance, who had been four months ſick, and had been carried upon deck in a chair, was wounded; the firſt lieutenant was ſhot in the leg, which being dreſſed, he then returned to his charge upon deck; the ſecond lieutenant was killed, as were ſeveral French officers, whom they brought from Ireland; but more of the latter were wounded. In the whole, the Aſſurance had five and twenty killed, and three and fifty wounded, and ſome of theſe died of their wounds; for the enemy making their chief attempt on her, ſhe had been ſeverely treated; the Hampſhire had only two killed, and eleven wounded; the Aſſiſtance eight killed, and one and twenty wounded, among the latter was captain Tudor, her commander, who died afterwards of his wounds [u].

M. du Guai Trouin, who commanded the French ſquadron, had abundance of men killed and wounded, and took only five merchant-men, which it was believed he ſent into Breſt. In the memoirs, which go under his name, it is acknowledged, that our officers did their duty extremely well; that not only his own ſhip was very roughly handled by captain Tollet, but alſo, that the Amazon, and the Glory, that were with him, met the like reception from the Hampſhire and the Aſſiſtance. As to the five prizes, he ſays, that two of them were ſent to St. Maloe's, one got into Calais, and the other two foundered on the Engliſh coaſt [w].

[u] It is amazing that Mr. Secretary Burchet ſhould commit ſo groſs a miſtake as he has done, with reſpect to the dates in this engagement. He tells us, p. 723, that captain Tollet ſailed from Corke on the 25th of April; and immediately after, he informs us, that the engagement happened on the 6th; but he does not tell us of what month, though, from the former account, it muſt have been May. Mr. Lediard ſaw, and corrected this miſtake; but without bringing us any authority, though he happens to be right in his conjecture. We do not, however, truſt to that method. In the London Gazette, N°. 4521, is a letter from on board the Aſſurance, with an account of this tranſaction, dated in Hamoze, March 3, and therein the engagement is expreſsly ſaid to have happened the day before.

[w] The French journals of thoſe times, acknowledge the ſame thing, and own, that their ſhips were very roughly treated; and that, if our ſquadron had been ſtronger, it would have been difficult for them to eſcape.

Lord

Lord Burſley, on the 20th of March, ordered three ſhips to cruize off Breſt, to gain intelligence, and in the mean time the Saliſbury took a French Weſt India ſhip, richly laden; but the moſt valuable part of her effects were immediately taken out, becauſe ſhe proved ſo leaky, that it was ſuſpected ſhe might founder at ſea. On the 29th, his lordſhip had orders to ſee the Liſbon fleet of merchantmen ſafe into the ſea; but his lordſhip having received certain intelligence, that M. du Guai Trouin was then cruizing at the diſtance of about thirty-five leagues from Scilly, his lordſhip propoſed to leave the trade and tranſports, under the protection of ſome Dutch men of war that were expected from Portſmouth, and reſolved to go himſelf in ſearch of the enemy; but theſe Dutch ſhips of war not arriving in time, his lordſhip thought it better to comply with his orders. He accordingly eſcorted the Liſbon fleet as far as he was directed, and had ſcarce parted from them, on the 9th of April, before he diſcovered the Achilles, commanded by M. du Guai Trouin, and the Glory, who, the day before, had taken the Briſtol man of war, a fifty-gun ſhip; his lordſhip immediately gave them chace, recovered the Briſtol, which, by a ſhot in her bread-room, ſunk afterwards; but all the men, except twenty, were ſaved. The Achilles, much ſhattered, eſcaped by her ſwift ſailing, but the Le Gloire, a French man of war of 44 guns and 312 men was taken; his lordſhip having about ſeventy men killed and wounded in the action[x]. On the 26th of April, two ſmall ſhips were taken, and on the 7th of May, a privateer, carrying 14 guns, and 100 men; but the proviſions through all the ſhips then growing very ſhort, his lordſhip found it neceſſary to return to Plymouth on the 13th, with his ſquadron, which conſiſted at that time of one third and ſeven fourth rates, and there received the unwelcome news, that her majeſty's ſhip

[x] London Gazette, No. 4540. All our public accounts call the French man of war taken in this engagement, Le Gloire; but it appears from the French writers, that the true name of it was, Le Glorieux. In the account publiſhed by the admiralty, it appears, that the Briſtol, captain Gore, was taken in her paſſage from Plymouth to Liſbon, after a very warm diſpute, in which he had ſeventy men killed and wounded. The French man of war was taken by captain Thomas Matthews, afterwards admiral and commander in chief in the Mediterranean.

the Sweepſtakes, of 32 guns, had been taken by two French privateers, each of which was of greater force than that frigate.

To balance this piece of ill news, there arrived, about the ſame time, advice, that four French men of war had attacked ſome New England ſhips, laden with maſts, under the convoy of captain Walter Ryddel, in the Falmouth, a ſhip of 50 guns, about twenty-four leagues from Scilly. This happened on the 18th of May, and the French commodore, a ſixty-gun ſhip, attempting to board the Falmouth, captain Ryddel ſaved him the trouble, by filling his head-ſails, and laying her on board under her boltſprit, directly athwart her hawſer, and at the ſame time raked her fore and aft with his cannon. The enemy continued in this poſture about an hour and half, during which time he entered many men, but they were repulſed. However, the number of men on board her being much greater than thoſe in the Falmouth, it occaſioned various turns: but at length he thought fit to retire, having firſt cut all the laniards of the Falmouth's fore and mizen ſhrouds, believing it might prevent her following to reſcue the convoys, which the enemy ſtood after. Notwithſtanding this, captain Ryddel made ſail after him with ſuch diligence, as enabled him, notwithſtanding the bad condition he was in, to preſerve them all, and to bring them ſafe into Plymouth. In this action the Falmouth had thirteen men killed, and fifty-ſix wounded. The captain himſelf was wounded in the right leg, and had ſeveral other hurts; and the ſecond lieutenant, and Mr. Lawſon, a volunteer, were ſhot through the body; the Falmouth had twenty thouſand pounds, New England money, on board her at the time of the engagement [y].

On the very ſame day, application being made to his excellency Thomas earl of Wharton, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, ſignifying that two French privateers had entered Bantry Bay, and ſurprized the Ruth of London, a Weſt India ſhip, ſuppoſed to be worth 25,000l. at leaſt; his lordſhip ordered captain Camock, in the Speedwell, then in the harbour of Kingſale, to

[y] See the London Gazette, N°. 4543. Complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1709, p. 135. Burchet, Annals of queen Anne: but all theſe accounts are taken from that in the Gazette.

proceed

proceed immediately in queſt of the ſaid privateers and their prize. He accordingly ſailed directly for Beer-haven, at the very entrance of which he met one of the privateers and the prize, making the beſt of their way to France. The prize was immediately retaken, on board which the captain put his lieutenant with forty men, and then continued the chace all night; but finding the privateer had given him the ſlip, he the next morning entered Bantry Bay, and took the other privateer, with thirty men on board, moſt of them Iriſh, whom he ſent to the priſon of Corke, in order to their being tried for high treaſon [z]. Three weeks afterwards, the ſame alert officer had the good luck to ſurpriſe a French privateer of twelve guns and ninety men, on the very point of taking three merchantmen, richly laden, all of whom he brought ſafe into the port of Londonderry [a].

It is now time to return to the proceedings of Sir George Byng, whom we left in the harbour of Port Mahon, where he was extremely diſtreſſed for want of naval ſtores, which were on board the Arrogant, a ſhip that had been miſſing from his arrival in that harbour, in queſt of which he detached ſhips to Majorca, and to the port of Cagliari in Sardinia; and at the ſame time diſpatched orders to Sir Edward Whitaker, who was ſtill on the coaſt of Italy, to join him with his ſquadron, in caſe the emperor's troops, that were deſigned for Catalonia, were not as yet ready. All the month of February, 1709, was ſpent in tedious expectations; but at laſt, about the middle of March, Sir Edward Whitaker arrived, with about 3500 men, in tranſports under his convoy, to the great joy of Sir George Byng and general Stanhope, who had long waited for theſe forces, in order to attempt ſomething for the relief of Alicant, then beſieged by an army of 12,000 men, and for the ſafety of which, king Charles had expreſſed unuſual concern. As this city and caſtle had been taken, as we before have ſhewn, by the remarkable valour of the Britiſh ſeamen; as the preſent ſiege of it was one of the moſt remarkable actions in this age; and as the attempt made for its relief cannot well be underſtood

[z] See Lond. Gaz. N°. 4544. Pointer's chronological hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 621.
[a] See the London Gazette, N°. 4556.

without

without it; I ſhall take the liberty of giving a ſuccinct account of the whole affair, from the time the place was inveſted, to its ſurrender[b].

ALICANT is a city and port, commanded by a ſtrong caſtle, ſtanding on a rock, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea, and about ſixty-eight miles ſouth from the capital city of Valencia. There was in it a pretty good garriſon, under the command of major-general Richards, which made an obſtinate defence againſt a very numerous army of the enemy, with a very large train of heavy artillery, and excellently ſupplied with ammunition. At laſt, the city being abſolutely untenable, the garriſon reſolved to retire into the caſtle, which had hitherto been eſteemed impregnable. They ſunk three ciſterns in the ſolid rock, and then, with incredible labour filled them with water. The troops that retired into it, were Sir Charles Hotham's regiment, and that of colonel Sibourg, generally called the French regiment, becauſe it was compoſed of refugees. After ſome progreſs made in this ſecond ſiege, the French ſaw that it was impoſſible to do any great matter in the uſual way, and therefore, contrary to all expectation, reſolved upon a work exceſſively laborious, and, in all outward appearance, impracticable; which was that of mining through the ſolid rock, in order to blow up the caſtle and its garriſon into the air together. At firſt major-general Richards, and all the officers in the place, looked upon the enemy's ſcheme as a thing utterly impoſſible to be accompliſhed, and were ſecretly well pleaſed with their undertaking, in hopes it would give time for our fleet to come to their relief; yet, this did not hinder them from doing all that lay in their power to incommode the workmen, and, at laſt to countermine them[c].

The beſiegers, however, wrought ſo inceſſantly, and brought ſuch numbers of peaſants to aſſiſt them in their labours, that they having, in about twelve weeks time, finiſhed the works thought proper for this ſervice, by very experienced engineers, and charged them with 1500 barrels of powder, ſeveral large

b Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 758. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 393. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xlvi. p. 374. c Burchet *ubi ſupra*. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1709, p. 118. Pointer's chronological hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 614.

beams,

beams, iron bars, and crows, and other utenſils of deſtruction, ſummoned the caſtle to ſurrender, March 20th, moſt ſolemnly aſſuring a ſafe and honourable convoy to Barcelona, with bag and baggage for every perſon in it, if they ſubmitted within three days, and prevented the ruin of the caſtle; but threatened otherwiſe, no mercy ſhould be ſhewn, if any might accidentally eſcape the blow: and, to demonſtrate the reality of their deſign, they deſired the garriſon might depute three, or more engineers, with other gentlemen of competent ſkill, to view their works, and make a faithful report of what they ſaw. Accordingly, two field officers went to the mine, and were allowed the liberty of making what ſcrutiny they pleaſed; upon which they told the governor, that, if their judgment failed them not, the exploſion would carry up the whole caſtle to the eaſtermoſt battery, unleſs it took vent in their own countermine, or vein; but, at leaſt, they conceived it would carry away the ſea-battery, the lodging-rooms in the caſtle-cloſe, ſome of the chambers cut for ſoldiers barracks, and, they very much feared, might affect the great ciſtern [d].

A grand council of war was called upon this; the French meſſage delivered, and the engineers made their report; the beſieged acknowledged their want of water; but believing the fleet might be ſenſible of their diſtreſs, and conſequently under ſome concern for their relief, their unanimous reſolution was, to commit themſelves to the providence of God, and, whatever fate attended them, to ſtand the ſpringing of the mine. The French general, and Spaniſh officers, expreſſed the utmoſt concern at this anſwer, and the ſecond night of the three allowed, ſent to divert them from what they called, and it is very likely thought, inexcuſable obſtinacy, offering the ſame honourable articles as before, even upon that late compliance; but theſe ſtill were rejected by the beſieged. The fatal third night approaching, and no fleet ſeen, the French ſent their laſt ſummons, and withal an aſſurance, that their mine was primed, and ſhould be ſprung by ſix o'clock the next morning; and though, as they ſaw, all hope and proſpect of relief was vain,

[d] Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 393. Taubman's memoirs of the Britiſh fleets and ſquadrons in the Mediterranean, p. 32, 33. Annals of queen Anne.

yet

yet there was room for ſafety ſtill, and the terms already propoſed was in their power to accept. The beſieged perſiſted in their adherence to the reſult of their firſt council, and the French met their uſual anſwer again; therefore, as a prologue to their intended tragedy, they ordered all the inhabitants of that quarter to withdraw from their houſes before five o'clock the enſuing morning. The beſieged, in the mean time, kept a general guard, devoting themſelves to their meditations. The major-general, colonel Sibourg, and lieutenant-colonel Thornicroft, of Sir Charles Hotham's regiment, ſat together in the governor's uſual lodging-room; other officers cantoned themſelves as their tempers inclined them, to paſs the melancholy night[c].

At length, day appearing, the governor was informed, that the inhabitants were flying in crowds to the weſtermoſt part of the town. The governor, attended by the above-mentioned gentlemen, and about five or ſix other officers, went to the weſt battery, to inform himſelf better. After he had remained there about a quarter of an hour, lieutenant-colonel Thornicroft deſired him to remove, as being unable to do any ſervice there; he and colonel Sibourg both anſwered, that no danger was to be apprehended there, more than in any other place; and that there they would wait the event. The lieutenant-colonel remained, becauſe his ſuperiors did, and other officers imitated the ſame example: but the hour of five being now conſiderably paſt, the corporal's guard cried out, that the train was fired, obſerving ſome ſmoke from the lighted matches, and other combuſtible matter near it, from whence the ſame aſcended to the centinels above. The governor and field-officers were then urged to retreat, but refuſed.

The mine at laſt blew up; the rock opened and ſhut; the whole mountain felt the convulſion; the governor and field-officers, with their company, ten guns, and two mortars, were buried in the abyſs; the walls of the caſtle ſhook, part of the great ciſtern fell, another ciſtern almoſt cloſed, and the rock ſhut a man to his neck in its cliff, who lived many hours in that afflicting poſture. About thirty-ſix centinels and women were

[c] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xlvi. p. 472.

ſwallowed

ſwallowed in different quarters, whoſe dying groans were heard, ſome of them after the fourth mournful day. Many houſes of the town were overwhelmed in their ruins, and the caſtle ſuffered much; but, that it wears any form at all, was owing to the vent which the exploſion forced through the veins of the rock, and the countermine. After the loſs of the chief officers, the government fell of courſe to lieutenant-colonel Dalbeume, rather as I apprehend D'Albon, of Sibourg's regiment, who drew out a detachment from the whole garriſon, and with it made a deſperate ſally, to ſhew how little he was moved at their thunder. The bombs from the caſtle played on the town more violently, and the ſhot galled every corner of their ſtreets; which marks of their reſentment they continued till the arrival of our fleet, which they had expected ſo long[f].

The Spaniſh and French hiſtorians ſpeak of this action with all imaginable regard to the gallant defence made by the beſieged. The Spaniſh army was commanded by the chevalier d'Aſfeldt, who was then in the French ſervice, and looked upon as the very beſt officer they ever ſent to king Philip. He was an excellent engineer, ſaw at once what was to be done, and having formed his plan, purſued it ſteadily, and accompliſhed it generally. Under him commanded don Pedro Ronquillo, a Spaniſh general of diſtinguiſhed merit. D'Aſfeldt contrived and directed the mine, Ronquillo raiſed and defended the entrenchments between the caſtle and the ſea. Both punctually performed their parts, though both were difficult. D'Aſfeldt was very ſtrict and auſtere; the Spaniards, even of his own party, thought him cruel; yet, upon this occaſion, he not only ſhewed himſelf generous, but humane. He uſed every argument poſſible to perſuade major-general Richards to ſpare himſelf and his brave garriſon, and deplored their loſs with tenderneſs and affection. The Spaniards magnified their heroic

[f] This major general Richards, though an Engliſhman, was an officer in the king of Spain's ſervice, and of the Romiſh religion; the foreign Gazettes mention him with reſpect, by the name of don Juan Ricardo; there periſhed, beſides the officers mentioned in the text, five captains, three lieutenants, forty-two ſoldiers, all the miners, and about thirty peaſants.

conduct, and called the ruined caſtle, the monument of Engliſh courage [g].

On the 5th of April, about eight o'clock in the morning, Sir Edward Whitaker's ſquadron arrived, and attempted the relief of the caſtle; his ſhips were the Defiance, Northumberland, Eſſex, York, and Dunkirk. The laſt went within the line, as drawing leſs water than the other, in three and a half fathom; then laying her broadſide to the eaſt part of the town, began to cannonade a battery of four guns, and two others raiſed under the hill, each mounted with two guns, and from the mole-head, a forty-two pounder. The wind having blown freſh the night before, and an unhappy ſwell rolling in from the eaſtward at eleven, the great ſhips were obliged to weigh their anchors, making out of cannon-ſhot. The Dunkirk having much of her rigging damaged, and her ſmall bower cut between one and two, fell faſt a-ſtern, lying expoſed to the enemy's ſhot, bombs, and carcaſſes, till three in the afternoon, at which time, by winding the right way, ſhe with much difficulty got off. The weather continuing very bad till the 7th, and it not being known to what extremities the garriſon might be reduced, and the enemy increaſing conſiderably in ſtrength, the general ſent a flag of truce a-ſhore, with propoſals for ſurrendering the caſtle [h]; which being agreed to, and our men embarked, the admiral (Sir George Byng) proceeded with the troops towards Barcelona, having detached ſome ſhips to cruize for the Turkey fleet; others, with tranſports for corn to Barbary; and the Suffolk, Humber, and Ipſwich, which he left to clean at Port Mahon, were under orders to proceed to Genoa and Final, in order to embarking and tranſporting the German troops from thoſe places to Catalonia.

In his way to Barcelona he landed general Stanhope, with the troops, at Terragona, and returning with the garriſon of the caſtle of Alicant to Port Mahon, joined ſome other ſhips to thoſe he firſt intended for Genoa and Final, and ſent them

g Reflections militaires et politiques par le M. de Santa Cruz, tome viii. p. 27, 88, 95. tome ix. p. 197. Memoires de M. de St. Philippe pour ſervir a la hiſtoire d'Eſpagne, tome ii. p. 228, 243. h Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 758. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 423. The complete hiſt. of Europe, for 1709, p. 119. Lond. Gaz. No. 4544.

thither

thither under the command of Sir Edward Whitaker; but directed him firſt to proceed to Leghorn, for a ſupply of proviſions, which was at this time very much wanted. The few ſhips he had with him at Port Mahon, he was cleaning as faſt as poſſible, that ſo they might cruize againſt the enemy, who had taken the Faulcon, a ſhip of thirty-two guns, off Cape de Gat, in her paſſage to Liſbon, from whence he had ordered Sir John Jennings to join him, with the ſhips under his command, who was off Gibraltar the 21ſt of May, with ſixteen men of war, Engliſh and Dutch, and about forty tranſports, laden with corn, as alſo proviſions and ſtores for the fleet in the Mediterranean, and arrived at Port Mahon the 28th; from whence he guarded the corn ſhips to Barcelona, and was joined the 8th of June by Sir George Byng, with the reſt of the Engliſh and Dutch men of war; and there Sir Edward Whitaker arrived with his ſquadron from Italy, and above two thouſand recruits for the army in Catalonia.

A council of war being held, it was determined, that ſince the king of Spain, as the poſture of his affairs then ſtood, could not come to any reſolution relating to the fleet's aſſiſting in the reduction of thoſe parts of Spain, ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, the admiral ſhould ſail to a ſtation ten leagues ſouth of Cape Toulon, not only for intercepting the enemy's trade, but to alarm them all that might be; but ſince it was neceſſary that a ſquadron ſhould be on the coaſt of Portugal, Sir John Jennings was ſent thither with one ſhip of the ſecond rate, four of the third, five of the fourth, and three of the fifth [i].

Sir George Byng arrived before Toulon the 21ſt of June, in which harbour he ſaw only eight ſhips rigged, and one large man of war on the careen, the reſt being diſarmed; which ſatisfied him, that the informations he had formerly received were true, that the enemy did not intend, in fact was not able, to bring out any fleet that year; but were reſolved to content themſelves with ſending abroad ſmall ſquadrons to protect their corn-fleets [k]. After having thus inſulted Toulon, he in a ſhort

i Hiſtoire militaire, tome vi. p. 253. Burchet's naval hiſtory, b. v. c. 29. Annals of queen Anne. k Burchet's naval hiſt. p. 759. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xlvii. p. 129. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4567.

time returned to Barcelona road, where he found moſt of the ſhips arrived from the ſervices upon which he had ſent them; and ſome of them, particularly the Centurion and Dunkirk, had been ſo fortunate as to make a great many prizes. The court of Spain was, at the inſtance of cardinal Grimani, very deſirous to have the reduction of Sicily attempted, and was informed by general Stanhope, that it was her majeſty's pleaſure, part of the fleet ſhould aſſiſt in the deſign upon Cadiz; but the Dutch ſhips having been ſeparated in bad weather, and ours being too few to anſwer theſe and many other ſervices the court propoſed, he ſuſpended for ſome time the coming to any reſolution, being every day in expectation of the ſhips of the ſtates-general.

But at length, that the ſervice might not ſuffer through delay, the admiral formed a diſpoſition of her majeſty's ſhips, and appointed Sir Edward Whitaker for the ſervice of Sicily, while he himſelf deſigned to proceed on the other with general Stanhope. The 26th of July, the court of Spain having notice of the enemies penetrating into the Lampourdan, with intention, as they apprehended, to beſiege Girone; and there being a want of ſhips to protect the coaſts of Catalonia, and hinder the enemies having ſupplies by ſea, as alſo a ſquadron to bring over the prizes laden with corn from Porto Farina, which they were in great want of in that principality, and ſome ſhips to go to Italy, for money to ſubſiſt the troops; the court ſeemed to lay aſide the deſign on Sicily, and the admiral ſent five ſhips for the veſſels laden with corn [1], which have been before mentioned.

The warmth, impatience, and irreſolution of the court at Barcelona, obliged the admirals to drop both theſe great deſigns; for, without regard to what had been reſolved, or even for what themſelves had demanded before, they were continually deſiring ſomething new to be done for them, without ever conſidering, that it was impoſſible our ſhips could perform one ſervice, without neglecting another. Thus, upon an apprehenſion that the enemy would attack Girone, the Engliſh ſhips

[1] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 759, 760. London Gazette, N°. 4571, 4577.

were

were deſired to intercept their ſubſiſtence. Soon after, they were diſtreſſed for want of proviſions themſelves, and then the moſt neceſſary thing that could be done, was to ſend for the prizes laden with corn from Porto Farina. By that time this was reſolved on, money grew ſcarce, and then his Catholic majeſty hoped, that the Engliſh ſhips would go and fetch it immediately from Italy. The manner in which theſe demands were made, and the apprehenſions the officers were under of complaints being ſent home, induced them to comply with every thing, as far as was in their power; ſo that of neceſſity, as the moſt diſtant and leaſt practicable, the expedition againſt Sicily was laid aſide. Our admirals, however, ſtill flattered themſelves that ſomething might be done at Cadiz, where it was known the people were in want of bread, and were, beſides, highly diſcontented with the French government [m].

On the 27th of July, the Dutch ſquadron arrived from Leghorn, upon which Sir George Byng called a council of war, and laid before them the queen's orders, the deſires of his Catholic majeſty, and the project formed by themſelves for attempting Cadiz; but the commander in chief of the Dutch ſhips excuſed himſelf from any ſhare in it; declaring, that they were victualled only till the end of Auguſt, which diſabled him from undertaking any ſervice beyond the 20th of that month [n]. On the 28th of the month laſt mentioned, three Engliſh men of war, the Naſſau, Ludlow Caſtle, and Antelope, ſailed for Barcelona, having on board a great ſum of money, for the ſervice of his Catholic majeſty [o]. It was then agreed, that Sir George Byng ſhould proceed to Cadiz, and the Dutch ſhips be employed in other ſervices; which, however, could not be executed; and therefore Sir George Byng reſolved to return home to England, having taken on board the fleet general Stanhope, with

[m] It was a great misfortune to king Charles, that he had no body about him capable of giving him good advice, or of conſidering what was fit to be undertaken in the ſituation his affairs were in. This ſingle miſtake at graſping at every thing, when ſcarce any thing was in his power, proved the ruin of all his undertakings; though, as this hiſtory fully ſhews, our ſea officers did for him all he could expect, and more a great deal than the officers of any other nation would have done, as is evident from "The impartial inquiry into the management of "the war with Spain," and all the hiſtories of thoſe times.

[n] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 760. [o] London Gazette, N°. 4586.

colonel

colonel Harriſon's regiment of foot, and a Spaniſh regiment of dragoons, whom he landed ſafely at Gibraltar on the 31ſt [p]. On the 25th of September he ſailed for England, arriving at St. Helen's, in the Royal Anne, with the Torbay, Chicheſter, Colcheſter, and Antelope, and a ſmall prize taken by the Chicheſter, in her way from Gibraltar, on the 15th of October [q].

Sir Edward Whitaker was left with a pretty ſtrong ſquadron in the Mediterranean, where, in the Bay of Roſes, he diſcovered the grand convoy, intended for the French forces in the Lampourdan, which conſiſted of forty large veſſels, laden with corn, and other proviſions, of which he took thirty, and hindered the reſt from putting to ſea; by which the enemy was greatly diſtreſſed, and king Charles's army ſo happily ſupplied with proviſions, as to be able to keep the field, which otherwiſe they could not have done [r]. And having thus attended our fleets in the Mediterranean, as long as they were employed in any conſiderable ſervice, we ſhall now return to the exploits performed in the Soundings by lord Durſley, with the ſquadron under his command.

Sir George Byng, in his return from the Mediterranean, having obtained an exact detail of the ſtrength, ſtation, and deſigns of M. du Guai Trouin, ſent an account of it to the lord high-admiral, who immediately diſpatched it to the lord Durſley, juſt returned from cruizing for a corn fleet, which the French expected from the Baltic. His lordſhip's inſtructions were, to give the enemy all the diſturbance he could, and to take particular care of the Weſt India trade, the intercepting of which was the ſervice that was principally deſigned by M. du Guai Trouin. On the 8th of October, his lordſhip ſailed from Plymouth, with one third rate, and two fourths, having before detached captain Vincent with ſix ſhips, to ſecure the Weſt India fleet; and ſoon after, his lordſhip joined that detachment, by

[p] London Gazette, N°. 4586, 4590, 4594. [q] London Gazette, N°. 4605, 4606. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. xlvii. p. 443, 556.

[r] I find this put in a much ſtronger light by ſome Dutch writers, who tell us, that admiral Whitaker, with fifteen ſail of men of war, entered the Bay of Roſes, and deſtroyed fifty French ſhips, laden with corn. They add, that the admiral was inclined to aſſiſt his Catholic majeſty in reducing Roſes, which would have left the enemy without a ſea-port in Catalonia; but his advice was not followed, which was much to the prejudice of king Charles's affairs.

which

which he effectually prevented the French from ſucceeding in their deſign. On the laſt of October, his lordſhip being then off Scilly, took a large French ſhip from Guadaloupe[s], and a ſmall privateer. Three weeks after, he met with the Barbadoes fleet, and having ſufficiently ſtrengthened their convoy, detached two frigates for intelligence, into the road of Breſt, that he might be the better enabled to undertake further ſervice.

While his lordſhip was thus employed, there happened, in the latter end of November, ſuch an accident to one of the ſhips of his ſquadron, as very will deſerves our notice. Captain Hughes in the Wincheſter, chaced a ſhip, which proved to be a Dutch privateer, whoſe commander being required to ſtrike, he, inſtead of paying that reſpect due to the flag of England, fired both great and ſmall ſhot into him; but being anſwered in the ſame manner, after an obſtinate diſpute (though it was very well known the Wincheſter was an Engliſh ſhip of war) the commanding officer was killed, and between thirty and forty of the Dutch ſeamen[t].

His lordſhip being then vice-admiral of the red, detached, on the 9th of December, captain Hartnol, in the Reſtauration, with four other ſhips, to cruize fifteen or twenty leagues weſt of Scilly, to protect ſome Eaſt India ſhips, and their convoys, from Ireland; and, on the 2d of January, was going from Plymouth, with ſeven clean frigates to relieve them; but being ordered to proceed part of the way with Sir John Norris, towards Liſbon; his lordſhip, after complying with this order, remained in his appointed ſtation till he was forced from it by foul weather; which, however, gave him an opportunity of taking a French privateer of twenty guns, and retaking the St. Peter of

[s] According to ſome accounts, this was a very conſiderable prize; no leſs than a ſhip of 40 guns, with a cargo worth an hundred thouſand pounds. Indeed, this lord took ſo many, and ſo rich prizes, that I do not wonder ſome of our writers grew weary of ſetting them down; for I obſerve, that ſometimes active officers are not the greateſt favourites.

[t] I cannot find any account of this in the Dutch writers, and I muſt confeſs, I wonder that Mr. Burchet gave it a place in his hiſtory. This, however, is certain, that the behaviour of the captain was not only right in itſelf, but ſo agreeable likewiſe to lord Durſley, that ſoon after he hoiſted his flag on board the Wincheſter.

Dublin,

Dublin, a rich ſhip, of which the enemy had made themſelves maſters, off Cape Clear. His lordſhip, conſidering that the Eaſt India trade were not yet arrived from Ireland, appointed three ſhips of his ſquadron to ſee them ſafe from thence.

On the 21ſt of February, the Kent brought into Plymouth a ſmall privateer, and a French merchant ſhip; as the Reſtauration and Auguſt did the next day four more, which were bound from Nantz to Martinico; and not many days after, his lordſhip appointed the Reſtauration and Auguſt, to ſee two Eaſt India ſhips well into the ſea; but, by contrary winds, they were forced back again. The 10th of March, the Montague took a privateer of ten guns, and his lordſhip having ſeen the Eaſt India ſhips, and thoſe bound to the Iſle of May, a hundred and fifty leagues from Scilly, returned to Plymouth the 9th of May; ſeven days after which, the Lyon, Colcheſter, and Litchfield, brought in four prizes, two of them privateers, the others merchant ſhips; when his lordſhip leaving the ſquadron, came to town, after having acquired as much reputation as it was poſſible for an officer to do in that difficult ſtation [u], and where many had loſt the credit for which they had toiled many years.

Before I proceed to the events in the Weſt Indies, I ſhall take notice of ſome accidents that happened in our naval affairs, and which ſeem to have eſcaped the attention of moſt, if not all our hiſtorians. In the firſt place, I am to obſerve, that in the latter end of June, her majeſty's ſhip the Fowey, of thirty-two guns, was taken in the Mediterranean, by two French men of war of greater ſtrength [w]. On the 23d of September, captain Hanway, in her majeſty's ſhip the Plymouth, of ſixty guns, arrived at Plymouth with a French man of war, which he had taken on the 20th. Captain Hanway was bound to Plymouth, in order to repair ſome damages he had received; and about

[u] Burchet ſays, that he obtained leave of the lord high-admiral to come to town: but that could not be; for the lord high-admiral was removed in the beginning of November, and this was in the March following. I mention it only to ſhew the inaccuracy of that writer, in things with which he ought to have been beſt acquainted.

[w] Pointer's chronological hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 648. See Tanbman's hiſtory, before cited. As for the French hiſtorians, they either ſay nothing of this matter, or they have multiplied this into three ſhips, and have given the credit of taking them to captain de l'Aigle, in the Phœnix.

ſeven

ſeven leagues N. W. by N. from the Deadman, he ſaw this ſhip, and chaced her two hours, before he came up with her; as ſoon as he came near enough to engage, he fired upon her with great vigour, and after a ſharp action, which laſted above an hour, he obliged her to ſurrender. The French ſhip was called L'Adriad, had been fitted out from Dunkirk, commanded by the Sieur Jacques Caſhard, having forty guns mounted, (but had ports for forty-eight), and two hundred and ſixty men on board; ſeveral of the men belonging to the Plymouth being ſick on ſhore, captain Hanway could make uſe of no more guns in this action than the enemy's ſhip had mounted. The captain of the French veſſel, with fourteen other officers and ſeamen, were killed in the engagement, and ſixty wounded; of the Plymouth's company, the captain of a company of marines on board, and ſeven men, were killed, and ſixteen wounded [x].

In the latter end of the month of October, the Weſt India fleet, being about one hundred and fifty leagues off the Lizard, met with a violent ſtorm, by which they were ſeparated from five ſhips of war, appointed for their convoy; the Newcaſtle, which was one of them, being ſo ſhattered, that ſhe loſt her main-maſt, and with much difficulty got to Falmouth; ſoon after, the Hampſhire and the Glouceſter were attacked by the ſquadron of M. du Guai Trouin, and made a gallant defence, notwithſtanding the great inequality of force; which, however, gave the ſhips under their convoy an opportunity to eſcape. At laſt, after ſeven hours fight, the Glouceſter, a ſixty-gun ſhip, and juſt rebuilt, was taken; but the Hampſhire obliged the enemy to ſheer off, and in a very ſhattered condition got into Baltimore [y]. On Chriſtmas day, the Solebay man of war, with eight merchant ſhips under her convoy, bound to Lynn in Norfolk, were unfortunately loſt upon Boſton-Knock, and only

[x] See the London Gazette, N°. 4593.

[y] Pointer's chronological hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 649. Mercure hiſtorique, tom. xlvii. p. 667. Father Daniel places the loſs of this ſhip, which, he ſays, carried ſeventy-two pieces of cannon, and four hundred and fifty men, on the 6th of November, N. S. but all our naval hiſtorians are quite ſilent about it, though, I think, the captain's defence does us much more honour than the loſs of a ſixty gun ſhip can diſcredit.

two boats full of men ſaved out of all the ſhips [z]. From theſe diſagreeable accidents, let us now return to the conduct of admiral Wager in the Weſt Indies.

As this admiral had always been extremely careful of the trade in that part of the world, ſo, in the ſpring of the year 1709, he ſent captain Hutchins, in the Portland, to protect the trading ſloops that were going to Porto Bello. All the latter part of the month of April, captain Hutchins lay in the Baſtimentos; from whence he deſcried four large ſhips, two of fifty, and two of thirty guns, in the harbours of Porto Bello. The two largeſt, as he was informed by the private traders, were the Coventry, a fourth rate, taken from us by the French, and the Minion, both from Guinea. On the firſt of May he had intelligence, that they ſailed the evening before; upon which he ſtood to the northward till the third, when he gained ſight of them about eight in the morning. At noon, he diſcovered their hulls very plain, and they being to windward, bore down to him, firing ſome guns as they paſſed by; ſoon after which they wore, as if they deſigned to engage in the evening, but did not. It was little wind, and about ſix o'clock he tacked upon them, and keeping ſight all night, near eight in the morning he came up within piſtol ſhot of the Minion, but was obliged to fight her to leeward, becauſe he could not poſſibly carry out his lee guns, though the ſhips of the enemy did. The Coventry, after he had been warmly engaged, got on his lee bow, and firing very ſmartly at his maſts, did them no little damage; but he being not willing to be diverted from the Minion, plyed her very ſmartly, nor could ſhe get from him, until they ſhot his main-top-ſail-yard in two, when both of them ſhot a-head, he creeping after them as faſt as poſſible in that crippled condition; in the mean while, ſplicing his rigging, bending new ſails, and repairing other damages in the beſt manner he could [a].

[z] Remarkable accidents at ſea, p. 35.

[a] Mr. Burchet, as Mr. Lediard well obſerves, has made a great miſtake in the date of this action, which he has placed thirteen months before it happened; but he gives us no authority for his correction; I have before me, the captain's own account, publiſhed in the London Gazette, N°. 4547, which has enabled me to ſet all the dates right, that are every one wrong in Burchet's hiſtory.

About

About four in the morning a boat was perceived going from the Minion to the Coventry, ſo that he believed he had much diſabled the former, and that by the frequent paſſing of the boat between them, ſhe was ſending the beſt part of her loading on board the other. By ten at night he had completed all his work, and the next morning was ready for a ſecond encounter; but it proving little wind, he could not come up with them until the 6th, when before ſeven in the morning, he was cloſe in with the Coventry, which ſhip hauled up her main-ſail, and lay by for him. Coming nearer to her, it was obſerved ſhe had many ſmall-ſhot men, ſo that he durſt not clap her on board as he had deſigned, but plied her with his guns; in the mean time, he received but little damage from the Minion. Between eleven and twelve, he brought the Coventry's main-maſt by the board, and then her fire was much leſſened; however, continuing to do what they could, at half an hour paſt twelve ſhe ſtruck; the firſt captain being killed, the ſecond wounded, and a great ſlaughter made among the men, many of them being thoſe who belonged to the Minion; whereas of ours there were but nine killed, and twelve wounded, moſt of whom recovered; and in the prize, there were about twenty thouſand pieces of eight, great part whereof were found among the French ſeamen [b].

Rear-admiral Wager, upon the preſſing ſolicitation of the merchants, ſent the Severn and Scarborough to England, to convoy home the trade, becauſe they were but weakly manned, and according to the orders he had from the lord high-admiral, when any ſhips under his command were ſo reduced by ſickneſs, as to have no more men on board than were neceſſary to navigate the ſhip, theſe ſhips were to be ſent home; and the reaſon of this was, that by an act of parliament, which paſſed ſoon after commodore Ker's affair, our admirals were abſolutely reſtrained from preſſing men on any account in the Weſt Indies; ſo that, in truth, there was nothing left for an admiral to do in ſuch a caſe, but to ſend home ſhips that were of no further uſe. All the time the rear-admiral continued in this ſtation, he took care to keep a ſufficient number of ſhips to cruize upon the enemy,

[b] See a large account of this engagement, in the London Gazette, N°. 4547. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. xlvii. p. 75.

and to protect our trade, which they did with all the ſucceſs that could be wiſhed or expected [c]. But in the autumn, our admiral was ordered home; and accordingly he left the few men of war that were ſtationed on the coaſt of Jamaica under the command of captain Tudor Trevor, who was ſoon after relieved by captain Span. As for the rear-admiral, he had a ſafe and ſpeedy voyage home, where he was received, on his coming from St. Helens, in the month of November, with all the reſpect imaginable; the letters from the Weſt Indies having, contrary to cuſtom, done the greateſt honour to the vigilance of our navy in thoſe parts, while under his direction; which is a clear confutation of a modern maxim at a certain board, that it is impoſſible to ſatisfy the merchants at home, or the planters abroad [d].

Before I cloſe this account of our affairs in America, it is neceſſary I ſhould ſay ſomething of a misfortune that befel us in Newfoundland; and the rather, becauſe none of our hiſtorians have been particular about it, for which reaſon, I am obliged to take what I have to relate, intirely upon the credit of a French writer. The Sieur de Saintovide, the king's lieutenant at Placentia, took the fort of St. John, on the eaſt ſide of Newfoundland, by ſcalade, in which action the governor was wounded, and made priſoner, as were the ſoldiers of the garriſon, conſiſting of about a hundred men. This, my author ſays, happened on the 1ſt of January, 1709, and the next day informs us, that the fort at the mouth of the harbour, built on a rock, and extremely well fortified, ſurrendered alſo, and the

[c] The rear admiral having appointed the Portland to ſee ſome merchant ſhips through the windward paſſage, ſhe returned with a French prize, taken near Cape St. Nicholas, worth about ſix thouſand pounds. Captain Vernon alſo, in the Jerſey, took, in January, a Spaniſh ſloop laden with tobacco, and retook, from two French ſloops, a Guinea ſhip with four hundred negroes. Captain Hardy of the Roebuck brought in a brigantine, partly loaden with indigo, taken at Petit Guavas, which he met on the north ſide of Hiſpaniola, as ſhe was going from thence to Port de Paix, or Port François; her maſter pretended he belonged to Curaçao, and produced a paper from the Dutch governor there, empowering him to trade any where in the Weſt Indies.

[d] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 711. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 839. Annals of queen Anne, p. 408. Her Majeſty, ſoon after his return to England, conferring on him the honour of knighthood.

garriſon,

garriſon, conſiſting of ſixty men, were made priſoners of war. This affair muſt have been attended with very bad conſequences for the preſent; but, as we ſhall ſee, theſe were not only remedied in the ſucceeding year, but the French ſettlements, in their turn, were in a manner totally deſtroyed[e]. But it is now time for us to return home, and to conclude the hiſtory of this year with a ſhort account of the alterations made with reſpect to the management of naval affairs.

The earl of Pembroke, finding the ſole care and direction of the fleet a load too heavy for him to bear, though he had diſcharged his office of lord high-admiral in every reſpect to the general content of all parties, very prudently and virtuouſly reſolved to lay it down[f]. A great deal of pains were taken to divert his lordſhip from this reſolution, but to no purpoſe; he thought the buſineſs might be better done by one who had greater experience in maritime affairs; and thereupon, this high office was offered to that gallant ſea-officer the earl of Orford, who abſolutely refuſed it, though he was willing to accept a ſhare in the direction of the admiralty. Her majeſty, therefore, in the beginning of the month of November, thought proper to direct a commiſſion, whereby ſhe conſtituted and appointed Edward earl of Orford, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, and Paul Methuen, Eſqrs. commiſſioners, for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, in the room of the earl of Pembroke, on whom the queen beſtowed a yearly penſion of three thouſand pounds *per annum*, payable out of the revenue of the Poſt-office, in conſideration of his eminent ſervices[g].

Soon after this alteration, there followed a promotion, *viz.* on the 12th of November, 1709, her majeſty being pleaſed

[e] Journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. per Pere Daniel, p. 256, 257. He informs us, that there were vaſt quantities of artillery and ammunition found in theſe two forts, which I think a little improbable; but that our ſettlements were in a great meaſure ruined, ſeems to be confirmed by ſeveral of our own political pamphlets, publiſhed this year.

[f] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 537. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 427. Annals of queen Anne, for the year 1709, p. 205.

[g] Burnet. Boyer's life of Queen Anne, p. 403. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 626. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4611.

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to appoint a gentleman who had been long laid aſide, *viz.* Matthew Aylmer, Eſq; admiral and commander in chief of her majeſty's fleet; the lord Durſley vice-admiral; and Charles Wager, Eſq; rear-admiral of the red. Sir John Jennings admiral; Sir Edward Whitaker vice-admiral of the white. And, Sir John Norris, admiral; and John Baker, Eſq; vice-admiral of the blue [h].

The parliament met, and the queen laid before them the proceedings of the laſt year, and directed an account of the expences of the government, both civil and military, to be ſent them from the reſpective offices. The buſineſs of Dr. Sacheverel took up the beſt part of the ſeſſion; but it happened luckily, that the ſupplies were firſt granted, amounting in the whole to ſix millions, one hundred eighty-four thouſand, one hundred ſixty-ſix pounds, ſeven ſhillings; in order to the raiſing of which, a lottery was eſtabliſhed, of one million five hundred thouſand pounds, of which ſix hundred thouſand pounds was ſubſcribed on the 20th of January, being the firſt day the books were opened, and all the reſt in leſs than ſix weeks [i]. This was ſufficient to ſhew the ſtrength of public credit at that time, as alſo the diſpoſition of the commons, to continue the war till the ends of it were anſwered; but, after Sacheverel's trial, it was ſoon perceived, that this ardour began to abate, which we find attributed by our hiſtorians to many different cauſes.

The chief, however, ſeems to have been the management of the French king, who, by publiſhing to all the world the mighty offers of peace that he had made to the allies, and dreſſing up in the ſtrongeſt colours the hard conditions which

h Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 403. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1709, p. 325. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 427.

i Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 537. Annals of queen Anne, vol. viii. p. 335. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 429. Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p. 193. Theſe immenſe grants of parliament ſtruck the French prodigiouſly; for while their credit was low, or in a manner quite gone, ours was in its zenith. And, without queſtion, if ever our credit ſhould fail, either in reſpect to money, or the reputation of our government, the French will gain as great an aſcendency over us, as we then had over them; this we mention as a point worthy of ſtrict conſideration here, becauſe in France it is but too well underſtood already.

the

the allies would have impoſed upon him, and with which he declared he would have complied, if they had not appeared impoſſible, and calculated rather to prevent, than promote the re-eſtabliſhment of the tranquillity of Europe. By theſe repreſentations, he raiſed great compaſſion among the neutral powers, excited diviſions among the allies, and cauſed great jealouſies and heart-burnings, both here and in Holland. This did not hinder our miniſtry from purſuing their former ſchemes, and endeavouring to reſtore a martial ſpirit, by the ſucceſs of their deſigns on all ſides; and as they had hitherto found their conduct moſt liable to be attacked on the ſubject of the war in Spain, they took all imaginable care to iſſue very early the ſums granted for that ſervice, which amounted to about a million; but it was reſolved, ſince there was no immediate occaſion for great fleets in the Mediterranean, to recal Sir Edward Whitaker, and to leave admiral Baker, with a ſmall ſquadron, to protect the trade, and obey the orders of king Charles III[k].

Matthew Aylmer, Eſq; admiral of the fleet, being in the Soundings with a conſiderable force, ſaw all the ſeveral fleets of our outward-bound merchant-men ſafe into the ſea, and having ſent them forward on their reſpective voyages, upon the 27th of July, he remained cruizing for two days afterwards, about ſixty-eight leagues S. W. by W. from the Lizard. On the 29th at noon, he diſcovered 13 ſail N. E. of him. He order-

[k] As I have been hitherto very particular in relation to the war in Spain, which we certainly carried on with great vigour, though under infinite diſadvantages, I ſhall here lay before the reader, at once, the ſeveral ſums granted for this ſervice:

	£.	s.	d.
In 1703,	215,692	2	0
1704,	320,481	11	0
1705,	476,727	15	10
1706,	726,749	15	10
1707,	998,324	11	10
1708,	1,248,956	12	2½
1709,	1,217,083	0	4
1710,	1,276,035	16	2
	6,480,049	5	2½

ed

ed the Kent, Aſſurance, and York, to chace a-head, and followed with the reſt of the ſhips under his command; but the weather proving hazy, he could not diſcover next morning more than one merchant ſhip. He received advice, however, before noon, that the Aſſurance had made prize of one of the enemy's veſſels, upon which he immediately ſent his boat to bring the maſter of her on board him; which was accordingly done [l].

This Frenchman informed the admiral, that the ſhips he had ſeen the day before, were 14 merchant-men, bound for the banks of Newfoundland, and Martinico, under convoy of the Superbe, a French man of war of 56 guns, and the Concord of 30: that the former, having ſeen them into the ſea, was to cruize in the Soundings, and the latter to proceed to Guinea; and that, on their perceiving the Engliſh fleet, the Concord bore away with the merchant-men under his convoy. Soon after this the Kent, commanded by captain Robert Johnſon, came up with, and engaged the Superbe, for the ſpace of an hour, when ſhe ſtruck; in which action captain Johnſon behaved like a gallant officer, and an experienced ſeaman; for, as he attacked the French ſhip without waiting for other ſhips, ſo ſhe was taken by him without any aſſiſtance, although ſhe had a greater number of men than the Kent. Both of them were very much ſhattered in the fight; but ſo good a ſailer was the Superbe, that, had ſhe not been three months off the ground, ſhe would in all probability have eſcaped. This ſhip had taken ſeveral valuable prizes from us before, and our cruizers had often chaced her without ſucceſs; but falling thus into our poſſeſſion, ſhe was regiſtered in the Britiſh navy, being a very beautiful veſſel, and not above eighteen months old [m].

Sir Edward Whitaker was at Port Mahon with his ſquadron, when he received the order before-mentioned, and ſailing from thence on the 27th of March, he arrived at Liſbon on the 4th of April, with three ſhips of the third rate, where he made ſome ſtay, in order to take the homeward-bound merchant-men

[l] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. 30. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xlix. p. 221. Boyer's life of queen Anne. [m] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 765. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1710. Lediard, Oldmixon.

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under his protection; and then ſailing on the 29th of that month, he arrived ſafely on the firſt of June with our own, and the Dutch and Portugal fleet, and their convoys, in our channel[n]. As for vice-admiral Baker, having conducted the tranſports to the ſeveral ports to which they were bound, he, in his return to Barcelona, got ſight, off the Faro of Meſſina, of four large ſhips, with ſeveral ſettees under their convoy; this was on the 2d of May, and he chaced them with all the diligence poſſible. The next morning captain Maſters, in the Fame, came up with, and took one of the ſhips, and ſoon after captain Cleveland, in the Suffolk, took another, called Le Galliard, of fifty-ſix guns; but the remaining two, which were gallies, eſcaped, with moſt of the ſettees. The vice-admiral having ſeen the tranſports ſafe into Barcelona, and having received advice, that Sir John Norris, with a ſquadron under his command, was at Terragona, and that he was come to command in the Mediterranean, reſolved to join him as ſoon as poſſible, in order to execute any orders he brought with him from England, or to contribute, as far as in his power lay, to the ſupport of king Charles's affairs, which were now in a more flouriſhing condition than they had been for ſome years paſt. We will take notice next of admiral Norris's inſtructions, and of what, in purſuance of them, he performed during the time he commanded in theſe parts[o].

The grand fleet deſigned for this year's ſervice in the Mediterranean, ſailed from Plymouth on the 12th of January, under the command of Sir John Norris, who having ſeen the Virginia, and other merchantmen bound to the Weſt Indies, ſafe into the ſea, arrived at Port Mahon on the 13th of March, where he was joined by Sir Edward Whitaker, and a Dutch rear-admiral. Immediately after his arrival, he detached three Engliſh, and two Dutch men of war, with the public money, recruits, and ammunition, to Barcelona, in order to receive his Catholic majeſty's commands. While the admiral remained

[n] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 764. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xlviii. p. 645. tome xlix. p. 69.

[o] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 768. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xlviii. p. 197. Annals of queen Anne.

here, he had the mortification of hearing, that two of our men of war had been taken by the French; with this alleviating circumſtance, however, that both officers and men had behaved bravely, and that the misfortune was entirely owing to the enemy's having a ſuperior force [p].

Not long after, he received more welcome intelligence, *viz.* that two of our ſhips had taken a French man of war of ſixty guns, called the Moor, a very fine ſhip, and which was afterwards regiſtered in the liſt of our royal navy [q]. After making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the many ſervices that were required from the fleet, Sir John ſailed on the 7th of April, from Port Mahon, and arrived on the 11th at Barcelona. There he was informed by the king of Spain, that the enemy had a deſign, either upon Sardinia or Naples, and that the duke de 'Furſis, a Genoeſe nobleman, who commanded a fleet of gallies for the ſervice of king Philip, was at ſea, in order to exe-

[p] Theſe two ſhips were the Pembroke, of ſixty-four guns, commanded by captain Rumſey, and the Faulcon, of thirty-two guns, commanded by captain Conſtable. They were cruizing to the ſouthward of Nice, when, on the 29th of December, they diſcovered five ſail of ſhips, which they took to be part of Sir Edward Whitaker's ſquadron. However, they ſtood towards them; but perceiving they had French colours, and two of them ſtanding in for Antibes, they made the ſignal appointed by Sir Edward Whitaker, which was anſwered by the enemy, two of their ſhips hoiſted Engliſh colours, and the third Dutch, and immediately bore down upon them. Our captains were not, however, deceived, but ſtood on their guard, and when they diſcovered them to be very large ſhips, made all the ſail from them they could; but they having a briſk gale, and our ſhips but little wind, the Toulouſe, a ſeventy-gun ſhip, came up with, and attacked the Pembroke, and in leſs than half an hour the other two, one carrying ſixty-ſix guns, and the other fifty, attacked her likewiſe, and having taken her, purſued, came up with, and took the Faulcon. Captain Rumſey was killed in the engagement, in which he loſt one hundred and forty men, her mizen-maſt was brought by the board, and all her rigging torn to pieces, before the officers agreed to ſurrender. Captain Conſtable, in the Faulcon, had a ſhot through his ſhoulder, and yet he never ſtirred from his poſt, or conſented to ſtrike his enſign, till he had but ſixteen ſound men left out of his crew.

[q] This ſhip was an excellent ſailer, and had done a great deal of miſchief to our trade. Captain Thomas Long, in the Breda, a ſtout ſeventy-gun ſhip, came up with her, about forty leagues S. W. by W. off Cape Roxent, and in a ſhort and briſk diſpute her commander was killed. Soon after the Warſpight, captain Joſias Crow, came under her quarter, and was ready to lay her on board; and then ſhe ſtruck.

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cute this enterprize. His majesty likewise informed him, that he was in great want of the German succours, that were promised him from Italy. The admiral resolved to do his best towards answering both these demands of his Catholic majesty, and having first landed the viceroy in Sardinia, where he found all things quiet, he proceeded to the coast of Italy, in order to embark the succours before-mentioned. On the 6th of May, Sir John Norris arrived at Leghorn, and having there provided for the security of our Levant trade, which was much disturbed by monsieur de L'Aigle; he sailed from thence to Vado Bay, where, while the Germans were embarking, he had intelligence, that the Italian gallies had actually taken on board a body of upwards of two thousand men, in order to make a descent on the island of Sardinia[r].

Upon this, Sir John Norris called a council of war, and in pursuance of the resolutions taken there, he, on the first of June, detached four men of war to convoy the transports to Barcelona; he likewise detached five English and four Dutch men of war, to cruize in the height of Toulon, for a convoy which the French expected from the Levant. The same day he sailed with the rest of the confederate fleet, with two imperial regiments, to go to the assistance of Sardinia, upon certain advice, that the duke de Tursis was sailed with his gallies, and, as we observed before, some land forces on board, to invade that island. The 2d they came before La Bastida, in Corsica, and saw a little French merchant ship coming from the Archipelago, which, upon the approach of our fleet, retired under the cannon of that place; upon this, admiral Norris sent some boats which brought away the ship, but the men made their escape on shore. A bark coming from the shore, brought the admiral advice, that the duke de Tursis, having continued some days at Porto Vecchio, was sailed to Bonifacio, with a design to execute his intended enterprize against Sardinia; whereupon they sailed again; on the 5th came into the bay of Terra Nova, in Sardinia, wherein they found four tartanes of the enemy, which had landed there four hundred men, and sixty

[r] Burchet's naval history, p. 769. Complete history of Europe, for 1710, p. 509. Columna rostrata, p. 289.

officers, under the command of the count de Caſtillo. They took, the ſame day in the evening, thoſe four ſhips, and underſtanding by the priſoners, that the count, with his forces, was but two miles off upon that ſhore, the admirals reſolved to land ſome forces to attack them, which was done the next day. They marched directly to Terra Nova, where the enemy were poſted; but the count de Caſtillo ſeeing it was in vain for him to offer any reſiſtance, ſurrendered at diſcretion; ſo that they took four hundred and fifty ſoldiers priſoners, with ſixty-three officers, and ſeveral perſons of quality, natives of Sardinia; who, being diſaffected to the German government, had joined the enemy, or had gone with the count de Caſtillo in this expedition, in hopes that their intereſt would occaſion an inſurrection in favour of king Philip V[s].

Their enterprize having ſucceeded beyond expectation, and there being no danger of any rebellion on that ſide, the troops returned on board the 7th, and the admirals reſolved to go in queſt of the duke de Turſis, who, according to the report of the priſoners, was ſailed to another bay, on the oppoſite ſide of the iſland, to land the reſt of his forces. On the 8th, they came, by favour of a freſh gale, into the canal of Bonifacio, where they were informed, by a Neapolitan felucca, that the duke de Turſis, was ſailed the night before from thence, with intention to retire into the gulf of Ajazzio, in Corſica; whereupon they made all the ſail they could, in hopes of coming up with him in that bay; but in the morning of the 9th, when they came into the ſame, they were informed that the duke de Turſis, foreſeeing they would purſue him, was ſailed thence the night before, with his gallies, having left in this gulf eight large barks, with five hundred ſoldiers on board, and the greateſt part of his ammunition, artillery, and proviſions, in hopes that they would not take them in a neutral place.

But Sir John Norris thought fit to ſeize them, and ſignified to the republic of Genoa, that the queen of Great Britain, his miſtreſs, could not but expreſs on all occaſions the higheſt reſentment againſt them, for having permitted the duke de Turſis,

[s] Annals of queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 77. Mercure hiſtorique et politique l'Annee, 1710, tome xlix. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, v. l. ii.

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one of their ſubjects, to make, in their dominions, ſuch an armament deſigned againſt one of the kingdoms belonging to the king of Spain her ally; and that, looking upon their permiſſion or connivance as a breach of their neutrality, he would attack the queen's enemies in all their harbours. The Genoeſe governor, to whom theſe repreſentations were made, anſwered with as much ſubmiſſion as could be expected; promiſed that he would not ſupply the duke de Turſis, or any that belonged to him, with proviſions; and moſt earneſtly requeſted, that the admiral would not land any troops upon the iſland. The admiral having conſidered his requeſt, and being ſenſible that it would be to very little purpoſe to attempt following the enemy into the mountains, thought proper to grant it, and thereupon proceeded immediately for Barcelona, where he arrived on the 18th of June; and the king of Spain deſiring that part of the troops might be landed in Valencia, and that the fleet might be as ſoon as poſſible at Terragona, it was reſolved to ſail thither directly, and to leave orders for vice-admiral Baker to follow; which orders, as I have already ſhewn, he punctually obeyed [t].

The inhabitants of the Cevennes having given the king of France a great deal of diſturbance, and having numbers of their countrymen in foreign ſervice, it was propoſed to the Britiſh miniſtry, that notwithſtanding the miſcarriage of former attempts, ſomething ſhould be again undertaken in their favour; and to enforce this advice, it was obſerved, that the Camiſars, then in arms, were within fifteen leagues of Montpelier, and that it was poſſible to land our troops at Port Cette, within a ſingle league of that city. Upon this, the miniſtry themſelves, conceiving ſuch an expedition might diſconcert the enemies deſigns in Spain, or at leaſt facilitate king Charles's enterprizes in Catalonia, reſolved to ſend a gentleman to Spain, thoroughly inſtructed as to the whole of this affair, with orders to propoſe it to general Stanhope, and Sir John Norris, upon whoſe approbation, and the conſent of the king of Spain, the deſign was to be immediately put in execution, by the fleet then on the coaſt of Catalonia. It muſt be allowed, that this project was

[t] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 771. Columna roſtrata, p. 289. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1710, p. 510.

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very well formed, and, according to the beſt informations that I have been able to obtain, if our troops had actually fixed themſelves for three days at Cette, we might, with the aſſiſtance of the duke of Savoy, have given the French king more trouble than he had ever met with from any of our projects during the war. For his own ſubjects, then in arms againſt him, were a bold, daring, hardy people, and, with a very little encouragement from us, would have formed an army of twenty or thirty thouſand men, to whom all the French exiles, in every part of Europe, would have reſorted; and, as among them there were many experienced officers, it is not eaſy to conceive, what conſequences this affair might have had, or to what extent the flame might have ſpread [u].

On the arrival of this gentleman from England, general Stanhope, who was a very enterprizing officer, eagerly embraced the ſcheme, and prevailed upon king Charles to permit a body of troops, though indeed it was but a very ſmall one, to embark on board the fleet. This reſolution being taken, was communicated to Sir John Norris, who, on the 6th of July, held a great council of war, in which it was reſolved, to ſend an expreſs to the duke of Savoy, and to embark the forces immediately, that an affair of ſuch importance might not ſuffer by delay. The command of theſe troops, which conſiſted of no more than the regiment of colonel Stanhope, and three hundred men from Port Mahon, was given to major-general Seiſſan, a native of Languedoc, and a very good officer. The fleet ſailed from Barcelona on the ninth, and arrived before Cette on the 19th. The next morning, by break of day, the troops, which were but ſeven hundred men, and who had landed the evening before, without any oppoſition, marched directly towards the town. Sir John Norris appointed ſome ſhips to batter the fort at the mole-head, upon which the inhabitants retired to the church, and ſoon after both town and fort ſurrendered; as in the evening of the next day did the town of Agde; ſo that now we had firm footing in the enemy's country: and this expedition had a more promiſing appearance than any that had been hi-

[u] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 772. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1710, p. 542. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii.

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therto undertaken againſt France; our only misfortune was, that there were ſo few men ſpared for ſo important a deſign [w].

On the 17th, major-general Seiſſan received advice, that the duke of Roquelaure was advancing with 400 dragoons, and 4000 militia, to ford the lake, and re-poſſeſs Cette; upon which the major-general thought proper to leave a hundred and forty men to ſecure the bridge of Agde, and marched with the reſt of the forces to oppoſe the enemy; writing at the ſame time to the admirals Norris and Sommelſdyke, to deſire them to ſend all the boats of the fleet, with as many men as they could ſpare, into the Etang or Lake, to attack the enemy in their paſſage through the ſame; which was done accordingly. The duke of Roquelaure, ſeeing his deſign prevented by theſe precautions, returned to Mezé, and the admirals and general detached a major, with a hundred and fifty men, to reinforce the detachment left to ſecure the bridge of Agde; but, at the ſame time advice came, that this important poſt had been abandoned upon a falſe alarm. Nevertheleſs, it was reſolved to prevent the enemy, and to return to Adge with ſhallops by ſea, in order to regain that poſt; but the very moment that this was to be executed, a ſtrong wind happened to riſe, which obliged them to abandon that deſign, and direct all their care to ſecure Cette.

In ſhort, the duke de Noailles, arrived at Agde, the ſame day that they were to return thither. They began then to think of the defence of the mountain of Cette, and poſted there the few troops they had in the vineyards, ſurrounded with a ſlight wall; but with orders to retire, yet not before the arrival of the enemy. The officer, who commanded fifty men, did not rightly apprehend this order, or elſe he was ſurpriſed; for ſcarce had a few French dragoons fired upon our men, before they ſurrendered to them at diſcretion. The other troops retired in diſorder, though the neceſſary diſpoſitions had been made to ſupport them in their retreat, and the ſeveral officers did all that could be expected from their courage and experience to rally the troops. While theſe were re-imbarking on the 17th, a captain was left in the fort, with fifty men to cover the retreat. It was not acceſſible, but on the ſide of the mole, and was defended by two pieces of

[w] Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 459. Columna roſtrata, p. 289. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. xlix. p. 210, 211.

cannon

cannon in the place that leads to it; and beſides, the enemy had no boats. The ſhallops were juſt by the fort the whole morning; but admiral Norris had no ſooner put off to go on board his ſhip, but the enemy ſent word to the captain, that if he did not immediately ſurrender the fort, he muſt expect no quarter. Whereupon the officer let down the bridge, and ſurrendered at diſcretion, even before the troops were re-imbarked[x]. The duke de Roquelaure ſent them back the captain who had ſo ill defended the fort, in exchange for a burgher who had been releaſed before; but the captain was ſet a-ſhore again, and told, that ſince he had been ſo complaiſant to M. de Roquelaure, as to deliver up the fort to him, it was but reaſonable he ſhould be near the duke's perſon, and treated according to his merit[y].

Thus ended an expedition, from which much was expected, and which had no other good effect, except obliging the enemy to recal a conſiderable body of their troops from Rouſſillon; in doing this the duke de Noailles made a very remarkable march, of which the French have boaſted exceſſively. Sir John Norris having re-imbarked the forces, ſailed on the 19th, and ſhewed himſelf off Toulon and Marſeilles; ſome days after, he ſtood into the road of Hieres, where he diſcovered a French fly-boat, carrying fifty guns, under three forts, upon the iſland of Port Croix; upon which he inſtantly detached ſome Engliſh and

[x] See the relation of this deſcent, in a letter from on board the Dutch admiral, dated from the confederate fleet at Vado, Auguſt the 7th, 1710, in the annals of queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 83.

[y] Father Daniel gives us a very pompous account of this buſineſs: the allies, ſays he, appeared before Port de Cette, with twenty-five men of war, and immediately made themſelves maſters of the place. The duke de Roquelaure, who commanded in Languedoc, had but three troops of horſe, and therefore he ſent directly to the duke de Noailles for aſſiſtance, who, in the ſpace of three days, brought 900 horſe, and 1000 grenadiers into the neighbourhood of Agde; from whence they forced the enemy to retire immediately, with the loſs of three or four hundred men. He confeſſes, however, that it was an affair of great conſequence, ſince, if the Engliſh had become maſters of that port, they might have been able to ſupport the rebels in France, which muſt have brought the greateſt miſeries upon that kingdom. The moſt extraordinary thing, he tells us, is, that the French loſt only one grenadier, and a few horſes: but even this was too much for other French writers to own, and therefore they leave out the horſes, and tell us, that the grenadier killed himſelf, his piece going off as it was flung at his back.

Dutch

Dutch frigates, under the command of captain Stepney, to attack both the ſhip and the fortreſſes. This was performed with great vigour, and in a ſhort time the ſhip was abandoned, and the loweſt of the three forts; upon this our boats rowed haſtily to board the veſſel, into which our men had ſcarce entered, before the ſhip, by a train laid for that purpoſe by the enemy, was blown up, and thirty-five of our people either killed or wounded. This misfortune was ſoon followed by another; for our ſhips that were cruizing off Toulon, being diſtreſſed for water, ſailed to an adjacent iſland for a ſupply, and in the mean time a great corn fleet, for which they were waiting, took that opportunity to enter the port of Toulon.

On the 14th of Auguſt, Sir John Norris returned to Port Mahon, where he received the welcome news of the great victory of Sarragoſſa. He then expected to have ſailed on an expedition for the ſervice of his Catholic majeſty; but was diſappointed, partly through ſome delay made by the troops in embarking, and partly by the haſte the Dutch were in to return home; ſo that, finding it impracticable to do any further ſervice for the preſent, he ordered moſt of his ſhips to be cleaned; which being performed, he ſailed on the 30th of October from Port Mahon, and on the 6th of November he took three French ſhips from Newfoundland. After this, he ſecured the Turkey fleet, and then attempted to annoy the enemy in the Bay of Roſes, where he met with ſuch a ſtorm, as drove the Reſolution on ſhore; on the coaſt of Catalonia, near to Barcelona, where ſhe was loſt, notwithſtanding all imaginable care to prevent it, and the reſt of the fleet was forced into the harbour of Port Mahon [z].

His Catholic majeſty's affairs had by this time taken a new and unfavourable turn, and therefore his majeſty wrote in preſſing terms to Sir John Norris, in order to engage him to ſail over to the Italian coaſt, to bring, with the utmoſt expedition, ſuch troops as could be ſpared from thence for his ſervice. Sir John ſailed from Barcelona, and arrived on the 19th of March in the bay of Vado [a]; on the 22d following, the Severne, Lion,

[z] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. 31. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 846, 847. Annals of queen Anne. London Gazette, N°. 4820.

[a] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. l. p. 476. London Gazette, N°. 4836.

and Lime, made the ſignal of ſeeing four ſhips; upon which the admiral ordered the Naſſau and Exeter to give them chace, and upon hearing a great firing of guns, detached the Dartmouth and Winchelſea to their aſſiſtance. On the 27th, the Severne and Lime came into the road, and captain Pudner, who commanded the former, gave Sir John Norris an account, that, in conjunction with the Lion and Lime, he had, the day before, engaged four French ſhips, from ſixty to forty guns, for above two hours, and then the French crowded all the ſail they could, and made away; the Severne, being diſabled, returned with the Lime into Vado road; but captain Galfridus Walpole, who commanded the Lion, continued the chace, though he had his right arm ſhot away, about forty men killed and wounded, and his ſhip much torn by the enemy's ſhot. The Exeter, commanded by captain Raymond, came up with one of the Frenchmen, and, after a briſk engagement of above two hours, took her; but he was ſo diſabled, that he was forced to let her go again. She proved to be the Pembroke, which had been taken from us a year before, that was, while in our ſervice, a ſixty-gun ſhip; but at this time ſhe mounted no more than fifty [b].

Sir John having given the neceſſary directions for embarking the troops on board an hundred and twenty tranſports, in order to eſcort them to Barcelona, received advice, while he was waiting for a wind, that Sir John Jennings was arrived at Port Mahon, in order to command in the Mediterranean. We have already, contrary to our uſual method, carried this part of the hiſtory beyond the bounds of the year 1710, which was occaſioned by a deſire of preſerving perſpicuity, which otherwiſe could not have been ſo well done; and, for the ſame reaſon, we ſhall proceed with Sir John Norris's conduct, though it will carry us almoſt to the cloſe of the year 1711: which, however, is better than breaking the thread of the narration, to reſume it again at a great diſtance of time; and this, too, when all that can be ſaid about it will fall within a very narrow compaſs.

[b] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 774. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 847. London Gazette, N°. 4837.

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He ſailed from Vado for Port Mahon, in April[c]; but was forced by a ſtorm into the road of Araſio, where, with great difficulty, he procured forage for the horſes, and where he lay wind-bound till the 4th of May, and then proceeded to Barcelona, arrived there, and landed the troops on the eighth, where, having conſulted with the duke of Argyle, and taken care to ſend a ſtrong ſquadron to Genoa for the public money, he thought next of proceeding home with the Turkey trade; and, with that view, ordered captain Cornwall to eſcort them to Gibraltar, or Liſbon, and there wait for his arrival. This being performed, he followed them as ſoon as the king of Spain's affairs would permit; and ſailing with them under his convoy from Liſbon on the 15th of September, he arrived with them off the Iſle of Wight the 8th of October, 1711, with four ſhips of the third rate, ſeven of the fourth, three of the fifth, two bomb-veſſels, two ſtore-ſhips, and an hoſpital-ſhip; and from thence held on his courſe to the Downs, leaving the command of the fleet that continued in the Mediterranean to Sir John Jennings, of whoſe proceedings we ſhall ſpeak in their proper place; but, at preſent, it is requiſite that we ſhould give an account, as we promiſed, of the expedition ſet on foot for reſtoring our affairs in Newfoundland[d].

The check we had received the year before, had given the miniſtry great diſquiet. They found themſelves, at this juncture, in a very critical ſituation, and were therefore under a kind of neceſſity of providing againſt any new clamours, which they were ſenſible would be ſet up, in caſe the French were not effectually rooted out in a place which ſo nearly affected our merchants, and upon which their commerce with Spain, Portugal, and Italy, ſo much depended. In order, therefore, to provide

[c] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. 32. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1711, p. 220, 221. London Gazette, N°. 4844, 4846, 4864. There are various accounts of the loſs ſuſtained in this ſtorm; the French reported it as very conſiderable; ſome ſay there were only three barks deſtroyed, two of which ſunk at ſea, and the other was forced by ſtreſs of weather to put into Marſeilles.

[d] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p 775. Annals of queen Anne, for the year 1711, vol. x. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 574. London Gazette, N°. 4912.

in the beſt manner poſſible for ſo important an undertaking, they made choice of two officers of great worth and experience, one of them to command the ſquadron, the other the land forces that were to be put on board it. The former was captain George Martin, and the latter, colonel Francis Nicholſon, who was ſent to Boſton in New England, in order to provide every thing neceſſary for the expedition, and to draw together ſuch forces as could be ſpared from that colony, ſo that they might be able to embark as ſoon as the ſquadron ſhould arrive [c].

This ſquadron conſiſted of the Dragon, a fifty-gun ſhip, commanded by captain George Martin; the Falmouth, of fifty guns, by captain Walter Rydel; the Leoſtaff, of thirty-two guns, by captain George Gordon; the Feverſham, of thirty-ſix guns, by captain Robert Paſton, and the Star bomb-ketch, by captain Thomas Rochfort; to which was afterwards added, the Cheſter, a fifty-gun ſhip, commanded by captain Thomas Matthews. Captain Martin arriving in New England, found all things properly adjuſted for the execution of this enterprize againſt the French ſettlement, without delay; in conſequence of which, he proceeded from Nantaſket road the 18th of September, with the Dragon, Falmouth, Leoſtaff, Feverſham, and Star bomb-veſſel, the Provence galley, two hoſpital-ſhips, thirty-one tranſports, and two thouſand land forces, having ſent the Cheſter before, to endeavour to intercept any ſupplies which the enemy might attempt to ſend to Port-Royal, in Nova Scotia; and on the 24th, in the afternoon, he anchored at the entrance of the harbour. A council of war was called, and, purſuant to what was agreed, the ſmall embarkations and

[c] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 765. Columna roſtrata, p. 294. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 468. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome I. p. 77. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 191. See the journal of an expedition performed by the forces of our ſovereign lady Anne, under the command of the honourable Francis Nicholſon, general and commander in chief, in the year 1710, for the reduction of Port Royal in Nova Scotia, or any other place in thoſe parts of America, then in poſſeſſion of the French. London, 1711, 4to.

boats

boats were gotten ready to receive the men, and put them on ſhore [f].

Things being in this ſituation, on the 25th of September, about ſix in the morning, colonel Vetch, and colonel Reading, with fifty men each, together with Mr. Forbes, the engineer, went on ſhore to view the ground for landing the troops; and ſoon after colonel Nicholſon himſelf, with a body of men, actually landed; the enemy firing at the boats in which they were, from their batteries of cannon and mortars, but with no great ſucceſs. Colonel Vetch, with five hundred on the north ſide, ſo lined the ſhore, as that he protected the landing of the cannon, ammunition, and ſtores, and the mortar being fixed on board the bomb-veſſel, ſhe driving up with the tide of flood, within cannon-ſhot of the fort, both that day and the next, bombarded the enemy therein, which did in a great meaſure induce them to capitulate, ſooner than otherwiſe they would have done: not but that they were very much galled in the attempts made on them, and the warm fire from the artillery on ſhore; but the 28th, 29th, and 30th, the bomb-veſſel was not able to throw any ſhells, by reaſon of hard gales of wind [g].

At a council of war, held on the firſt of October, two letters, which were received from monſieur Subercaſe, directed to colonel Nicholſon, were taken into conſideration, together with

[f] This expedition, which was one of the moſt fortunate that we had undertaken in this part of the world, owed its ſucceſs in a great meaſure to the conduct of colonel Francis Nicholſon, who maintained a perfect agreement with commodore Martin, and the reſt of the ſea officers, who, on their part, omitted nothing that was demanded for the uſe of the troops, and ſupported them very cordially upon all occaſions, with their boats and men. Another thing that contributed not a little to this happy event was, the troops being ſeaſoned that were ſent upon this expedition, and having officers well acquainted, not only with their duty, but with the climate, and ſituation of places; which, in affairs of this nature, are circumſtances of the utmoſt conſequence.

[g] It may not be amiſs to remark here, that this place, now Annapolis, has a very fine baſon, capable of holding a large fleet; that it commands a valuable country, which ſettled, would prove a cover and protection to New England; and that it was at this juncture a neſt of French privateers, and thence ſtyled their American Dunkirk. Theſe circumſtances ſhew the value of this conqueſt.

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the anſwers which he had made thereunto; and the preliminaries being agreed on, the governor marching out of the fort, with the garriſon [h], our troops took poſſeſſion of it ſoon after, with

[h] This capitulation is worth the reader's notice, inaſmuch as it contains the terms upon which we were put in poſſeſſion of the province of Acadia, as the French call it, or, as we ſtyle it, the province of Nova Scotia. The articles were,

1. That the garriſon ſhall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, and colours flying.

2. That there ſhall be a ſufficient number of ſhips and proviſions to tranſport the ſaid garriſon to Rochelle, or Rochfort, by the ſhorteſt paſſage; where they ſhall be furniſhed with paſſports for their return.

3. That I, colonel Nicholſon, may take out ſix guns, and two mortars, ſuch as I ſhall think fit.

4. That the officers ſhall carry out all their effects of what ſort ſoever; except they do agree to the ſelling of them, the payment of which to be *bona fide*.

5. That the inhabitants, within cannon ſhot of the fort of Port-Royal, ſhall remain upon their eſtates, with their corn, cattle, and furniture, during two years, in caſe they are not deſirous to go before; they taking the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to her ſacred majeſty of Great Britain.

6. That a veſſel be provided for the privateers belonging to the iſlands of America, for their tranſportation thither.

7. That thoſe that are deſirous to go for Placentia, in Newfoundland, ſhall have leave by the neareſt paſſage.

8. That the Canadians, or thoſe that are deſirous to go thither, may, during the ſpace of one year.

9. That the effects, ornaments, utenſils of the chapel and hoſpital, ſhall be delivered to the almoner.

10. I promiſe to deliver the fort of Port-Royal into the hands of Francis Nicholſon, Eſq; for the queen of Great Britain, &c. within three days after the ratification of this preſent treaty; with all the effects belonging to the king, as guns, mortars, bombs, balls, powder, and all other ſmall arms.

11. I will diſcover, upon my faith, all the mines, fougaſſes, and caſemates.

12. All the articles of this preſent treaty ſhall be executed upon good faith, without difficulty, and ſigned by each other, at her majeſty of Great Britain's camp, before Port-Royal fort, the ſecond day of October, in the ninth year of her majeſty's reign, *annoque Domini* 1710.

FRANCIS NICHOLSON.

SUBERCASE.

Memorandum. The general declared, that within cannon-ſhot of Port-Royal, in the fifth article aforeſaid, is to be underſtood, three Engliſh miles round

with drums beating, and colours flying; where hoisting the union flag, they, in honour of her majesty, called the place Annapolis Royal; and a sufficient number of men being left therein, the ships and troops proceeded to New England as soon as all things necessary were settled; from whence captain Martin departed, not long after, in order to put in execution the remaining part of his instructions, and prepare for his return to England.

These were not all the misfortunes that befel the French in this part of the world, for our men of war and privateers took this year near fifty of their ships. The Portland and the Valeur took, in their passage to Newfoundland, two very rich prizes, value thirty thousand pounds. But not long after, the Valeur was surprized in harbour, and taken by the French, and in the month of August, captain John Aldred, in the Rochester; captain Humphrey Pudner, in the Severne; and captain George Purvis, in the Portland, visited all the French harbours on the north side of Newfoundland, and in a manner totally destroyed them[i]. Of all these transactions, however, the accurate father Daniel says not one word; and, indeed, as to the latter part of this relation Mr. Burchet is silent also, though it was certainly of very great consequence to the trade and interest of Great Britain[k].

We

round the fort, to be henceforward called Annapolis Royal; and the inhabitants within the said three miles to have the benefit of that article. Which persons, male and female, comprehended in the said article, according to a list of their names given in to the general by Mr. Allen, amount to four hundred and eighty-one persons.

[i] The complete history of Europe, for the year 1710, p. 588. Annals of the reign of queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 424.

[k] An account of the execution done by this squadron.

Harbours names,	French ships names.	Men.	Guns.	Tons.
La Couche,	La Comtesse d'Evereux,	75	16	200 taken.
Ditto,	La Couronne,	70	14	200 burnt.
Carouze,	Le Marquis du Bay,	20	28	400 taken.
Ditto,	Le Compte de Bonrepos,	120	23	400 burnt.
Ditto,	L'Aigle Noire,	70	12	200 taken.
Petit Maitre,	François Maire,	80	18	250 ditto.
Great St. Julian,	François de la Paix,	120	30	400 ditto.
Little St. Julian,	St. Pierre,	90	20	290 escaped.
Ditto,	———	30	12	—— ditto.

All

We are now to return home, in order to take notice of what happened here, relating to the affairs of the navy; and as theſe are commonly influenced by a total change in the miniſtry, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that, in the beginning of the month of Auguſt, the earl of Godolphin was removed from being lord high-treaſurer, and that high office was put into commiſſion [l]. This great change was quickly followed by others of the ſame nature; for, about ſix weeks after, Edward earl of Orford having reſigned his place of firſt lord-commiſſioner of the admiralty, the queen appointed Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, George Doddington, Eſq; Paul Methuen, Eſq; and John Aiſlabie, Eſq; lords-commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great Britain. But this commiſſion did not continue long in this ſituation, for in the month of December, Sir James Wiſhart, and George Clarke, Eſq; were appointed lords-commiſſioners of the admiralty, in the room of George Doddington, and Paul Methuen, Eſqrs [m].

The new parliament met on the 25th of November, and, on the 27th, the commons choſe William Bromley, Eſq; of Worceſterſhire, for their ſpeaker. The queen, in her ſpeech from the throne, recommended the carrying on the war in very pathetic terms, and the commons, in their addreſs, promiſed her majeſty to take proper care of it. Accordingly, on the 5th of December, they voted 40,000 men for the ſea ſervice, for the year 1711, and 120,000 l. for the ordinary of the navy; on the 10th of February they voted, that the ſum of 5,130,539 l. 5 s. 6 d. be granted for payment of the debts of the navy, and for ſervices performed by them on account of land forces to Michaelmas 1710, excluſive of the regiſter-office; and, on

All the fiſh, oil, ſlages, vatts, boats, fiſhing tackle, *&c.* of the above-mentioned ſhips fell into our hands, and were either taken or deſtroyed by us. And the two ſhips which eſcaped, left even their anchors and cables, and ſome of their ſails behind.

l Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 552. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 446. Conduct of Sarah, ducheſs dowager of Marlborough, p. 260. m Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 553. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1710, p. 570. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xlix. p. 444. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 483.

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the 20th of the ſaid month, they reſolved that 103,303 l. 11 s. 4 d. be granted for the uſe of ſuch proprietors, or inhabitants only, of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher's, who were ſufferers by the French invaſion, and who have ſettled, or ſhall reſettle their plantations in the ſaid iſlands [n]. I do not well know, whether I ought to add, as an inſtance of the care of parliament in reſpect to our commerce, that this year an act was paſſed for incorporating a company to carry on a trade to the South-Seas [o]. While theſe regulations were making by the legiſlature, her majeſty took care to provide for action; and in conſequence thereof, appointed Sir John Leake, rear-admiral of Great Britain, to be admiral and commander in chief of her fleet, in the room of Matthew Aylmer, Eſq; at the ſame time ſhe appointed Sir Thomas Hardy rear-admiral of the blue; and ſome time after Sir George Byng was made admiral of the white. Theſe neceſſary circumſtances premiſed, we may now proceed to the naval operations of the next year [p].

The grand fleet, under the command of Sir John Leake, had very little to do. It was intended for the defence of our coaſt, and for keeping the enemy in awe, which was very effectually performed; for the French king, from the many misfortunes he had met with, was utterly incapable of equipping any capital ſhips; and therefore, contenting himſelf with ſending out, as he had done for ſome years paſt, ſmall ſquadrons to annoy our trade, he ſeemed no longer to look on France as a maritime power [q]. Sir Thomas Hardy, rear-admiral of the blue, was ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron, conſiſting of four fourth rates, two fifths, and two ſixths, to block up the port of Dunkirk. On the 21ſt of May he arrived before that port, into which he forced two privateers of twenty guns each, and a dogger which carried eight; and this, notwithſtanding the enemy's fire from the platform at the pier-head. While he was in this ſituation, he diſcovered in the baſon four ſixty-gun ſhips, and two ſmal-

[n] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 557, 563. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 480, 493. Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p. 194, 199.

[o] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 573. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 459. London Gazette, No. 5860. [p] The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1711, p. 79. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 335. [q] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 789.

ler veſſels, all unrigged, and had certain information of a ſmall ſquadron that was fitting there for the ſea; after which he cruized as carefully as he could, as well for that, as for the convoy from Bretagne; but both, notwithſtanding all his vigilance, eſcaped him.

On the 27th of June, an Engliſh man of war, called the Advice, commanded by Kenneth, lord Duffus, was attacked in Yarmouth roads, by ſeveral French privateers[r]. His lordſhip engaged them with great bravery, and did not give up his ſhip, which was a fourth rate of forty-ſix guns, till all his ſails were torn to pieces, not a brace or bowling left, the ſhrouds cut away, two-thirds of his men killed and wounded, and his lordſhip had five balls in his body. The eight privateers that took him, brought the ſhip with great triumph into Dunkirk, where they moſt inhumanly ſtripped both officers and private men of their wearing apparel, and, but for the kindneſs of the inhabitants, had left them in a manner naked. Such was the brutal behaviour of theſe barbarous plunderers, and to ſuch we muſt remain expoſed, if that infamous neſt of pirates, deſtroyed for the common ſafety of mankind, ſhall ever, through the weakneſs of our councils, be ſettled or fortified again.

On the 8th of Auguſt, Sir Thomas Hardy being in Yarmouth roads, with his ſquadron, received orders to proceed as far northwards as the iſlands of Orkney, in order to ſecure the Ruſſia trade, and to ſend ſome ſhips that were with him to the Downs; the admiralty having received certain intelligence, that M. de Saus, a French officer, had actually got to ſea from Dunkirk, with four large ſhips, *viz.* one of fifty guns, one of twenty-eight, one of twenty-ſix, and one of twenty-four: in purſuance of theſe orders, Sir Thomas ſaw the Ruſſia fleet, which was remarkably rich that year, as far as Shetland; and then ſending them forward with a proper convoy, he returned to the Downs, where he received orders to proceed weſtward, in queſt of M. du Caſſe. While our ſhips were thus employed, a misfortune befel us upon our own coaſt; for M. de Saus, with

[r] Columna roſtrata, p. 290. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1711. But the facts related in the text are taken chiefly from the London Gazette, N°. 4872.

his

his privateers, fell in with our Virginia fleet, which conſiſted of twenty-two ſail, two of which were forced aſhore, four eſcaped, and all the reſt were taken[s].

As ſoon as the news of this was carried to England, orders were ſent to purſue the French ſquadron, and to prevent, if poſſible, their getting back to Dunkirk; but the ſieur Saus found means to rid himſelf of theſe attendants, though they were once within ſight of him, and carried ſix of his prizes into Dunkirk, leaving the reſt at Bologne, Calais, and other ports on the coaſt[t]. Our cruizers and privateers repaired, in ſome degree, this misfortune, by the depredations they committed on the coaſts of France, from whence they brought a great number of ſmall prizes, which, if they did not turn much to our benefit, were, however, a great prejudice to France, ſince moſt of them were laden with corn, and other proviſions, of which at that juncture the people were in great need. But it is now time to return to the proceedings of our ſquadrons in the Mediterranean, where, as we have before ſhewn, Sir John Jennings commanded in chief, with a numerous fleet, of whoſe deſigns we ſhall now ſpeak particularly, as they were the laſt that were formed during this war in thoſe parts.

The affairs of king Charles had ſuffered ſo ſeverely ſince the battle loſt at Villa Vicioſa, that even his beſt friends almoſt deſpaired of retrieving them. It was, however, reſolved to ſend thither a large naval force, to aſſiſt in whatever meaſures might be thought proper, either for reſtoring his hopes, or providing for the ſafety of his perſon. The duke of Argyle commanded the Engliſh troops, with circumſtances equally honourable to himſelf, and ſhameful to thoſe who ſuffered ſo many brave men to fall under ſuch heavy misfortunes. The army was but thin; and well it might be ſo, ſince general Stanhope had been beſieged, and taken, with eight battalions, and as many ſquadrons, a few months before, in the miſerable hamlet of Brihuega. But this was not all; the regiments, thin as they were, were alſo ragged and ſtarving, having no credit but what his grace procured for them, who ſoon brought things into bet-

[s] Burchet's naval hiſt. b. v. chap. 34. Annals of queen Anne, vol. x.
[t] Burchet, Journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. p. 273.

ter order, and his very little army under good diſcipline. In ſhort, he appeared there, what he appeared every where, not only a brave man and an active officer; not barely a great general, or an able ſtateſman, but a friend to mankind, and a lover of his country. He fed the hungry, he clothed the naked, he ſtopped deſertion; not by ſeverities, but by convincing his ſoldiers that they could be uſed no where ſo well; inſomuch that when Sir John Jennings arrived at Barcelona with his fleet, in the latter end of March, he found things on the mending hand [u].

After performing ſome few neceſſary ſervices, it was reſolved, that the fleet ſhould cruize off Toulon, in order to intercept the ſupplies which the enemy expected from Languedoc, and their corn-fleet from the Levant. While he was in this ſtation, he received orders from England, to return immediately to the coaſt of Catalonia, that he might be ready to carry

[u] Biſhop Burnet, indeed, has given a very different account of this matter. "The buſineſs of Spain had been ſo much preſſed from the throne, and ſo "much inſiſted on all this ſeſſion, and the commons had given 1,500,000l. "for that ſervice, (a ſum far beyond all that had been granted in any preceding ſeſſion), ſo that it was expected matters would have been carried there in "another manner than formerly. The duke of Argyle was ſent to command "the queen's troops there, and he ſeemed full of heat; but all our hopes failed. "The duke of Vendome's army was in ſo ill a condition, that if Staremberg "had been ſupported, he promiſed himſelf great advantages. It does not yet "appear, what made this to fail, for the parliament has not yet taken this into "examination. It is certain, the duke of Argyle did nothing; neither he nor "his troops were once named during the whole campaign. He wrote over very "heavy complaints, that he was not ſupported, by the failing of the remittances "that he expected: but what ground there was for that, does not yet appear; "for, though he afterwards came over, he was very ſilent, and ſeemed in a "good underſtanding with the miniſters." The laſt words of this amazing piece of hiſtory ſufficiently explain it. The duke of Argyle agreed with that miniſtry, with whom the prelate could not agree. He complained of the condition in which he found the troops, which was owing to the avarice of ſome low inſtruments of the old miniſtry, and he made no complaints againſt the new, becauſe he was ſenſible they ſupplied him as well as they were able: but he differed from them afterwards, when he ſaw juſt cauſe for it: and indeed, through his whole life, he was particularly remarkable for keeping up a ſpirit ſuitable to his birth, quality, and that moſt illuſtrious title, by which the greateſt patriots in Scotland had, through a long ſeries of years, been diſtinguiſhed.

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the king of Spain to Genoa, or where elſe he ſhould deſire [w]; his majeſty, by the death of his brother, the emperor Joſeph, being lately become ſole heir of all the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria. He was likewiſe directed to afford all the aſſiſtance poſſible to the kingdom of Naples, in caſe any commotion ſhould happen there at this juncture; and accordingly he repaired to Barcelona, to conſult his majeſty and the duke of Argyle, as to the propereſt method of executing theſe orders having firſt detached two men of war of the third, one of the fourth, and one of the fifth rate, to cruize on the coaſt of Naples, with orders to aſſiſt the ſubjects of the houſe of Auſtria, if any attempts ſhould be made for reducing the garriſons of Orbitello, or Piombino [x].

On his arrival there, he found the king not at all inclined to quit Catalonia, till ſuch time as he had advice of his being elected emperor, in which he was promiſed all the aſſiſtance that could be afforded him by the high allies; and, on the other hand, he found his majeſty equally unwilling to part with this fleet, upon which all his hopes depended. Sir John Jennings contented himſelf, therefore, with ſailing from Barcelona, on the 13th of July, for Port Mahon, where he arrived on the 18th, having firſt of all promiſed the king of Spain, to return as ſoon as the ſhips were refitted, and he had taken in a proper ſupply of proviſions, which began to grow very ſcarce; and this promiſe he exactly performed by the 26th, when we find him again in the road of Barcelona, with one ſecond, five third, and one fourth rate, beſides ſeven Dutch men of war, under the command of vice-admiral Peiterſon, having ten other ſhips, moſt of the line, abroad on neceſſary ſervice. When theſe had joined him he took the king of Spain on board, having then a fleet of twenty-four ſhips of war, and landed him in ten days time at Genoa; from whence the admiral ſailed to Leghorn, being in great want of cables and other ſtores, in order to procure ſuch as the place would afford; and while he was there,

[w] London Gazette, N°. 4841, 4881. [x] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. 36. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1711. London Gazette, N°. 4836.

two

two of our captains brought in two rich prizes from the Levant [y].

His excellency continued in that port to the 2d of November, when he ſailed for Vado Bay, and having embarked the forces that were ready to proceed for Catalonia, he ſent them under the protection of five men of war and two fire-ſhips, to Barcelona, under the command of captain Swanton, with whoſe ſquadron, and three Dutch ſhips of war, the admiral ſailed as far weſtward as cape Roſes; and was then to repair to Port Mahon, where captain Swanton was ordered to join him, as ſoon as he had ſeen the tranſports in ſafety, that the admiral might be able to make a detachment for protecting the coaſts of Portugal; as alſo ſome ſhips to cruize in the Streights mouth, for the ſecurity of our trade. When the admiral had made the iſland of Minorca, the wind blew exceſſively hard from the north-eaſt, which obliged him to come to an anchor on the north ſide of the iſland, where moſt of the ſhips ſails blew away from their yards; but he got, however, the next day into Port Mahon. On his arrival he was informed, by the captains of two ſhips he found there, that they had heard a great firing of guns all the night before; upon which he ſent the Chatham and Winchelſea, the next morning, to ſee what they could diſcover; who ſoon brought an account, that the Dutch vice-admiral, with his ſquadron, was in the offing, together with four Britiſh ſhips [z].

Theſe ſhips of ours were the Hampton-court, commanded by captain Mighells; the Sterling-caſtle, the Nottingham, the Charles galley, and the Lynn, which came from the coaſt of Catalonia, and in their paſſage had fallen in with two French men of war, the Thouloufe, and the Trident, each of fifty guns, and four hundred men. The Hampton-court came up with the firſt of them, and engaged her two hours, to whoſe commander, by the time the Sterling-caſtle was within muſket-

[y] Burchet's naval hiſtory, *ubi ſupra*. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1711, p. 363. Annals of queen Anne, vol. x. p. 76. London Gazette, N°. 4908, 4914, 4915, 4919, 4927. [z] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 795. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. Annals of queen Anne. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. lii. p. 132. London Gazette, N°. 4891.

ſhot

ſhot (which was about ten at night) ſhe ſtruck; but by the advantage of little winds, the Trident got away with her oars. The Hampton-court's maſts being much wounded in the fight, they, by the violence of the weather, came next day all by the board, ſo that ſhe was towed into port by the Sterling-caſtle. The firſt captain of the Thouloufe, was M. Grand Pre, and the ſecond captain one Rigby, an Engliſhman, who had formerly bore command in our fleet. From the former of them the admiral accepted his parole of honour for ſix months; but the latter he detained, although M. Grand Pre aſſured him he was naturalized in France, and was become a Roman Catholic; but ſome way or other he found means to eſcape, and it was believed he got on board a ſhip bound for Genoa, which lay in the harbour of Mahon [a]. About the ſame time, the Reſtoration, a ſhip of ſeventy guns, was loſt on the back ſide of the Mallora, off Leghorn, but all her officers and men were ſaved; nor fell it out better with a ſettee, that had on board to the value of four thouſand crowns, which ſhe was bringing from one of the ports of Corſica [b].

The French having at preſent no fleet in the Mediterranean, the admiral was at liberty to employ his ſhips in ſuch a manner, as might beſt anſwer the purpoſe of protecting Catalonia, and incommoding the enemy; which he accordingly did, till towards the end of the year he received advice, that the French were buſy at Toulon, in fitting out a conſiderable force, which was to put to ſea in the ſpring, of which the admiral took all the care he could to be particularly informed, and at laſt received a certain account, that this ſquadron was to conſiſt of eleven or twelve ſhips, of which eight were of the line, and three or four

[a] I have not been able to recover any further particulars as to theſe captures, though I have taken all the pains I could to inquire after them. This Rigby had made himſelf very infamous before he left England, having been l ng in Newgate, and having received ſentence for a moſt ſcandalous crime at the Old Bailey. Yet he was preferred in France for his ſkill in the marine, and might, after this misfortune, have paſſed his time with eaſe at leaſt, if not reputation; but his expences were ſo large, that, as I have been informed, he brought upon himſelf the juſt reward of a life ſo wickedly ſpent; and is therefore a fit warning to all ſuch renegadoes as prefer the increaſe of their private fortune, to the honour or welfare of their country.

[b] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 796. London Gazette, N°. 4934.

were

were frigates; that they were to proceed firſt to Cadiz, and from thence to the Weſt Indies[c]. Upon this, the admiral, on the 21ſt of February, held a council of war, in which, upon a ſtrict examination, it was found, that the ſhips under his command, could not put to ſea till ſupplied with proviſions from Italy; and therefore a frigate was diſpatched to vice-admiral Baker, then at Liſbon, with this intelligence, that he might ſtrengthen the convoy of the ſtore-ſhips and victuallers ſent from thence, and at the ſame time it was reſolved, that as ſoon as the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips arrived from Italy, the admiral ſhould cruize between Port Mahon and Cape de Gatt, not only for the protection of the convoy, but in order to intercept the enemy.

This neceſſary ſupply of proviſions, and naval ſtores, arriving ſafe at Port Mahon, and the admiral having intelligence from all ſides, of the great naval preparations of the enemy, it was determined in a council of war, held on the 11th of March, to put to ſea with one ſecond, three third, two fifth rate, and two fire-ſhips of ours, and nine ſhips of the States-General, and to cruize ten or twelve leagues from Cape Toulon, until more certain advice of the enemy could be had. Captain Walpole, in the Lion, joining the fleet from Genoa, and informing them, that he had ſeen in his paſſage nine tall ſhips to the N. W. of the iſland of Minorca; it was reſolved in a council of war, held on the 23d of March, to proceed to the ſouthward of Majorca and Ivica, in order to intercept the enemy, if it was poſſible, between that and Cape St. Martin, in their paſſage down the Streights. Obtaining, however, no further intelligence, he came to an anchor on the firſt of April off the iſland of Formentara, from whence he ſent two clean ſhips to look into the bays of Denea, Xabea, and Altea, as alſo into Alicant road; and, in caſe they brought him no advice, it was determined to ſail immediately to Barcelona. This was accordingly done, and on his arrival there, and hearing nothing of the French, he ſent a clean frigate to look into the harbour of Toulon, in order to diſcover what they were doing there, with a reſolution, upon

[c] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 796. Lediard, vol. ii. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. liii. p. 410.

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the return of that ſhip, to proceed to Port Mahon, there to revictual, and then to ſtand over to the Italian coaſt, in order to bring from thence a new ſupply of troops to Catalonia [d].

We are now to proceed to an account of what was done this year in the Weſt Indies, where, when we ſpoke laſt of affairs in thoſe parts, we left commodore Littleton with a ſtrong ſquadron under his command. This gentleman was extremely well qualified for this ſtation: he had all the abilities and experience that could be wiſhed for in a ſea-officer, and yet was as ready to aſk, and receive advice, as if he had neither. On his firſt arrival in thoſe parts, which was in the month of November, 1710, he took all the care that was poſſible to obtain proper intelligence of the motions of the galleons, which were ſtill at Carthagena; and at the ſame time he neglected nothing that the merchants thought requiſite, either for the ſecurity of their trade in thoſe parts, or for the ſafe convoy of ſuch ſhips as from time to time were ſent home; ſo that, during his ſtay at Jamaica, there were few or no complaints, but every body ſtudied to mind his own buſineſs, and to diſcharge, when called upon, his duty in the public ſervice.

The deſire of taking the galleons, was what principally occupied the thoughts of the commodore, and as he was frequently perplexed with falſe intelligence, he ſtationed the Nonſuch and the Roebuck, on the Spaniſh coaſt, giving orders to captain Hardy, who commanded the former, to diſpatch the Roebuck to Jamaica, with any certain intelligence he could obtain, either as to the time when it was propoſed the galleons ſhould ſail, or the ſtrength of the convoy that was to accompany them. Theſe orders were faithfully executed, though very little intelligence, except that the galleons had as yet no convoy, could, for many months, be procured.

In May, 1711, the commodore received an account from the maſters of ſome veſſels from Madeira, that M. du Caſſe, with a ſquadron under his command, had been ſeen from that iſland. Soon after, a Spaniſh ſloop was taken, in which was a letter from the governor of Carthagena, expreſſing his hopes, that

[d] Burchet. Complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1712. Life of queen Anne. Memoirs of the war in Spain, &c.

M. du Caſſe would ſhortly arrive with ſeven ſail of ſtout ſhips, in order to convoy the galleons. Upon this, the commodore immediately ſent an advice-boat to recal the Nonſuch, and, in the mean time, began to prepare for an expedition, reſolving not to loſe this opportunity of attacking the French ſquadron, and having a chance for making prize of ſome of the galleons[c].

The Jerſey, commanded by captain Vernon, was then cruizing to the windward of Jamaica, and having taken a French ſhip belonging to the port of Breſt, which carried thirty guns, and one hundred and twenty men, he carried her into Jamaica, on the 23d of May. The captain of this veſſel informed the commodore, that he had been trading on the coaſt of New Spain, from whence, proceeding to Port Lewis, in Hiſpaniola, where he put on ſhore the money he had taken, he was ſailing from thence to Petit Guavas, in order to take in there a cargo for France, when he fell into the hands of captain Vernon. He added, that he ſailed from Port Lewis on the 20th, in company with M. du Caſſe, who was gone for Carthagena, and that his ſquadron conſiſted of one ſhip of ſeventy-four guns, another of ſixty, one of fifty, one of twenty-four, and one of twenty; but captain Hardy arriving on the 27th, aſſured Mr. Littleton, that two ſhips of the French ſquadron, one of which was the Glouceſter, of fifty guns, formerly taken from us, and another of forty-four, arrived at Carthagena, ten days before, and waited for M. du Caſſe, who deſigned, as ſoon as the galleons could be ready, to ſail with them for the Havannah, and from thence to Cadiz.

Upon this, captain Vernon was ſent over to the coaſt of New Spain; and returning on the 4th of July, reported, that on the 28th of June, he had looked into the port of Carthagena, where he ſaw twelve ſhips, ſix rigged, and ſix unrigged, and five ſloops; the ſix ſhips that were rigged, he informed the commodore, where the St. Michael, of ſeventy-four guns; the Hercules, of ſixty; the Griffin, of fifty; two ſmall frigates, and the vice-admiral of the galleons, which carried ſixty guns: and that, of the ſhips that were unrigged, there were two at the upper end of the harbour, preparing for ſea, one of which he be-

[c] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 711, 712.

lieved

lieved to be the Minion, of fifty guns, and another of forty, the reſt he took to be trading veſſels [f].

Upon the 15th of July, the commodore ſailed with one third rate, four fourth rates, and a ſloop [g] for Carthagena; and arriving on the coaſt of New Spain on the 26th, he diſcovered five ſhips to the leeward, which he chaced into Boca Chica, at the entrance of Carthagena harbour. Upon this, he ſtood off to ſea the greateſt part of the night; but ſtretching in to the ſhore next morning, chaced four ſhips, and about ſix came up with the vice-admiral of the galleons, and a Spaniſh merchant ſhip; and as M. du Caſſe had taken moſt of the money out of the galleon, having ſome ſuſpicion of the commanding officer on board her; ſo was this very carrack the ſame which had eſcaped from Mr. Wager, as hath been before related; and coming from Carthagena, in company with ſome French ſhips of war, it happened ſhe was ſeparated from them, and believing our ſhips to be thoſe with M. du Caſſe, (as her commander ſaid), lay by the greateſt part of the day, and when Mr. Littleton came near, hoiſted Spaniſh colours, and a flag at the fore-top-maſt-head, ſo that between five and ſix at night, the Saliſbury's prize, commanded by captain Robert Harland, engaged her; ſoon after which, the Saliſbury, commanded by captain Francis Hoſier, did the ſame [h].

The commodore being within piſtol ſhot, was juſt going to fire into her when they ſtruck their colours; and the Jerſey, going after one of the merchant ſhips, took her; the Nonſuch chacing the other, ſhe eſcaped in the night. The vice-admiral

[f] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. xx. Columna roſtrata, p. 293. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. li. p. 433.

[g] The commodore hoiſted his broad pennant in the Defiance; and the ſhips that ſailed with him, were the Saliſbury, Saliſbury's prize, Jerſey, Nonſuch, and Jamaica ſloop. In their paſſage, the Saliſbury's prize ſprung her main maſt, which occaſioned ſome delay, till it could be ſecured, and then they proceeded; captain Vernon, in the Jerſey, having been ſent, while the reſt of the ſquadron lay by, to look into Carthagena.

[h] It is of conſequence where we can come at ſuch diſtinct relations as this is, for the uſe of young officers, to whom they are acceptable. It would be of ſervice, and indeed of great ſervice, if a diſtinct and clear narrative of every expedition, drawn, or at leaſt ſigned by the commanding officer, was depoſited in the admiralty, as well as a ſea journal.

of the galleons, being wounded by a ſmall ſhot, died ſoon after. M. du Caſſe had taken moſt of the money out of the galleon, except what was found in ſome boxes which belonged to private perſons. She had ſixty braſs guns mounted, and three hundred and twenty-five men; and the ſhip which the Jerſey took, was a veſſel belonging to the merchants, of about four hundred tons, and twenty-ſix guns, laden for the moſt part with cocoa and wool. The priſoners, by the deſcription given to them of the ſhips which were ſeen by the commodore, the day he came off of Carthagena, aſſured him, they were thoſe with M. du Caſſe, and that he had been out of Carthagena but two days, being ſeparated from the Spaniſh vice-admiral, and nine merchant ſhips, the day after he came out; and ſince Mr. Littleton was well aſſured that he intended to touch at the Havannah, it was determined to cruize a little to the leeward of Point Pedro ſhoals, as the moſt proper place for intercepting them, until ſuch time as further intelligence could be gained from captain Hook, of the Jamaica ſloop, who was ſent over to the coaſt with ſome Spaniſh priſoners [i].

About this time the French formed a very memorable deſign of attacking the Leeward Iſlands, and this, with the natural ſtrength of their own colonies; for which purpoſe they aſſembled, in the month of May and June, about two thouſand men in Martinico; theſe they embarked on board the following veſſels, *viz.* a large ſhip, of thirty-ſix guns, a hag-boat of twenty-four guns, two merchant ſhips, and nine privateer ſloops. They put to ſea on the 10th of June, with an intent to land on the iſland of Antigua; but they were ſcarce clear of their own iſland, before they met with her majeſty's ſhip the Newcaſtle, commanded by captain Bourn, who attacked them ſo briſkly, that, notwithſtanding it was a calm, and they lay in ſuch a manner, as that it was impoſſible for him to bring his broadſide

[i] This account is taken from the commodore's letter, dated on board the Defiance, in Port-Royal harbour, Auguſt 13, 1711. He ſays, in the ſame letter, that he had but one man killed, and ſix wounded in the engagement; and though neither he, nor any of our hiſtorians, inſiſt much on the value of this capture, yet a Dutch writer informs us, that the two prizes, with the effects on board them, were worth one hundred thouſand pounds.

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to bear upon them; yet, after an action of three hours, in which the French loſt ſixty-four men, he obliged them to relinquiſh their enterprize, and to take the opportunity of the firſt little breeze that ſprung up, to return into one of the ports of their own iſlands.

Unwilling, however, abſolutely to abandon their deſign, they refitted their veſſels, and beat up for volunteers, and, on the 16th, landed near fifteen hundred men on the iſland of Montſerrat; they debarked theſe troops about twelve at night, and began to plunder the adjacent country; but being informed that captain Bourn ſailed from thence that very day, and was expected again the next, they embarked in ſuch a hurry, that they left fifteen or twenty of their men behind them, who were made priſoners by the inhabitants of the iſland, and thus ended this project, through the courage and conduct of this worthy commander. The French, however, did not eſcape totally unchaſtiſed for this miſchief, for captain Liſle, in her majeſty's ſhip the Diamond, having notice of their ſituation, and ſuſpecting that ſome of their tranſports would very ſoon put to ſea, he kept cruizing, together with the Panther, and another of her majeſty's ſhips, at a ſmall diſtance from the coaſt, and in a ſhort time took three of them, beſides other prizes, ſo that the enemy were effectually cured of their inclinations to make deſcents for this year [k].

To return now to commodore Littleton, who having ſent away the homeward-bound trade in the month of Auguſt, under the convoy of the Nonſuch, returned again to his cruizing ſtation, in the latter end of the ſame month. He had not been long at ſea, before the captain of the Medway's prize, whom he had ſent to Blewfields-bay in Jamaica, brought him advice, that the maſter of a trading veſſel had lately made oath before lord Archibald Hamilton, then governor of Jamaica, that eighteen French men of war, having a large number of tranſports with ſoldiers under their convoy, arrived lately at Martinico,

[k] See captain Bourn's letter, dated from Carliſle-bay, in Barbadoes, July 17, 1711, and two letters from captain Liſle, the firſt dated July 22, and the ſecond July 30, 1711; the former from Antigua, and the latter from St. Chriſtopher's, in the London Gazette, N°. 4906.

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from whence, it was believed, they would very ſpeedily ſail, to make an attempt upon Jamaica. This intelligence induced the commodore to ſail inſtantly back to the iſland, where the governor aſſured him, there was not a word of truth in the ſtory. This accident, however, had a very ill effect, ſince at that very inſtant M. du Caſſe, with his ſquadron, got ſafe into the Havannah, which he could not poſſibly have done, if the commodore had kept his ſtation. It may be believed, this diſappointment gave him infinite diſturbance, but it did not, however, hinder his cruizing for ſome time off the Havannah, in hopes of repairing this diſaſter; in which he did not ſucceed [l].

Upon his return to Jamaica, he found the Thetis, a French man of war, lately taken, arrived from New England; and ſoon after captain Leſtock, in the Weymouth, from the ſame place, with a ſmall privateer, which he had taken on the coaſt of Porto Rico, in his paſſage. There were at this time many merchant ſhips ready to ſail home, with whom the commodore ſent the Angleſea, Fowey, and Scarborough; the laſt-mentioned ſhip had been taken from the French by the two former, upon the coaſt of Guinea, where, not long before, the French had taken her from us. Thus ended the operations of the naval campaign for this year in the Weſt Indies [m].

But, before we leave America, it is neceſſary that we ſhould enter into a circumſtantial account of that famous expedition againſt the French ſettlements in Canada, which makes ſo great a figure in the French hiſtories, and on which we find ſo many reflections made in our own; the ſubject indeed is both intricate and unpleaſant, but, withal, it is extremely neceſſary to ſet it in a clear light; ſince, notwithſtanding its miſcarriage, through a concurrence of unforeſeen, as well as unlucky accidents, it was certainly one of the beſt intended, and very far from being one of the worſt contrived deſigns that was ſet on foot during this war, and, therefore, we hope the reader will not think an impartial relation of the whole affair unworthy of his attention [n].

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[l] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 715. Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 345.

[m] Burchet, p. 715, 716. Annals of queen Anne, &c.

[n] At this diſtance of time, when the parties are all dead, and the circumſtances of things ſo altered, as to leave no room for either prepoſſeſſions or prejudices,

The diſturbance given us by the French in North America, and the apprehenſions our colonies were under, from the ſtrength of their ſettlements in Canada, have been ſo often mentioned, that I think I need not inſiſt upon them here: I ſhall content myſelf therefore with obſerving, that the earl of Godolphin had often expreſſed a ſtrong deſire of attempting ſomething of conſequence in this part of the world, that might exalt our own character, and humble the haughtineſs of the enemy. Sir Hovenden Walker informs us, that he was conſulted by that great miniſter, in reference to this deſign; yet I very much doubt, whether the whole of it was then communicated to him, ſince it is very certain, that it was not either he, or general Hill, who were to have been employed in the expedition, as it was then intended; but Sir Thomas Hardy was to have commanded the fleet, and the land forces were to have been under general Maccartney. It has been remarked by biſhop Burnet, and ſome other writers, that the whole of this deſign was concerted without any application to, or conſent of parliament; and this, that prelate ſays, was the more inexcuſable, becauſe it was contrived and carried into execution, at a time when the parliament was ſitting [o].

The force of this objection, I muſt confeſs, I do not ſee; for if expeditions of ſuch a nature, with all the eſtimates of expences neceſſary for rendering them effectual, were to be laid

judices, one may hope, that a candid inquiry into ſo very important an expedition, will merit the favour, as well as claim the attention, of every judicious reader, for many reaſons.

[o] The biſhop's account runs thus: "An expedition was deſigned by ſea, for "taking Quebec and Placentia, and, for that end, five thouſand men were "brought from Flanders. Hill, who was brother to the favourite, had the "command. There was a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war ordered to ſecure the "tranſport fleet; they were furniſhed from hence with proviſions, only for three "months; but they deſigned to take in a ſecond ſupply at New England. A com-"miſſioner of the victualling then told me, he could not gueſs what made them "to be ſent out ſo ill furniſhed, for they had ſtores lying on their hands for a full "ſupply."—Mr. Oldmixon writes with leſs reſentment; he attributes this project originally to governor Nicholſon, and I believe with truth; he ſays, the four Indian chiefs, who were brought over hither, and preſented to the queen, ſolicited it ſtrongly; and, in fine, that it had been certainly a very good project, if it had fallen into good hands. But, he inſinuates, that it was made a job; the contrary of which, I think, will appear by the citation in the next note.

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before parliament before they could be undertaken, I think it muſt be obvious to every intelligent reader, that this would afford ſuch an opportunity of oppoſing deſigns of this nature at home, and making all the world acquainted with them abroad, that it would be afterwards ſeldom adviſable to execute them. But there is another remark made by Mr. Burchet, which appears to have a better foundation. He ſays, that this deſign was induſtriouſly concealed from the lords of the admiralty, as long as it was poſſible, and that at laſt they were truſted only with the executive part, and not at all with the direction; for otherwiſe, he thinks, it muſt have been impoſſible that ſuch large ſhips ſhould have been ordered for an expedition into the river of St. Lawrence, which was well known to their lordſhips to be ſo hazardous a navigation, and for which, therefore, ſhips of ſuch a burden were altogether unfit [p].

This remark, I ſay, has greater weight with me, becauſe it plainly proves, that how right ſoever the intention of a miniſtry

[p] How far the following account of this matter, taken from a letter of Mr. ſecretary St. John's, to Sir Hovenden Walker, dated April 17, 1711, will obviate even this objection, I muſt leave to the reader; with this obſervation, however, that if the ſentiments contained in it were not ſincere, the writer muſt have been the greateſt diſſembler in the world.—"The Humber and Devonſhire will proceed with you, of thoſe which are ordered to cruize in the "Soundings, it will not, I doubt, be poſſible for you to be joined by any. "The lords of the admiralty, you find, look on theſe additional ſhips as gi"ven you for the expedition, and it is fit they ſhould do ſo; but when you "are got far enough into the ſea, you are to ſend back two of the ten ſail, "and if you find any of the eight firſt, appointed to compoſe your ſquadron, "not fit for the voyage, as the Torbay is reported not to be, you may, in "ſuch caſe, ſend home the ſhip which is unfit, taking which you ſhall like "beſt of the two additional ſhips in lieu of her. The meſſenger who brings "this packet, is ordered to ſtay till diſpatched back again by Mr. Hill and your"ſelf. I muſt tell you, that I find her majeſty extremely impatient to hear "you are ſailed, and concerned leſt you ſhould loſe the advantage of this "eaſterly wind. I hope, therefore, by the return of the meſſenger, you "will inform me exactly when you ſhall be ready to proceed. I have nothing "more to add, but to recommend all poſſible expedition to you, upon which, "morally and probably ſpeaking, your ſucceſs intirely depends. That you "may have a proſperous voyage, and be, together with Mr. Hill, the inſtru"ments of doing ſo much honour, and bringing ſo much advantage to your "country, as are propoſed by the attempt you are ordered to make, is the "hearty prayers of,

"SIR, your, &c."

may

may be, in endeavouring to preſerve an abſolute ſecrecy as to deſigns of this ſort; yet, in caſe of any miſcarriage, their conduct will be always liable to great imputations, where they avoid communicating their councils to ſuch branches of the adminiſtration, as ſeem to have a right to regulate and direct them [q].

In reſpect to this deſign upon Quebec, it ſeems to have been principally under the direction of the lord viſcount Bolingbroke, then Mr. ſecretary St. John, by whoſe intereſt, I ſuppoſe, Sir Hovenden Walker, rear-admiral of the white, was appointed to command in chief, and general Hill, who was brother to lady Maſham, was likewiſe appointed commander of about five thouſand land-forces, that were to be employed in this deſign. As it was the firſt, and indeed the only great undertaking of the new miniſtry, I cannot believe but that they were in earneſt, and really in hopes of raiſing their reputation, by giving an extraordinary blow to the French power in thoſe parts; which I conceive muſt evidently appear, if we conſider the great force employed for this purpoſe, and which will be beſt made known to the reader, by giving him Sir Hovenden Walker's line of battle, as we find it in the appendix to his own account.

Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
Torbay,	Captain Moody,	500	80
Monmouth,	Mitchell,	400	70
Sunderland,	Gore,	365	60
Diamond,	Liſle,	190	40
Devonſhire,	Arris,	520	80
Edgar,	Sir Hovenden Walker, Captain Soans,	440	70
Humber,	Culliford,	520	80

[q] One may fairly collect from this, that the miniſters who concerted this ſcheme, were not only thoroughly in earneſt, but alſo extremely ſanguine in reſpect to its ſucceſs, otherwiſe they would never have taken this method; and ſure there was nothing criminal, in deſiring to recover Canada out of the hands of the French, or in propoſing, for the protection and ſecurity of our own colonies, to drive them entirely out of North America, which was the avowed deſign of this enterprize, and would have been a ſignal benefit to Great Britain.

Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
Montague,	Captain Walton,	365	60
Kingſton,	Winder,	365	60
Swiftſure,	Cooper,	400	70
Dunkirk,	Butler,	365	60

Together with the Bedford-Galley frigate, Baſiliſk and Granada bombs, with the Experiment, the bombs tender.

There were, beſides, thirty-three tranſports, with the regiments of brigadier Hill, colonel Windreſs, colonel Clayton, colonel Kane, lieutenant-general Seymour, colonel Diſney, colonel Kirk, and a battalion of marines, under the command of colonel Charles Churchill, making in all upwards of five thouſand men, and eight tranſports and tenders belonging to the train[r].

The inſtructions given by her majeſty to Sir Hovenden Walker, required him, as ſoon as the general and troops were embarked, to proceed to Boſton directly, without touching at any place whatſoever; and, if he judged it convenient, he was to detach, in his paſſage, a ſhip of war, with the artillery, ſtores, clothes, and other neceſſaries, to New York; but, if he found this inexpedient, he was to ſend them from Boſton. On his arrival at that place, he was to take the Leopard and Saphire under his command, and in caſe the general thought it neceſſary, he was to aſſiſt him in exchanging the garriſon of Annapolis Royal, and in tranſporting the old garriſon, with ſtores, back to New England. He was, when at Boſton, to take under his care all tranſport veſſels, ketches, hoys, boats, and other neceſſaries provided in New England; and as ſoon as the forces from hence, and thoſe raiſed there, ſhould be on board, he was to ſail with them all into the river of St. Lawrence, up to Quebec, in order to attack that place; and being arrived, to make a proper diſpoſition of the ſhips for that purpoſe, as well of ſuch as might be fit to employ before the town, as others, upon conſulting with the general, to paſs that place, and proceed up the river towards the lake, not only to prevent any communication with Quebec, but to protect the canoes, and

[r] See the appendix to Sir Hovenden Walker's full account of the late expedition to Canada, p. 188—191.

boats,

boats, with the forces from New York; to which end he was empowered to convert ſome of the ſmall veſſels ſent from hence, or New England, into frigates, ſuitable to the navigation of the upper part of the river, and to man and arm them accordingly. At New England, or elſewhere, he was to aſſiſt the general with veſſels and boats proper for landing the forces, and embarking them again, but more eſpecially upon his arrival at Quebec, or for tranſporting them from place to place. He was alſo ordered to ſend to the general ſuch marine ſoldiers as ſhould be on board the ſquadron, when he ſhould demand the ſame, which he was to have the chief command of while employed on ſhore; beſides which, he was to aſſiſt him with ſuch a number of ſeamen, gunners, guns, ammunition, and other ſtores from the ſhips, as he ſhould demand for the land-ſervice, which ſeamen were to aſſiſt in drawing and mounting the cannon, or otherwiſe as ſhould be found neceſſary. He was ſtrictly required to loſe no time in proceeding to New England, and from thence to the river of St. Lawrence; nor in putting in execution the ſervice of Quebec: but that, on his part, all expedition ſhould be uſed in the reduction of the place, and of the country of Canada, or New France, and in the ſeaſonable return of the ſquadron and tranſports[s].

He was further inſtructed, which ſhews that this deſign had been very thoroughly conſidered, in caſe of ſucceſs, to leave ſuch a naval force as he thought proper in the river of St. Lawrence, and to make uſe of any of the enemy's ſhips that might be taken, to bring into Europe ſuch governors, regular troops, religious perſons, or others whom the general, by his inſtructions was directed to ſend away from Canada, with whatever neceſſaries for their tranſportation he ſhould think requiſite. Theſe ſervices being provided for, he was to take on board the general, if he ſhould think fit to return, and ſuch of the forces as ſhould not be found neceſſary to live in Canada; and, if the ſeaſon of the year would permit, he was to proceed to attack Placentia, in Newfoundland, in ſuch a manner as general Hill ſhould direct; and this ſervice being over, he was to order ſuch ſhips of war as did

[s] See the inſtructions at large, in the before-mentioned appendix, p. 166.

not properly belong to his ſquadron, to their ſeveral ſtations, directing the maſters of the tranſports, which he ſhould have no further occaſion for, to go and ſeek freight, either in ports upon the continent of America, or in the iſlands, in order to eaſe the public of the charge of them, and for the benefit of the Britiſh commerce[t].

On the 29th of April, 1711, Sir Hoyenden Walker ſailed with the men of war and tranſports under his command; but coming off the Start the firſt of May, a weſterly wind obliged him to put into Plymouth[u]; from whence he ſailed again in

[t] Beſides theſe inſtructions, the admiral was furniſhed with copies of thoſe ſent to the reſpective governors of Maſſachuſet's-bay, and New Hampſhire; the additional inſtructions ſent to the governor of New York, as well as thoſe to Francis Nicholſon, Eſq; and the governors of Connecticut, Rhode Iſland, Providence, and Pennſylvania, that he might be convinced the adminiſtration had taken all the care in their power, that he might not fail for want of proper aſſiſtance, or be in any doubt as to what was, or was not in the power of ſuch perſons as he, in the courſe of his expedition might have occaſion to apply to; which, without doubt, was very uſeful, and highly proper in his circumſtances.

[u] As I have all along endeavoured to treat every ſubject that fell in my way as impartially as poſſible, ſo I think it my duty to give the reader here a letter from lord Bolingbroke to the admiral, which, I think, evidently proves, that miniſter had this deſign as much at heart as any man in his ſtation could have.

"SIR,

"The wind being come about to the ſouth, I take it for granted, that this "letter will find you at Plymouth, or at Torbay, the uſual bane of our mari- "time expeditions. You muſt allow me to tell you, that the queen is very "uneaſy at the unaccountable loſs of time in your ſtay at Portſmouth; and, "if the Devonſhire could not be refitted ſooner, you ought rather to have "left her behind, than delay your ſailing. If the tranſports were the occaſion "of this misfortune, the commiſſioners, or maſters of them are to blame, "and ſhould be complained of. I take it for granted, if you continue any "time wind-bound, that you will be ſtopped for good and all; and the whole "expence and trouble will be thrown away; and that we ſhall make as little "of our fleet this year, as we have done in former ſummers. In caſe provi- "dence will carry us forward in ſpite of our teeth; I hope the laſt delay "will be a warning to you, and that you will improve to-day, inſtead of de- "pending upon to-morrow. If any thing is to be ordered, or done here, let "me know by expreſs, and there ſhall be as much expedition uſed, as I wiſh "there had been at Portſmouth. I have ſent to Coleby, to go wherever you "are driven back, that this part of the ſervice may have the due care taken "of it.

"Whitehall, May 1, 1711. I am, SIR, &c."

two

two days time, and continued his voyage very happily towards New England, where he arrived on the 24th of June, without any other accident, than two of his captains diſobeying his orders, *viz.* captain Soans, of the Edgar, and captain Butler, in the Dunkirk; they had both chaced without ſignal, and left the fleet, notwithſtanding the ſtrict injunction of the admiral, grounded on his inſtructions to the contrary. As captain Soans had joined the fleet again the next day, he was only mulcted three months pay; but captain Butler having never been ſeen by the fleet, till their arrival at Nantaſket, near Boſton, was diſcharged and diſmiſſed from his command [w].

The admiral was far from meeting, in New England, with that hearty zeal for the ſervice which he expected; for being obliged to take up a great quantity of proviſions for the ſervice of the fleet and tranſports, he found the utmoſt difficulty therein, as appears very clearly from the authentic papers inſerted, or annexed by way of appendix to his account. From theſe it is evident, that the perſon who was depended upon for that ſervice, not only refuſed it, but endeavoured to ſerve his private intereſt, at the expence of the public, by buying up great quantities on his own account, in order to vend them again to whoever ſhould undertake to ſupply the fleet; ſo that by the ſlowneſs of the colony, and the avarice of this particular perſon, the whole expedition was ruined [x].

The admiral and general did all that was in their power, by memorials and ſolicitations, to remedy this inconvenience; but

[w] The ſentences of theſe courts-martial are in the appendix to Sir Hovenden Walker's account; where, in that of captain Thomas Butler it is ſaid, that he ſeparated from the fleet on the 28th of May, in order to chace a ſmall ſhip which he took, and applied the produce for his own private advantage, by which he was guilty of a poſitive breach both of orders and diſcipline.

[x] Amongſt other pieces of ſecret hiſtory relative to this attempt, one was, that the French had their emiſſaries in New England, and that by an adroit application of money, they produced theſe diſappointments and delays, which rendered it ineffectual. But as I never heard there were any direct proofs given of this, I am inclined to believe avarice and private intereſt ſerved the French more effectually, and with leſs expence, than any agents of theirs could have done. But in thoſe days, much was aſcribed to French gold, when in truth they had little gold to give.

to little or no purpoſe, ſince the inhabitants were extremely ſenſible of their own intereſt, and deaf to every thing elſe. General Nicholſon came to Boſton, and gave all the aſſiſtance that was in his power, and ſo did ſome other public-ſpirited perſons, without which it had been impoſſible for the fleet and forces to have proceeded at all; and, as it was, they found it impracticable to leave Boſton before the 30th of July, when, with a few pilots on board, who profeſſed their own ignorance, and went againſt their will, Sir Hovenden Walker ſailed for Quebec [y].

On the 14th of Auguſt he reached the Bird Iſlands, which lie about two hundred and fifty leagues from Cape Anne, and having ſent the Cheſter, Leopard, and Saphire, to cruize between Placentia and Cape Breton, an iſland oppoſite to Newfoundland, expecting their joining him in his paſſage to Quebec; the former of which ſhips had taken, and ſent into Boſton before he ſailed thence, a ſhip of about one hundred and twenty tons, and ten guns, that had ſeventy men on board, whereof thirty were ſoldiers for that garriſon. The Leoſtaff, Feverſham, Enterprize, and Triton's prize, all ſmall frigates which were ſtationed at New York and Virginia, he ordered to join him off Cape Breton, being empowered by her majeſty's orders ſo to do, if he ſhould find it neceſſary; and this he the rather did, becauſe of the uſe they might be to him in his proceeding up the river to Quebec, which navigation moſt of the people with whom he had ſpoken, repreſented to be very dangerous; and therefore he rightly judged the Humber and Devonſhire, which mounted 80 guns each, too big to be ventured thither, for which reaſon he ſent them home, and ſhifted his flag on board the Edgar, a ſhip of 70 guns, general Hill removing into the Windſor, which carried ten leſs; but ſince he had information that a ſhip of 60 guns, and another of 30, were expected from France very ſuddenly, he ordered the Humber and Devonſhire to cruize on the opening of the bay of St. Lawrence, until the laſt of Auguſt, and then to

[y] See Sir Hovenden Walker's account. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 778, 779. Annals of queen Anne, vol. x. p. 152. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome l. p. 299, 433.

purſue

purſue their voyage home. He had very fair weather until he got into the bay, when it became changeable; ſometimes thick and foggy, and at others calm, with little winds, and the navigation appeared to be intricate and hazardous. The 18th of Auguſt, when he was off Gaſpe-bay, near the entrance of the river, it blew freſh at N. W. and for fear the tranſports ſhould be ſeparated, and blown to leeward, he anchored in the bay, where, ſtaying for an opportunity to proceed up the river, he burnt a French ſhip that was fiſhing, not being able to bring her off [z].

On the 20th of Auguſt, the wind veering weſterly, the admiral had hopes of gaining a paſſage; but the next day in the afternoon it proved foggy, and continued ſo all night, and the day following, with very little wind till towards evening, when there was an extreme thick fog, and it began to blow hard at E. and E. S. E. which rendering it impoſſible to ſteer any courſe with ſafety, having not either ſight of land, or ſoundings, or anchorage, he, by the advice of the pilots then on board him, both Engliſh and French, who were the beſt in the fleet, made the ſignal for the ſhips to bring to, with their heads ſouthward, at which time it was about eight at night, believing that in that poſture they ſhould not come near the north ſhore, but rather have driven with the ſtream in the mid channel; but, on the contrary, as they lay with their heads ſouthward, and the winds eaſterly, in two hours time he found himſelf on the north ſhore among the rocks and iſlands, at leaſt fifteen leagues farther than the log-line gave, where the whole fleet had like to have been loſt; the men of war eſcaping the danger with the utmoſt difficulty, but eight tranſport ſhips were caſt away [a], and almoſt nine hundred officers, ſoldiers and ſeamen periſhed [b].

The

[z] Sir Hovenden Walker's account, p. 121. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 779. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1711, p. 370. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 510. [a] Columna roſtrata, p. 295. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome li. p. 523. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4910.

[b] The admiral has publiſhed the following account of the ſhips and men that were loſt by this unlucky accident.

Ships

The French pilot (who, as it was ſaid, had been forty voyages in this river, and eighteen of them in command) informed him, that when it happens to be ſo foggy as to prevent the ſight of the land, it is impoſſible to judge of the currents, or to ſteer by any courſe; for that he himſelf had loſt two ſhips, and been another time caſt away upon the north ſhore, when he judged himſelf near the ſouth; inſomuch, that it was extremely difficult to procure men in France, to proceed on ſo dangerous a navigation, ſince almoſt every year they ſuffered ſhipwreck [c].

Sir Hovenden Walker plied two days after this with freſh gales at W. and S. in order to ſave what men and ſtores he could, and on the 25th of Auguſt, by the advice, and with the conſent of the general, he called a council of war, conſiſting of all the ſea-officers, wherein great debates aroſe, moſt of the captains being rather inclined to cenſure the admiral's conduct, in not calling a council of war before he left Boſton, than to give him any reaſon to grow pleaſed with councils of war, by the advice they gave him in this. Sir Hovenden told them plainly, that if he had acted amiſs in what they mentioned, he was to anſwer for it in another place, and that the nature of the ſervice, and the circumſtances they were in, required them to confine their deliberations to another matter; and, therefore, in order to cut ſhort theſe unneceſſary debates, he would propoſe the ſingle queſtion, proper for their preſent con-

Ships names. transports.	Men loſt.	Men ſaved.	Regiments.
Iſabella Anne Katherine,	192	7 or 8	colonel Windreſſe.
Smyrna Merchant,	200	30	—— Kaine.
Samuel and Anne,	142	7 or 8	lieut.-gen. Seymour.
Nathaniel and Eliſabeth,	10	188	—— ditto.
Marlborough,	130	30	colonel Clayton.
Chatham,	60	40	—— Windreſſe.
Colcheſter,	150	180	lieut.-gen. Seymour.
Content, victualler,		15	
	884	499	

[c] Sir Hovenden himſelf gives Mr. Burchet this account, in a letter ſent him expreſs by captain Cook, of the Leopard, dated from on board the Edgar, in Spaniſh River bay, Sept. 12, 1711.

ſideration;

ſideration; which was, whether they thought it practicable to get up to Quebec or not? upon which they came unanimouſly to the following reſolution, *viz.* "That, by reaſon of the igno-
"rance of the pilots, it was wholly impracticable to go up
"the river of St. Lawrence, with the men of war and tran-
"ſports, as far as Quebec; as alſo the uncertainty and rapi-
"dity of the currents, as by fatal experience was found[d]." Upon this, the Saphire was ſent to Boſton, with an account of the misfortune, and the Montague to find out the Humber and Devonſhire, and to ſtop all ſhips bound up to Quebec; and the Leopard being left with ſome ſloops and brigantines, to take any men from the ſhore that might be ſaved, and to endeavour to weigh ſome anchors left behind, he proceeded to Spaniſh River, in the iſland of Breton, the rendezvous he had appointed, there to be perfectly informed of the ſtate of the army and fleet, and to ſettle matters for their further proceedings; but all the ſhips did not join till the 7th of September[e].

The admiral being very ſenſible of the reproaches that would be caſt upon him, if, after failing in his deſign on Quebec, he ſhould return home without ſo much as attempting Placentia, communicated his thoughts upon this ſubject very freely to the general, and ſome land officers, intimating, at the ſame time, ſome doubt, whether his inſtructions would warrant ſuch a conduct, without receiving freſh orders from England. General Hill agreed with him in the main, that it was a great misfortune to the nation, and very unlucky for themſelves, that hitherto they had met with ſo little ſucceſs in this expedition; but was quite of a different opinion, as to the return of the fleet and forces to England, which he judged to be abſolutely in the admiral's power; however, he adviſed him to call a

[d] This reſolution was not taken upon any haſty reſentment of the late accident; but after mature deliberation, and very ſtrict examination of every pilot on board, who all of them agreed in confeſſing their ignorance; and even colonel Vetch, who declared himſelf the beſt pilot for that river, now deſired to be excuſed from meddling with ſea affairs, and ſaid, he could not take charge ſo much as of a ſingle ſhip.

[e] See Sir Hovenden Walker's account, p. 134. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 780. Lond. Gaz. before cited.

ſecond council of war, and to be determined by the opinion of the ſea and land officers, to which the admiral readily agreed; and accordingly he made a ſignal for a general council of war of ſea and land officers, on Saturday the 8th of September, in Spaniſh River road; and in this council it was unanimouſly determined, that any attempt upon Placentia, conſidering the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, and their circumſtances, was utterly impracticable†.

The admiral had now nothing more to do, than to provide the beſt he could for his ſafe return home, and for the due diſtribution of ſhips and forces to their reſpective ſtations and garriſons throughout North America, which he ſeems to have performed

† As this reſolution abſolutely decided the whole buſineſs, as it contains the reaſons upon which the officers concerned proceeded; and as it fully proves the innocence of the admiral and the general in this affair, the whole of which it ſets in a full and clear light; I think it neceſſary to tranſcribe this paper, with the names of the officers preſent at this council.

"The twenty-firſt article of her majeſty's inſtructions to the general, for "attacking Placentia, in Newfoundland, in his return from Canada, together "with the tenth article of the admiral's inſtructions to the ſame purpoſe, "being ſeverally read to the council of war; as alſo a letter from colonel "Dudley, governor of New England, to the admiral, touching the lateneſs "of the preparation of proviſions, now making in that colony for the ſupply "of the troops, if they had wintered at Quebec; all which being maturely "conſidered and debated, the queſtion was put as follows, *viz.* The ſtate of "proviſions for the ſhips of war and land forces being conſidered, which "proviſions not amounting to above ten weeks, at ſhort allowance, comput-"ing it from the 12th of this inſtant, September, as appears by the agent "victuallers ſigned account thereof, and allowing it to be all good, and to "hold out to that time, the ſaid 12th of September, being the ſooneſt we can "ſail from thence; and there being no hopes of any ſupply from New Eng-"land before the beginning of November next, at ſooneſt, as appears by the "advice received in the aforeſaid letter from the governor of New England, "and the opinion of two of the members of the council of war, who knew "that country, together with the uncertainty of any proviſions coming to us "at Newfoundland, by reaſon the ſeaſon of the year is ſo far advanced, which "makes the navigation of that coaſt ſo dangerous; the council of war is una-"nimouſly of opinion, that the attempt for reducing Placentia, under the cir-"cumſtances and difficulties above-mentioned, is at this time altogether im-"practicable, and that it is for her majeſty's ſervice, that the ſquadron and tranſ-"ports with the Britiſh troops, do forthwith return to Great Britain, and the "forces raiſed in New England to that colony."

Hovenden

performed with all the care and diligence imaginable; and it appears, that in the whole courſe of his command, he preſerved a perfect underſtanding with the land officers, and gave all the aſſiſtance that was either deſired, or could be expected, to the ſeveral governors of our ſettlements in that part of the world. In his voyage home, he met with no accidents that either retarded his paſſage, or added to the misfortunes he had already met with; but arrived ſafely at St. Helen's, on the ninth of October, 1711, with the fleet and tranſports under his command [s].

On the 13th, the ſoldiers having all had their quarters aſſigned them, and the tranſports being directed to the ſeveral ports where the regiments were to debark, the admiral, having had leave for that purpoſe, ſet out for London. On the 15th, the admiral's ſhip, in which he had hoiſted his flag, the Edgar, a third rate, of 70 guns, blew up at Spithead, by which ſeveral hundred ſeamen were loſt, with all Sir Hovenden Walker's furniture, ſtores, and public papers, books, draughts, journals, charts, *&c.* the officers original demands, ſupplies, and receipts; which was certainly a very great misfortune to him, and ſuch a one as did by no means deſerve to be heightened by any groundleſs or malicious reflections; which, however, were not ſpared upon that melancholy occaſion. That very evening, Sir Hovenden waited upon ſecretary St. John, who expreſſed an extraordinary concern on the miſcarriage of the expedition. On the 19th, the admiral was introduced to the queen at Windſor, by the duke of Shrewſbury; when her majeſty re-

Hovenden Walker,
Joſeph Soanes,
John Mitchell,
R. Arris,
G. Walton,
Henry Gore,
G. Paddon,
John Winder,
John Cockburn,
James Cook,
J Hill.
Charles Churchill,
William Windreſſe,
M. Kempenfelt,
Jaſper Clayton,
P. Kirk,
H. Diſney,
Richard Kane,
Samuel Vetch,
Cha. Walton.

[s] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 781. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1711, p. 372. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome li. p. 526.

ceived him very kindly, gave him her hand to kiſs, and told ſhe was glad to ſee him [h].

The reflections made by Mr. ſecretary Burchet, upon this expedition, are ſo extraordinary, and ſo out of his uſual way of writing, that I cannot help laying them before the reader, with a few remarks. "Thus ended," ſays he, "an expedition ſo "chargeable to the nation, and from which no advantage could "reaſonably be expected, conſidering how unadviſedly it was "ſet on foot, by thoſe who nurſed it upon falſe ſuggeſtions "and repreſentations. Beſides, it occaſioned our drawing "from our army in Flanders, under the command of his grace "the duke of Marlborough, at leaſt ſix thouſand men; where, "inſtead of beating up and down at ſea, they might, under his "auſpicious conduct, have done their country ſervice. Nay, "there may be added to the misfortunes abroad, an unlucky "accident which happened even at their return on our coaſt; "for a ſhip of the ſquadron, called the Edgar, of 70 guns, "had not been many days at an anchor at Spithead, 'ere (by "what cauſe is unknown) ſhe blew up, and all the men which "were on board her periſhed [i]."

The firſt part of this obſervation is taken from Sir Hovenden Walker's letter; but whereas he ſays plainly, that as the ſcheme was contrived by the people of New England, ſo it was ruined through their ill conduct; yet, as it ſtands with Mr. Burchet, it looks rather like a reflection on the adminiſtration. The deſign itſelf was undoubtedly good; it was thought of before; it was attempted ſoon after the revolution. All thinking men in North America ſaw not only the expediency, but the neceſſity

[h] See Sir Hovenden Walker's account, p. 155, 156, Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 781. Pointer's chronological hiſtory, vol. ii p. 685.

[i] See his naval hiſtory, p. 781. What ſeems to have drawn ſo much reſentment upon Sir Hovenden Walker was, his being conſidered as a favourite of this adminiſtration. At the change of the miniſtry, he was ſuperintendant at Plymouth, and was promoted to the vacant flag in the month of March 1711, as he tells us himſelf, out of regard to ſeniority. In the month of April, he was knighted, and appointed commander in chief of this expedition, in which his conduct appeared ſo little blameable to her majeſty, and her council, that, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, he was again appointed commander in chief in the Weſt Indies, in order to relieve commodore Littleton, and diſcharged his truſt there with great reputation.

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of it, and that, in fact, the thing ſtood thus; we muſt either uſe our ſuperiority for the deſtruction of the French, or expect deſtruction from them, when, through our neglect, and their own diligence, they became ſuperior to us. It was, therefore, no objection at all, either to the adminiſtration, or to admiral Walker, that their thoughts were ſo much bent on a matter of ſo high conſequence to the commerce and navigation of Great Britain; eſpecially at ſuch a juncture, when, if we had ſucceeded in our deſign, the poſſeſſion of Canada muſt have been yielded to us by a peace.

The ſhort victualling of the fleet, which ſome have interpreted as a proof that the miniſtry were not in earneſt, was, in fact, an evidence of the contrary; for, if they had intended to make a ſhew only, they would moſt certainly have victualled the fleet for the whole voyage. But then, this would have diſcovered the deſign long before they ſailed; and it is moſt certain, that by following the contrary method, the ſecret was very well kept. In the next place, it is no leſs certain, that Sir Hovenden arrived in Boſton in very good time; and if the people of New England, inſtead of that backwardneſs which they expreſſed, and which, as appears from ſome intercepted letters, was in part conceived to be occaſioned by the intrigues of ſome French agents among them; I ſay, if, inſtead of this backwardneſs, they had ſhown that zeal, that, from their duty to their mother-country, their own warm profeſſions, and the intereſt they had in the execution of this deſign, might well have been expected, the ſcheme could not have failed.

So that, upon the whole, there is not the leaſt ground for ſaying, that the land troops were worſe employed under the command of general Hill, than they would have been in Flanders under the duke of Marlborough; I ſay, there is no ground for affirming this, unleſs it can be ſuppoſed, that the Dutch barrier is actually, and *bona fide*, of greater conſequence to this nation, than our colonies and commerce; and I muſt, for my own part, confeſs, that I can never be much prepoſſeſſed in favour of a writer of naval hiſtory, who would inſinuate ſuch things to his reader. Yet all he ſays of this ſort, is a very trifle, when compared with that moſt injurious ſuggeſtion, as to the blowing up

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of the Edgar [k], which was the higheſt misfortune to the admiral, and therefore it is barbarous in the laſt degree to impute it to him as a diſgrace; nay, the very turn given to it, is as ſilly as it is malicious; for if the loſs of the Edgar had been a thing contrived, it might in all probability have been diſcovered; whereas, being purely accidental, and all the men in her being blown up, it was ſimply impoſſible the cauſe of this accident ſhould ever be known.

Another party writer has treated this expedition as ſeverely, but with more wit, ſpirit, and decency, than the ſecretary; and to ſhew my impartiality, I have inſerted his reflections at the bottom of the page [l]. Happy would it be for us, if leſs of party, and more of public ſpirit, appeared in our hiſtorians; if the deſign of every expedition was impartially repreſented, and juſtice done to ſuch commanders as did their beſt to ſerve the na-

[k] The blowing up of the Edgar, on the 15th of October, was certainly a very dreadful accident; ſince, beſides her crew, there were forty or fifty people from Portſmouth and Goſport, who went to ſee their friends. The commiſſion officers had the good fortune to be on ſhore. What made it ſtill the worſe was, that our ſeamen had a notion of its being very ominous, becauſe it was the oldeſt ſhip in the navy; and ſome went ſo far as to affirm, that it was actually the ſhip in which king Edgar ſailed, ſome part of the old veſſel being conſtantly preſerve every time that ſhe had been re-built, ſo that theſe were all ingredients towards magnifying the diſaſters of the Canada expedition; and I much wonder that this tradition did not find a place in Mr. Burchet's hiſtory.

[l] The author referred to in the text, Dr. Hare, was then a reverend divine, and afterwards a right reverend prelate of our church, who, in a treatiſe, intitled, The allies and the late miniſtry defended againſt France, p. 58. writes thus, "It was "plain, by the account given of the expedition, that it was not merely an acci"dent, or any treachery, that was the cauſe of the miſcarriage; but a complica"tion of many difficulties. For firſt, continues he, we are told, that the river "St. Laurence is navigable only at one time of the year. We let that ſlip; but "if we had nick'd the time, we could not have ſailed up that river without very "able pilots. We had none: if we had taken the proper time, and been provi"ded with good pilots, none but ſhips of a certain burden can go up the river; "all our men of war were too big. But if time, and pilots, and ſhips had been "the moſt proper for the enterprize, we ſhould have had proviſions for more "months, than we had weeks, to ſubſiſt the fleet and troops during the winter. "And what is more, if we had gone in the proper time; if we had had good "pilots, if we had carried proper ſhips, and had lain in ſufficient proviſions, it is "ſaid the enemy were ſo well provided for a defence, that our forces were not "ſufficient; though both troops and officers were ſo good, that nothing would "have been wanted on their ſide."

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tion, and were disappointed by accidents, that they could not either foresee or avoid.

We are now to return home, and to consider what passed in parliament, and elsewhere, relating to the subject of this work; and, in the first place, we are to observe, that as the parliament sat very late in the summer, so great pains were taken to discover as many oversights in the conduct of the late ministry, and that in as many branches of the public business as it was possible. Among these, the commons, on the 4th of June, 1711, thought fit to introduce the affairs of the fleet in the following terms:

"With regard to the debt of the navy, we find that one "great discouragement and burden, which that part of the ser- "vice has lain under, has been from a liberty that has been "used of diverting several sums issued to that service, and trans- "ferring them to other purposes, for which they were not in- "tended; particularly, that the sum of six hundred and six "thousand, eight hundred and six pounds, seven shillings and "seven pence, belonging to the navy, has been paid for provi- "sions supplied to land forces sent to Spain and Portugal, and "for the garrison of Gibraltar; for which no deductions have "been made from the pay of those forces, nor any part of that "sum re-assigned to the victualling, notwithstanding the several "acts of parliament provided, and the many letters written, "and representations made to the treasury in that behalf. This "unjustifiable proceeding has been a discouragement to the sea- "men, occasioned the paying extravagant rates upon con- "tracts, and has very much contributed to sink the credit of "the navy.

"To this we may add, the many notorious embezzlements, "and scandalous abuses, which appear to have been practised, "as well in the management of your majesty's brewhouse, as "in the contracts for furnishing the navy with beer. We "have already presumed to address your majesty, that several "persons, whom we discovered to have been guilty of those "frauds, should be prosecuted at law for their offences, and "we entirely rely upon your majesty's most gracious assurance, "that those prosecutions shall be effectually carried on: but "we must also, upon this occasion, beg leave further to repre-

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" ſent to your majeſty, that the commiſſioners appointed to " take care of the victualling your majeſty's navy, have been " guilty of great negligence and remiſſneſs in their duty; for " the inſtructions which go along with that commiſſion, are ſo " well adapted to the preventing thoſe very abuſes which have " been committed, that nothing but a notorious miſmanage- " ment in that office, and an inexcuſable neglect in purſuing " thoſe inſtructions, could have given way to the great loſs the " public has ſuſtained in that part of the ſervice [m]."

To this the queen was pleaſed to give the following very gracious anſwer: " Gentlemen, this repreſentation gives me " freſh aſſurances of your zeal for my ſervice, and for the true " intereſt of your country. It contains many particulars. I " will take them all into ſerious conſideration, and give the ne- " ceſſary directions to redreſs the grievances you complain of. " Be aſſured, that your advice, upon all occaſions, has the " greateſt weight with me [n]."

The change of the miniſtry, and the change of meaſures, made it extremely requiſite to countenance, in the higheſt degree, whatever had the appearance either of public frugality, or encouraging our navigation, commerce, and influence abroad, ſuch an influence, I mean, as might be beneficial to our trade; and

[m] Some of our political writers have inſinuated, that all this was the mere effects of party reſentment, and a contrivance of the new miniſtry, to miſrepreſent the old, as the reader may find at large, in the hiſtory written by Mr. Oldmixon, who takes a great deal of pains to ſhew, that theſe cenſures were abſolutely groundleſs; but biſhop Burnet, who had no leſs reſpect for the old miniſtry, and as great opportunities of knowing the truth of things as Mr. Oldmixon, gives us quite another account of the matter, which it may not be amiſs to give the reader in his own words. " Harley," ſays he, " in the houſe of commons, " led them to inquire into ſome abuſes in the victualling the navy: they had " been publicly practiſed for many years, ſome have ſaid, ever ſince the reſtora- " tion. The abuſe was viſible, but connived at, that ſeveral expences might be " anſwered that way: ſome have ſaid, that the captains tables were kept out " of the gain made in it. Yet a member of the houſe, who was a Whig, was " complained of for this, and expelled the houſe; and a proſecution was ordered " againſt him: but the abuſe goes on ſtill, as avowedly as ever. Here was a ſhew " of zeal, and a ſeeming diſcovery of fraudulent practices, by which the nation " was deceived."

[n] Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p 222. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1711, p. 232. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 499.

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with a view to these, the commons followed their representation, upon the 7th of the same month, with the following resolutions to address the queen, "To appoint persons to inquire into the "number and quality of the forces in her majesty's pay in Spain "and Portugal, and to examine the state of the payments and "accounts relating to the said forces, and to the garrisons and "fortifications of Gibraltar and Port Mahon; and also the ac-"counts of the agent victuallers, and commissioners of stores "in those parts."

They also resolved to present two other; one, "That she "would be pleased to take such measures as her majesty should "judge most proper, for supporting the settlements in Africa, "and preserve the African trade, till some other provision be "made by parliament for the same; and that her majesty would "take into consideration the nature of that trade, and how it "might be best carried on for the service of the kingdom." The other, "That an account be laid before this house the be-"ginning of next session of parliament, of the distribution in-"tended to be made of the debentures directed to be delivered "by the commissioners of trade and plantations, for the relief "of the sufferers in the islands of Nevis and St. Christopher's, "and the re-settlements made there by the said sufferers." The business of the nation having been thus sufficiently provided for, the queen thought proper, on the 12th of the same month of June, to put an end to the session by a prorogation [o].

In the recess of parliament, the new ministry was completed, and they had time to form and regulate their designs. Robert Harley, Esq; who was then at the head of it, had, a little before the rising of the houses, been created earl of Oxford, and earl Mortimer, and had the staff of lord high-treasurer delivered to him, in order to give the greater lustre to his ministry [p], and Charles Benson, Esq; was constituted chancellor and under-treasurer of the Exchequer [q]. A new commission was granted for the board of trade and plantations, at the head of

[o] Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 561. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 500. The complete history of Europe, for 1711, p. 232, 233.

[p] Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 569. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 261. London Gazette, N°. 4852, 4854.

[q] London Gazette, N°. 4857.

which was Charles earl of Winchelſea[r]; and the lord-keeper Harcourt, was raiſed to the degree of a baron of this realm[s].

Such other promotions were made, as beſt ſuited with the deſigns of the new miniſtry, who, towards the end of the year, ſhewed plainly their inclination to a peace; which, however, they were forced to manage with very great caution. Neither was it without much anxiety, that they conſidered the approach of the next ſeſſion of parliament, early in the month of December, as indeed they had good reaſon, ſince it was known, before the meeting of the houſes, that the lords would very ſtrongly repreſent againſt the making any peace, by which Spain and the Weſt Indies were left to the houſe of Bourbon.

On the 7th of December, the queen opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which ſhe ſpoke much of peace; of the improvement of commerce; of eaſing the people; of reforming abuſes; of maintaining the poor; and, in ſhort, of every thing that was proper to conciliate the minds of moderate people, who were not ſo ſolicitous about parties, as deſirous of ſeeing their country happy[t]. The houſe of lords entered, however, upon the meaſures that were expected[u]; but the commons complied more readily with the inclinations of the court: and as ſoon as the eſtimates were laid before them, came to a reſolution, that 40,000 ſeamen, including 8000 marines, ſhould be employed for the ſea ſervice, and that 180,000 pounds ſhould be granted for the ordinary of the navy. They likewiſe granted all that was required for the ſervice of the war, and made proviſions for raiſing the mighty ſum given for the ſervices of that year, and which amounted to no leſs than 6,656,967 pounds, very early, and with a remarkable chearfulneſs; ſo that it looked as if the miniſtry were determined to make a peace ſword in hand, and to take no ſtep that might poſſibly encourage the enemy to think we would lay down our arms, till all the ends of the grand alliance were effectually anſwered[w].

[r] London Gazette, N°. 4860. [s] London Gazette, N°. 4896.
[t] Annals of queen Anne, vol. x. p. 282. Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p. 226. London Gazette, N°. 2936. [u] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 583. [w] Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 528. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1711, p. 461. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 700.

Sir

Sir John Leake was now at the head of the admiralty, and in that quality managed the buſineſs of the board in the houſe of commons; and as the ſeaſon for action advanced, he received a commiſſion to command again in the channel, as he had done the year before; and the command of the ſquadron in the Soundings was left to Sir Thomas Hardy, whoſe proceedings we ſhall next reſume, as a proper introduction to the operations of the year 1712. The rather, becauſe the grand fleet did little more this year, than convoy a body of troops, commanded by lieutenant-general Hill, who were ſent to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk; which ſervice ended, they returned into the Downs [x]; but, as to Sir Thomas Hardy, he continued to act effectually, and to take all the care that was in his power to diſtreſs the enemy in their naval concerns, till his diligence, in this reſpect, was ſuperſeded by the concluſion of the peace.

Early in the ſpring, he had intelligence of the return of M. du Caſſe from America, for whom he cruized with the utmoſt diligence during the whole month of February; but with little or no ſucceſs, except picking up now and then ſome ſmall French veſſels. He watched with the ſame aſſiduity for M. du Guai Trouin; but was again diſappointed. In the beginning of the month of Auguſt, Sir Thomas chaced ſix ſhips, and a tartan. One of them immediately hoiſted a broad white pennant at the main-top-maſt-head, ſhortened ſail, and made a ſignal for the line of battle; and then tacked, and ſtood towards him, upon a ſuppoſition, as it was afterwards owned, that our ſhips were privateers from Fluſhing, with two prizes; but when they came nearer, and found their miſtake, they kept their wind, and did all they could to make their eſcape, our ſhips purſuing them with the utmoſt diligence.

About five in the afternoon, the admiral came up with the biggeſt of them, which was the Griffin, a king's ſhip, but then in the ſervice of the merchants [y]. It was commanded by the chevalier d'Aire, knight of the order of St. Lewis, who ſhortened ſail immediately, brought to, and ſent ſome of his officers

[x] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. liii. p. 100, 101. [y] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. xxxiv. Lediard, vol. ii. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. liii. p. 333.

on board our flag, to inform him, that he was bound with bale goods for La Vera Cruz, and that before he ſailed from Breſt, he had received letters from Paris, importing, that in a few days he might have had the queen of England's paſs; but that his friends adviſed him not to loſe a wind, in order to wait for it; but Sir Thomas told the lieutenant, that if they had no paſs, he ſhould look on the ſhip as a good prize; and accordingly ſent his own lieutenant to take poſſeſſion of her, himſelf, with the other ſhips of his ſquadron, continuing the chace. About eleven at night, the Windſor engaged the St. Eſprit, a ſhip of thirty-ſix guns, and one hundred ſeventy-five men, laden with bale goods for Cadiz, and about an hour after ſhe blew up, juſt as the captain had given orders to ſtrike; but the captain, with about thirty-five men, were ſaved by our boats. The Berwick took the Adventure, of Havre de Grace, carrying twelve guns and forty men, bound for Newfoundland; but the maſter producing the queen's paſs, ſhe had leave to continue her voyage. The ſame ſhip took alſo the Incomparable, of ſixteen guns, bound for Martinico; and the Ruby man of war likewiſe took a ſmall French ſhip of twelve guns, which was alſo called the Ruby, bound for St. Domingo; ſo that of this French ſquadron, only one ſhip of eight guns, and the tartan, eſcaped. The Griffin was certainly a good prize; but our miniſters were ſo very deſirous of obliging their new friends, that, after a long ſuit, in order to obtain the condemnation of the ſaid veſſel, Sir Thomas Hardy, and the reſt of the captors, were obliged to accept of a ſum of money, far ſhort of the value of the ſhip and cargo, which has been juſtly conſidered as a hardſhip upon theſe brave men [z].

Vice-admiral Baker was, in the beginning of this year, at Liſbon, with a conſiderable ſquadron of our ſhips, from whence he ſailed on the eighth of February, in order to cruize off

[z] Burchet, Oldmixon, annals of queen Anne, complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1712, and the political treatiſes of that year. In theſe laſt mentioned pieces, this affair is very warmly treated. The truth ſeems to have been, that at this juncture, the Engliſh and French miniſtry ſtood in need of each other's indulgence, and therefore we need not wonder at a tranſaction of this ſort, common enough in all governments, under circumſtances of the like nature.

Cape

Cape St. Mary's [a]. He had not been long in that ſtation, before he ran a large Spaniſh ſhip of ſixty guns on ſhore, upon the Portugueſe coaſt, the wind being at that time ſo high that they durſt not venture near her. The inhabitants of the country, however, went on board and plundered her; the cargo, conſiſting of ſugar, cocoa, ſnuff, hides, and twenty thouſand pieces of eight [b]. The vice-admiral preſented a memorial to the king of Portugal, ſetting forth his right to her, and demanding, that the effects taken in this clandeſtine manner, ſhould be delivered up; but they were ſo effectually ſecreted, that it was not in the power of the court to give him any redreſs [c].

On his return to Liſbon, he found orders from England to cruize with five ſhips of war, for the ſecurity of the homeward-bound Brazil fleet, on which ſervice the court of Portugal deſired he might proceed by the 9th of April, and that two frigates might be ſent with their outward-bound Eaſt India fleet as far as the Madeiras. The vice-admiral was very willing to comply with this; but the difficulty was, how to do it without departing from his orders, ſince he had directions from the lords of the admiralty, to ſend two ſhips to cruize in the Streights mouth; however, he had hopes, that the Dutch commander in chief would have taken care of this Eaſt India fleet.

On the firſt of April, arrived a convoy with proviſions and ſtores from England, which determined him, ſince the Dutch had diſappointed the Portugueſe in their expectations, to ſend a fourth rate frigate with the Eaſt India ſhips as far as the weſtern iſlands, and to cruize himſelf for the Brazil fleet, in ſuch a ſtation, as that he might be eaſily joined by the before-mentioned ſhip; and at the ſame time he diſpatched captain Maurice, with

[a] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. xxxv. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lii. p. 453. [b] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 861. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lii. p. 590. Annals of queen Anne.

[c] All applications of any kind were very indifferently received at this court, from the beginning of the war to the end of it; which occaſioned many reflections at home upon the old miniſtry, who did all they could to diſguiſe theſe miſchiefs, which were on the contrary rendered as public as poſſible, in order to ſerve their own purpoſes by the new.

a ſmall

a ſmall ſquadron, to cruize in the Streights mouth. He continued cruizing about the weſtern iſlands for ſeveral months, under great apprehenſions, that the French ſquadron under the command of M. Caſſard, was bound for the Brazils; till, at laſt, the proviſions on board his ſquadron being reduced to five weeks at ſhort allowance, it was neceſſary for him to think of returning to Portugal; but being ſtill apprehenſive, that if the Brazil fleet ſailed before the French ſquadron, the latter would undoubtedly follow them to the Terceras, where they knew that fleet muſt refreſh; he reſolved to continue in his ſtation as long as it was poſſible, in order to which, he engaged the Portugueſe to furniſh him with three weeks freſh proviſions. On the 11th of September, being off the iſlands of Tercera, he met with a Portugueſe frigate, which informed him, that he had left the fleet but three days before, and that he believed they would be that day in the road of Angra, the chief town in the iſland of Tercera [d].

Soon after he had this advice, a violent ſtorm aroſe, which very much ſhattered the ſhips, and drove him ſo far, that he could not fetch the iſland again; and judging that it muſt alſo have the ſame effect on the Brazil fleet, he made an eaſy ſail towards Liſbon, in order to pick up ſuch as ſhould be ſtraggling from their convoys; but had no ſight or intelligence of them, till he came off the rock, when he found they arrived the very day before he made the land; and as the ceſſation of arms was ſoon after concluded, the ſquadron of ſhips under his command was called home [e].

Sir

[d] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 791, 792. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1712. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lii. p. 693.

[e] The author of the conduct of the allies, that is, the late celebrated Dr. Swift, criticiſes upon thoſe articles in the grand alliance, by which we were bound to take ſo much care of the concerns of this prince, very freely.—"By two articles of that treaty," ſays he, "beſides the honour of being convoys, and guards in ordinary to the Portugueſe ſhips and coaſts, we are to gueſs the enemies thoughts, and to take the king of Portugal's word, whenever he hath a fancy that he ſhall be invaded. We are alſo to furniſh him with a ſtrength ſuperior to what the enemy intends to invade any of his dominions with, let that be what it will. And until we know what the enemies forces are, his Portugueſe majeſty is ſole judge what ſtrength is ſuperior, and what will be able to prevent an invaſion, and may ſend our fleets whenever

Sir John Jennings at this time commanded the grand fleet in the Mediterranean, and in the month of May joined the Dutch vice-admiral with the tranſports, having on board ſix thouſand five hundred men, which were put on ſhore in two days time; and his imperial majeſty and count Staremberg, preſſing the neceſſity of carrying the cavalry over from Italy, it was reſolved the admiral ſhould return to Vado, from whence he failed with the tranſports on the twenty-ſeventh of July, arrived at Barcelona on the ſeventh of Auguſt, where, ſoon after, he received the queen's orders for a ſuſpenſion of arms, both by ſea and land, and a letter from the lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, directing him to ſuffer a great French corn-fleet to paſs unmoleſted, every ſhip of which he muſt otherwiſe have taken; from this time, though the admiral was no longer concerned in military operations, yet he was very far from being inactive, ſince he tranſported the empreſs with her retinue, from Barcelona to Genoa[f], eſcorted thirty thouſand men at two embarkations, from Catalonia to Naples, and afterwards carried over the duke and ducheſs of Savoy, from Villa Franca to their new kingdom of Sicily; which, though done in the ſucceeding year, I mention in this place, that I may not be obliged to return into the Mediterranean, merely to ſpeak of matters of parade[g].

" whenever he pleaſes, upon his errands, to ſome of the furtheſt parts of the " world, or keep them attending upon his own coaſts till he thinks fit to diſ- " miſs them. Theſe fleets muſt likewiſe be ſubject in all things, not only to " the king, but to his viceroys, admirals, and governors, in any of his fo- " reign dominions, when he is in an humour to apprehend an invaſion, which " I believe is an indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquer- " ed nation. In the defenſive alliance with this crown, which is to remain " perpetual, and where only England and Holland are parties with them, the " ſame care, in almoſt the ſame words, is taken for our fleet to attend their " coaſts and foreign dominions, and to be under the ſame obedience. We, and " the ſtates, are likewiſe to furniſh them with twelve thouſand men at our own " charge, which we are conſtantly to recruit, and theſe are to be ſubject to the " Portugueſe generals."

[f] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. xxxvi. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome liii. p. 131. tome liv. p. 476. Her imperial majeſty preſented Sir John Jennings, at his departure, with her picture ſet in diamonds, and gave his nephew alſo a very fine diamond ring. [g] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lv. p. 477.

We

We are next, according to the method hitherto conſtantly purſued, to return to the Weſt Indies, where we left commodore Littleton, with a ſmall ſquadron, protecting the trade, and annoying the enemy as much as his ſtrength would permit; but the government having certain intelligence, that the French were ſending a conſiderable force into that part of the world, in order to diſturb our trade, and perhaps to attack ſome of the Leeward Iſlands; the court thought it neceſſary to ſend an officer of rank, with a conſiderable ſquadron thither, for which ſervice they made choice of Sir Hovenden Walker; which ſhews, that the adminiſtration did not conceive he had brought any ſtain upon them by his conduct in the Canada expedition.

He received his commiſſion in the beginning of the month of April, and on the 28th of the ſame month he ſailed from St. Helen's, with about an hundred merchant-ſhips under his convoy[h]. He parted on the 4th of May, being then fourteen leagues from Cape Finiſterre, with the Litchfield and South-Sea-Caſtle, and the trade bound to Portugal; and arriving at the Madeiras with the Monmouth, a third rate, the Auguſt and Centurion, fourth rates, the Scarborough and Roebuck, fifth rates, and a frigate of twenty guns, it was determined to leave the Barbadoes trade there, under their proper convoy, conſiſting of the Woolwich, Swallow, and Lime; but that fleet, taking in their wine ſooner than uſual, ſailed with the ſquadron on the 28th of the ſame month for the Weſt Indies.

On the 24th of June, admiral Walker arrived at Antigua, where the governor was more apprehenſive of an inſurrection amongſt the inhabitants, than of an invaſion from the French; and indeed things were at that time in a very unſettled condition in the Leeward Iſlands, where the governor, colonel Douglas, was upon almoſt as bad terms with the people as his predeceſſor, colonel Parke, whom they murdered for his tyrannical behaviour. Admiral Walker promiſed the governor, that if any thing like an inſurrection happened, he would ſend him any aſſiſtance he ſhould require from Jamaica; but adviſed him to

[h] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. xxxiii. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 859. Boyer's life of queen Anne.

treat

treat the people with lenity, and to conſider, that though he was ſent over with inſtructions to proſecute ſuch as were concerned in deſtroying the late governor, yet this was to be done in a legal manner, and with due regard to the liberty of the ſubject, and the monſtrous provocations they had received, before they had proceeded to extremities, not juſtifiable indeed, but, at the ſame time, not altogether inexcuſable. But this governor, who was ſo careful of his own ſafety, gave him not the leaſt intelligence that a French ſquadron was expected in thoſe parts; though, if he had taken any pains to be properly informed, he might have known that the French at Martinico expected, at this very time, the arrival of M. Caſſard, with nine men of war. Sir Hovenden Walker ſailing from thence, arrived ſafely at Jamaica on the 6th of July, where having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for ſending home the trade, and ſtationing properly the ſhips under his command, he received, when he leaſt expected it, the news by an advice-boat, of an attempt made by the French upon Antigua and Montſerrat[j].

This expedition of monſieur Caſſard deſerves to be particularly taken notice of. He ſailed from Toulon with a ſtout ſquadron of the king's ſhips, and is ſaid to have had general inſtructions to annoy their enemies. As there was, even at this time, a negociation carrying on between the Britiſh and French miniſters, it is ſurpriſing that the latter did not give him orders to forbear attacking our colonies, till ſuch time as he received intelligence from France, the neglect of which occaſioned great murmuring in England, and might have retarded the peace, if the news had arrived before it was ſo far advanced[k]. M. Caſſard

[j] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 782. Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 345. and, if the reader is inclined to inquire particularly into the affair of colonel Parkes, Mr. French's hiſtory of that tranſaction, and the anſwer to it.

[k] I have been informed, by ſome who were very well acquainted with the politics of the French court, that this expedition was projected in revenge of that undertaken againſt Quebec, of which the French have quite different notions from thoſe that prevailed here; and with reaſon, ſince, however it was executed, it was unqueſtionably well contrived, eſpecially as the authors of it had even then a peace in their heads, by which they would without doubt have got any conqueſt that might have been made by that fleet effectually ſecured.

ſard ſailed firſt to St. Jago, which is the principal of the iſlands of Cape de Verde, of which he made himſelf maſter without much difficulty, and having blown up the fort, and carried off whatever he could meet with, continued his voyage for the Weſt Indies, where he arrived in the beginning of the month of July; and having drawn together in Martinico upwards of three thouſand men, he had thoughts of attacking Antigua; but finding it very difficult to land there, he fell upon Montſerrat, where he met with a very feeble reſiſtance; the inhabitants retiring into the heart of the iſland, becauſe in the mountains they had a fortreſs almoſt inacceſſible. The French continued upon the place ſome days, doing all the miſchief poſſible; but having information that ſeveral of our ſhips were coming to the relief of the iſland, they abandoned it, though not till they had in a manner totally deſtroyed all the ſettlements in it [l].

Some miſchief they did to our trade on the coaſt of Antigua, but finding themſelves very much diſliked by ſuch as wiſhed well to peace, they reſolved to give over cruizing upon the Engliſh; upon which they prepared every thing neceſſary for a longer voyage, and then ſtood over to the continent, where they attacked the Dutch ſettlement of Surinam, and obliged the inhabitants to pay them eight hundred thouſand pieces of eight by way of contribution; this was in the month of October; and, in the mean time, captain Archibald Hamilton, in her majeſty's ſhip the Woolwich, having received an account at Antigua of the ceſſation of arms; and that the French had, notwithſtanding, carried ſeveral prizes into Martinico; he ſent a ſhip thither to demand them of Mr. Phelypeaux, general of the French iſlands, who ordered all of them to be reſtored, and ſuch goods as had been taken out of them to be put on board again [m].

But the French probably deſigned a general interruption of the commerce of the allies, in order to bring them ſooner to a peace; for, as the reader ſees in the text, M. Caſſard did not attack us alone, but the Portugueſe alſo, and the Dutch.

l P. Daniel, journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. p. 290. Memoires hiſtoriques. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome liii. p. 194, 433, 569.

m Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 784, 785. Lediard, vol. ii. Hiſtory of the laſt war. Boyer's life of queen Anne.

Sir

Sir Hovenden Walker, in the mean time, remained at Jamaica, where he gave the neceſſary orders for the ſecurity of the trade, for cruizing on the French coaſt, and for protecting the private commerce of the inhabitants with the Spaniards at Porto Bello, St. Domingo, and other places. While he was thus employed, there happened, in the night of the 29th of Auguſt, a hurricane much more violent than had been felt for many years in the iſland. It began about nine at night, and continued raging with the utmoſt vehemence till twelve. The lightning, in the mean time, covered the earth in continued gleams of ſulphureous fire, the wind blowing all the time, not only with prodigious force, but with a horrid noiſe. In the morning a moſt dreadful proſpect appeared, many houſes blown flat upon the ground, moſt of the reſt ſtripped and laid open; trees torn up by the roots; the weſt end of the church ruined by the fall of its walls; the governor's houſe diſmantled, and ſcarce a dwelling in the iſland remaining untouched. Several people were drowned on the ſhore, in the tempeſt, the ſea forcing the boats and canoes a great way upon land at Spaniſh-town, and waſhing away the houſes; ſo that, what with the wind and the water, there was not above two ſtanding, and few or none of the ſhips of war, but were either driven aſhore, loſt their maſts, or were otherwiſe diſabled. The hoſpital was blown down to the ground, and ſeveral of the ſick people killed; and, on the firſt of September, a third rate, the Monmouth, which had been on the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, came in with jury-maſts, having loſt her proper maſts in the violence of the weather, and another, if her main-maſt had not given way, muſt (as her commander believed) have inſtantly overſet. It required ſome time to repair the damages which her majeſty's ſhips ſuſtained by this unfortunate accident; and, while this was doing, a very great deſertion happened among our ſailors, owing chiefly to the arts and intrigues of the captains of privateers, who made no ſcruple of preferring their private advantage to the ſecurity of commerce, and the welfare of their country. By that time the diſputes which theſe tranſactions occaſioned were tolerably compoſed, Sir Hovenden Walker received an order from the lords of the admiralty, to return home, after having firſt proclaimed the

ceſſation of arms, which he accordingly did, and, after a proſperous voyage, arrived in Dover road on the 26th of May, 1713 [n].

We are now arrived at the period of the naval operations in this war, and our next buſineſs will be to give an account of what advantages were gained, and of what might have been gained by the ſucceeding peace. It will however be proper, previous to this, to obſerve, that the adminiſtration had ſome diſputes with their old friends, and their new ones, in relation to the affairs of commerce, before the peace was concluded [o].

In

[n] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 785. Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 345. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1712, p. 24.

[o] It will appear in the next note, that we thought ourſelves much injured by the manner in which the Dutch conducted the war at ſea. Here, therefore, from the author of the conduct of the allies, I will take notice of ſome complaints that were made of another nature, with a view to have it underſtood, that the carrying on the war was a thing now no longer practicable. By the grand alliance between the empire, England and Holland, we were to aſſiſt the other two, *totis viribus*, by ſea and land. By a convention ſubſequent to this treaty, the proportion which the ſeveral parties ſhould contribute towards the war, were adjuſted in the following manner: The emperor was obliged to furniſh ninety thouſand men againſt France, either in Italy, or upon the Rhine; Holland to bring ſixty thouſand into the field in Flanders, excluſive of garriſons; and we forty thouſand. In the winter, 1702, which was the next year, the duke of Marlborough propoſed the raiſing of ten thouſand men more, by way of augmentation, and to carry on the war with greater vigour; to which the parliament agreed, and the Dutch were to raiſe the ſame number. This was, upon a par, directly contrary to the former ſtipulation, whereby our part was to be a third leſs than theirs; and therefore it was granted, with a condition, that Holland ſhould break off all trade and commerce with France. But this condition was never executed, the Dutch only amuſing us with a ſpecious declaration till our ſeſſion of parliament was ended, and the following year it was taken off by concert between our general and the ſtates, without any reaſon aſſigned for the ſatisfaction of the kingdom. The next, and ſome enſuing campaigns, further additional taxes were allowed by parliament for the war in Flanders; and in every new ſupply the Dutch gradually leſſened their proportion, although the parliament addreſſed the queen, that the States might be deſired to obſerve them according to agreement; which had no other effect, than to teach them to elude it, by making their troops nominal corps; as they did by keeping up the number of regiments, but ſinking a fifth part of the men and money: ſo that at length things were juſt inverted, and in all new levies we contributed a third more than the Dutch; who at firſt were obliged to the ſame proportion more than us. Beſides, the more towns we conquered for the States, the worſe condition we were in towards reducing the common enemy,

and

In the firſt place, it was thought a little hard that the Dutch, throughout the whole courſe of this long and expenſive war, ſhould not have furniſhed their quota of ſhips and men in any one year; and this notwithſtanding repeated expoſtulations with the States-general upon this ſubject [p]. With this grievance the nation

and conſequently of putting an end to the war. For they made no ſcruple of employing the troops of their quota, towards garriſoning every town, as faſt as it was taken, directly contrary to the agreement between us; by which all garriſons were particularly excluded. This at length arrived, by ſeveral ſteps, to ſuch a height, that there were not the laſt year in the field, ſo many forces under the duke of Marlborough's command in Flanders, as Britain alone maintained for that ſervice; nor had been for ſome years paſt.

[p] This parliamentary repreſentation was made on the 4th of March, 1712, and the paragraphs particularly referred to in the text, are theſe that follow:

"For obtaining the ends ſpecified in the grand alliance, the three confederate "powers engaged to aſſiſt each other with their whole force, according to ſuch "proportions as ſhould be ſpecified in a particular convention afterwards to "be made for that purpoſe. We do not find that any ſuch convention was "ever ratified; but it appears that there was an agreement concluded, which, "by common conſent, was underſtood to be binding upon each party re-"ſpectively, and according to which the proportions of Great Britain were, "from the beginning, regulated and founded. The terms of that agreement "were: That, for the ſervice at land, his imperial majeſty ſhould furniſh "ninety thouſand men; the king of Great Britain forty thouſand, and the "States general one hundred and two thouſand, of which there were forty-two "thouſand intended to ſupply their garriſons, and ſixty thouſand to act againſt "the common enemy in the field; and with regard to the operations of the "war at ſea, they were agreed to be performed jointly by Great Britain and "the States-general, the quota of ſhips to be furniſhed for that ſervice being "five eighths on the part of Great Britain, and three eighths on the part of the "States-general.

"Upon this foot the war began in the year 1702, at which time the whole "yearly expence of it to England, amounted to three millions, ſeven hun-"dred and ſix thouſand, four hundred and ninety-four pounds. A very great "charge it was then thought by your majeſty's ſubjects, after the ſhort inter-"val of eaſe they had enjoyed, from the burden of the former war; but yet "a very moderate proportion, in compariſon with the load which hath ſince "been laid upon them; for it appears, by eſtimates given in to your com-"mons, that the ſums neceſſary to carry on the ſervice of this preſent year, "in the ſame manner it was performed the laſt year, amount to more than ſix "millions, nine hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds, beſides intereſt for the "public debt, and the deficiencies accruing the laſt year; which two articles "require one million, one hundred and forty-three thouſand pounds more; ſo "that the whole demand upon your commons are riſen to more than eight mil-

"lions

nation was acquainted, and expreſſed no ſmall reſentment thereat, notwithſtanding the pains taken by the friends of the Dutch to perſuade them of the contrary.

To ſay the truth, the matter was carried very high on both ſides; for the houſe of commons, having repreſented theſe omiſſions in our allies, as indubitable matters of fact, in order to juſtify the meaſures that were taking towards a peace, it was but natural for the ſtates, who were averſe to that peace, to reply as they did to this accuſation; which, however, inſtead of ſatisfying, provoked the houſe of commons to ſuch a degree, that, upon the printing of the anſwer they gave here, they de-

"lions for the preſent annual ſupply. We know your majeſty's tender regard "for the welfare of your people, will make it uneaſy to you to hear of ſo great a "preſſure as this upon them; and as we are aſſured, it will fully convince your "majeſty of the neceſſity of our preſent inquiry, ſo we beg leave to repreſent to "you from what cauſes, and by what ſteps this immenſe charge appears to have "grown upon us.

"The ſervice at ſea, as it has been very large and extenſive in itſelf, ſo it "hath been carried on through the whole courſe of the war, in a manner "highly diſadvantageous to your majeſty, and your kingdom; for the neceſ- "ſity of affairs requiring that great fleets ſhould be fitted out every year, as "well for maintaining a ſuperiority in the Mediterranean, as for oppoſing any "force which the enemy might prepare, either at Dunkirk, or in the ports of "Weſt France; your majeſty's example and readineſs in fitting out your pro- "portion of ſhips, for all parts of that ſervice, have been ſo far from pre- "vailing with the States-general to keep pace with you, that they have been "deficient every year to a great degree, in proportion to what your majeſty "hath furniſhed, ſometimes no leſs than two-thirds, and generally more than "half of their quota. From hence your majeſty has been obliged, for the "preventing diſappointments in the moſt preſſing ſervice, to ſupply thoſe de- "ficiencies by additional reinforcements of your own ſhips; nor hath the ſin- "gle increaſe of ſuch a charge, been the only ill conſequence that attended "it; for by this means the debt of the navy hath been enhanced: ſo that the "diſcounts ariſing from the credit of it, have affected all other parts of the "ſervice. From the ſame cauſe your majeſty's ſhips of war have been forced, "in greater numbers, to continue in remote ſeas, and at unſeaſonable times "of the year, to the great damage and decay of the Britiſh navy. This alſo "hath been the occaſion that your majeſty hath been ſtraitened in your con- "voys for trade; your coaſts have been expoſed, for want of a ſufficient "number of cruizers to guard them, and you have been diſabled from an- "noying the enemy in their moſt beneficial commerce with the Weſt Indies, "from whence they received thoſe vaſt ſupplies of treaſure, without which they "could not have ſupported the expences of this war."

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clared that this was a breach of privilege, and the paper itſelf a ſcandalous, infamous, and ſeditious libel; for which the printer was put in priſon, which prevented the publiſhing the remainder of the States repreſentation [q]; this was looked upon as a very ſtrange procedure, and which ſeemed calculated rather to give credit to that repreſentation, than to refute it; which, however, might have been eaſily done; for that we really bore a greater proportion of expence in this reſpect during the war, than we ought to have done, is a thing very certain; but it is the fault of all adminiſtrations, to be rather inclined to ſuch ſhort anſwers as may be given by acts of power, than to thoſe that might be furniſhed by the exerciſe of reaſon; and for this they are deſervedly puniſhed, by being often thought tyrannical in thoſe acts, the juſtice of which might be eaſily defended. In this caſe, however, the nation concurred in opinion with

[q] The States-general, by their memorial preſented to the queen, April 3, 1712, obſerve, that the grand alliance only ſpecifies, that all the contracting parties ſhall proſecute this war with their whole force; and therefore, if the ſtates have exerted the utmoſt of their force, they have fulfilled their engagements; but they inſiſt further, that the ſhips furniſhed for the north ſea, had been left out, notwithſtanding thoſe ſhips were for the joint ſervice; and they alledge further, that the number of ſhips which the States were to employ, ought to be regulated, not by the number actually put into commiſſion by England, but by the number that was fit and reaſonable for England to put into commiſſion, or at leaſt by the number propoſed to the States, upon ſettling the annual quotas for the war. As the States had the paper drawn up by order of the lords of the admiralty, and ſigned by Mr. ſecretary Burchet, containing an account of the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips fitted out during the war; ſo they likewiſe thought proper to add another account of their own, which they profeſſed themſelves able to make good from authentic vouchers; and as we cannot tranſcribe all theſe papers at large, we ſhall content ourſelves with making an abſtract of both accounts, in which the firſt column conſiſts of the year; the ſecond of the Engliſh men of war; the third of the ſhips of the States-general, according to Mr. Burchet's account; and the fourth of the ſhips according to their own. This paper having been printed in part, in the Daily Courant of Monday, April 7, 1712, the houſe of commons came thereupon to the reſolution mentioned in the text, and committed Mr. Samuel Buckley for printing it, who remained in cuſtody during the remainder of the ſeſſion.

1702	74	33	55	1707	72	27	49
1703	79	22	50	1708	69	25	53
1704	74	18	56	1709	60	11	50
1705	79	20	56	1710	62	13	43
1706	78	15	54	1711	59	12	40

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their repreſentatives, and things went on, upon a ſuppoſition that this charge againſt the Dutch was fully made out; which encouraged the friends of the miniſtry to attack the reſt of our allies, particularly the emperor, on the ſame ſubject: but, as theſe altercations have no immediate concern with the proper buſineſs of this work, I ſhall not inſiſt upon them, but leave them with this remark, that in all future alliances, our miniſters ought to be careful, not only in making the beſt terms they can for the nation, but alſo in ſeeing thoſe terms punctually fulfilled, ſince it is impoſſible, eſpecially under our preſent circumſtances, for the nation to bear with patience ſuch acts of indulgence towards foreigners, at their expence, when it is viſible, that, with all their induſtry, the inhabitants of Great Britain are ſcarce able to ſupport the neceſſary charges of their government, joined to that vaſt expence which their generous concern for the balance of power in Europe, and the liberty of their neighbours hath brought upon them[r].

The difference with the French court was occaſioned chiefly from M. Caſſard's expedition in the Weſt Indies, as we have before hinted. The French miniſtry, who knew the importance of being well at that time with the people of Great Britain, abſolutely diſclaimed that commander; inſiſting that he had only general inſtructions, that he had miſapplied them, and that proper ſatisfaction ſhould be given. On the other hand, the Britiſh miniſtry were too far advanced in their pacific meaſures, to think of retreating, and ſo were content with theſe excuſes, without inſiſting on the puniſhment of this officer; which, if what the French court ſaid was true, he certainly deſerved.

[r] The beſt uſe that can be made of hiſtory, is to correct, in our times, the errors committed in thoſe of our anceſtors, and certainly there are, among theſe, none which better deſerve our attention, than the conduct our miniſters have purſued, when we have engaged in confederacy with our neighbours. A confederacy implies a joint concern, and if, while this ſubſiſts, the whole, or by far the greateſt part of the expence is thrown upon any one of the allied powers, it argues injuſtice in the reſt, and weakneſs in ſuch as are intruſted with the concerns of the injured power. There is actually no more public ſpirit in a miniſter, loading clandeſtinely his countrymen with more than they ought to pay, than there is charity in a great man's ſteward, who relieves the poor out of his maſter's eſtate, while his creditors remain unſatisfied.

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The first great step to the peace was getting Dunkirk put into our hands, which was represented as a thing impossible; and with the promise of which the French only amused us. On the 11th of July, however, arrived an express, with the news, that a few days before, the town, citadel, Rysbank, and all the fortifications of that important place, were delivered up to brigadier Hill, whom her majesty appointed governor and commander in chief[s]. Her majesty, thenceforward, treated openly with the French court, though always under a promise that due care should be taken of the allies; and for this the ministry pleaded many things in their own justification. For, first, they alledged, that since the king of Spain was become emperor, it was no longer requisite to insist upon his having the whole dominions of the Spanish monarchy: they insisted next, that if it had been ever so requisite, the thing was impracticable, the nation having found, by experience, that it was impossible to carry on the war in Spain to any purpose. This had indeed been long a point out of dispute, one of the warmest partisans of the house of Austria having freely declared as much a good while before, in a debate in the house of lords; but added at the same time, though it was impracticable, a vote that no peace could be made, if Spain and the Indies were left to the house of Bourbon, was expedient at that juncture; and yet upon this expedient, and at the same time impracticable vote, all the clamours were afterwards raised. The friends to the treaty said farther, that the nation was unable to carry on the war longer, especially in the manner in which it had been carried on; and that therefore, how much soever we might hate our enemies, it was necessary to make a peace, if we had any regard for ourselves. They added, besides, that they intended to make a peace on the plan of the general alliance, every article of which, they said, had been broke through, by subsequent agreements during the course of the war; so that they would be thought to have the cause of liberty, and the balance of power more at heart, than even those who were for carrying on the war.

[s] Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 610. Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 504. The complete hist. of Europe, for 1712, p. 330.

On the 19th of Auguſt, 1712, an inſtrument for a ſuſpenſion of arms was ſigned at Paris, by the lord viſcount Bolingbroke, and the marquis de Torcy, for four months[t]; and, in conſequence of this, the neceſſary meaſures were taken for completing the peace: king Philip of Spain ſummoned a cortez, or general aſſembly of the ſtates of his kingdom, before whom, and with whoſe conſent, he made a renunciation of the crown of France, the queen having before appointed lord Lexington to be preſent at that ceremony. The negociations at Utrecht, however, went on very ſlowly, notwithſtanding the pains taken by the earl of Strafford[u], and doctor Robinſon, biſhop of Briſtol, her majeſty's plenipotentiaries; and the great activity of the French miniſters, who were the marſhal d'Uxelles, a very able ſtateſman, of whom prince Eugene ſaid, with great ſpirit, upon this occaſion, that he was the only French marſhal he feared; the famous Abbé de Polignac, afterwards cardinal by the ſame title, the ableſt head in France; and M. Meſnager, now raiſed to the title of count de St. John, who was entruſted with the firſt negociations; and from this ſlowneſs it was found neceſſary to renew the ſuſpenſion of arms four months longer[w].

At laſt, when the great influence of the queen was diſcerned, by her procuring the kingdom of Sicily for her couſin the duke of Savoy, which was her majeſty's own act, the allies, moſt of them, thought fit to comply, and accept the terms ſhe had ſtipulated for them, though with a viſible reluctance. The emperor only remained firm to his firſt reſolution, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for carrying on the war alone; conſenting, however, to evacuate Catalonia, and to accept of a neutrality for Italy, under the guaranty of her Britannic majeſty. On the

[t] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 609. Boyer's life of queen Anne. Lamberti memoires, *&c.* tome vii. p. 482. Actes & memoires de la Paix d'Utrecht, tome ii. p. 16. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome liv. p. 83.

[u] The connection neceſſary in the text, obliges me to mention here, that about the latter end of Auguſt, her majeſty appointed the earl of Strafford, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, knts. Sir William Drake, bart. John Aiſlabie, Eſq; Sir James Wiſhart, knt. and George Clarke, Eſq; to be commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great Britain.

[w] Lamberti memoires, *&c.* vol. viii. p. 1. Memoires de marquis de Torcy, tome ii. Actes & memoires de la Paix d'Utrecht, tome ii. p. 161. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 611. Oldmixon. Mercure-hiſtorique et politique, tome liv. p. 84.

19th

19th of January, 1712-13, the new treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion was ſigned by the miniſters of Great Britain, and of the States General, whereby the latter obtained a mighty acceſſion of territories, and a very great increaſe of power. On the 1ſt of March, the inſtruments relating to Catalonia and Italy were executed; and on the 4th of the ſame month, the duke of Berry, and the duke of Orleans, renounced their right to the crown of Spain, in the parliament of Paris. Theſe preliminaries being thus ſettled, the great work advanced more briſkly, and by the end of the month, it was brought to its concluſion [x].

On the firſt of April, 1713 [y], the famous treaty of Utrecht was ſigned, as ſome would have us believe, in a clandeſtine manner. The truth was, that, to prevent diſputes and proteſts, which might have furniſhed matter for dangerous purſuits in England, it was reſolved to ſign the treaty privately, at the houſe of the biſhop of Briſtol, which was accordingly done, under pretence of a conference; which being a thing frequent during that congreſs, rendered the matter leſs ſuſpected. The earl of Strafford, and the biſhop of Briſtol, ſigned firſt; then the miniſters of the duke of Savoy, declared king of Sicily by that treaty; thoſe of the king of Portugal after them; then the plenipotentiaries of the king of Pruſſia, and thoſe of the States-General laſt of all. The whole was over about two in the morning, occaſioned by the length of the treaties that were to be read before they were ſigned; and when the buſineſs was ended, the reſpective miniſters withdrew to their own places of reſidence, without any noiſe, or without directing any public rejoicings, as might have been expected upon ſuch an occaſion [z].

I have been the more particular in theſe circumſtances, becauſe ſome hiſtorians have repreſented them as matters of great importance. To ſpeak impartially, I think there is very little, if any thing, in them; for in moſt ſeparate peaces, the ſame

[x] Boyer's life of queen Anne. Lamberti memoires, tome viii. p. 34. Actes & memoires de la Paix d'Utrecht, tome ii. p. 260. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome liv. p. 230, 339. [y] Corps univerſel diplomatique, tome viii. p. 1. p. 339. [z] Lamberti, tome viii. p. 71. Journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. p. 293. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome liv. p. 462.

thing has been done, particularly in that of Nimeguen; and I could name other, perhaps later, examples of a like conduct; ſo that, upon the whole, this ought to be conſidered rather as a misfortune than a fault. I ſhall not pretend to inſiſt, that all was obtained by the treaty of Utrecht, that might have been obtained from France, after ſo long and ſo ſucceſsful a war; but undoubtedly there was much obtained, and more might have been obtained, if it had not been for the diſturbance given to the miniſters at home, ſince, whatever people may ſuggeſt, all parties are alike friends to France, who thwart public meaſures, from a pure ſpirit of oppoſition. The Tories had embarraſſed the Whigs in their adminiſtration, during the laſt years of the war; and the Whigs, in return, were reſolved to make the Tories as uneaſy as poſſible, in their project of making a peace. Both parties were in their turns gainers by this manner of acting; but both were gainers at the expence of the nation; and therefore as they have no reaſon, they have as little right to reproach each other [a].

I have

a The earl of Oxford, in the cloſe of his anſwer to the articles of impeachment, gives a very full and clear account of the motives to the peace upon his own knowledge; and as they are hid in ſuch a piece, to which few readers reſort for ſatisfaction in matters of this nature, I thought it might not be amiſs, to make this ſubject the clearer, to afford them a place at the bottom of the page. As to the peace in general, he (the ſaid earl) thinks he has very good reaſon to ſay, that the queen had nothing more at heart, than to procure ſo great a bleſſing for her people; and that, when it was obtained, ſhe had this ſatisfaction in herſelf, that ſhe had taken the moſt proper methods to juſtify her conduct, both towards her allies, and towards her own ſubjects. For, upon a review of her majeſty's whole proceeding, in relation to war and peace, he believes it will appear, and hath in part appeared, by the anſwer of the ſaid earl to the ſaid articles, that, as her majeſty entered further into the war than ſhe was obliged by any treaties ſubſiſting at the time of her acceſſion to the throne, ſo ſhe contributed more men and money towards the carrying it on afterwards, than ſhe was engaged to provide by any ſubſequent treaties. That her earneſt deſires of peace being twice fruſtrated, when ſuch conditions might have been obtained, as would have fully anſwered all the ends for which war was at firſt declared: that all our ſucceſſes and victories ending in the annual increaſe of the charge of England, without any further aſſiſtance from our allies, and her kingdom being exhauſted to ſuch a degree (notwithſtanding the great advantages obtained by her arms) that ſhe was not able to continue the war, upon the foot it then ſtood, one year longer, whilſt her allies refuſed to continue it upon thoſe equal conditions

I have ſaid, there was much obtained by the treaty of Utrecht; it is requiſite that I ſhould make this good, becauſe for many years, the contrary has been taken for granted; and I dare ſay, there are many thouſands of people in England, who think we loſt much, and none of our allies got any thing by that peace. The true ſtandard for adjuſting this, muſt be the ends of the war; for as no war can be juſt, in which the aggreſſors know not for what they fight, ſo no peace can be a bad one, by which the ends of the war are obtained.

In the firſt place, we fought againſt France to ſettle ourſelves; that crown had never explicitly acknowledged our government here at home. We fought next, for ſettling the balance of power in Europe, by obtaining a reaſonable ſatisfaction for the claims of the houſe of Auſtria to Spain and the Indies. Another motive to the war was, the ſecuring a barrier to the Dutch,

conditions to which they were by treaties obliged: ſhe was at laſt conſtrained, in compaſſion to her people, to hearken to the overtures of peace then made her from France, without relying further on the vain hopes of gaining more advantageous terms, by protracting the war a year longer. She had carried it on for ſome time under that proſpect, without reaping the benefits propoſed, even at junctures that ſeemed moſt favourable to her demands, and to the pretenſions of her allies. She had, indeed, by that means, raiſed the glory of her arms; but ſhe could not think this a ſufficient recompence for the increaſing miſeries of her people, and therefore reſolved to lay hold of this opportunity, then offered to her, of ending the war with a peace, if it might be obtained upon terms every way juſt, ſafe, and honourable; and thoſe who were then employed in her majeſty's councils, thought themſelves obliged to ſecond her good intentions in this caſe, and to obey her commands with all readineſs. The ſaid earl preſumes, on this occaſion, to mention to your lordſhips, the ſaying of as wiſe a man, and as great a general as the laſt age produced, the duke of Parma, when France was in a far lower condition than now, being almoſt equally divided between two contending parties, and Spain was at the height of its glory, and he himſelf at the head of a Spaniſh army, ſupported one of thoſe parties, after Paris itſelf had been beſieged by the other; it was his opinion, (and the advice he gave to his majeſty the king of Spain was grounded upon it), "That if France "were to be got, only by reducing its towns, the world would ſooner be at an "end than ſuch a war." The queen ſeemed at this time, with better reaſon, to frame the like judgment, and it was therefore her pleaſure, and a great inſtance (as the ſaid earl conceives) of her wiſdom and goodneſs, to think of ſecuring a peace, while ſhe appeared able to carry on the war, her armies being full and numerous, and before the exhauſted condition of her kingdoms, and the impoſſibility, on her ſide, of maintaining ſo diſproportionate an expence, was diſcovered by her enemies.

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and an adequate recompence to the reſt of our allies, for the injuries they had received from France. Let us ſee now what was obtained by the treaty of Utrecht, upon theſe ſeveral heads. In the firſt place, the title of queen Anne was acknowledged in the ſtrongeſt and moſt explicit terms; the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion in the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, was likewiſe owned, and the perſon who claimed before the queen, and to defeat whoſe pretenſions the act of ſettlement was made, was excluded the dominions of France, and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty promiſed never to admit him again, though he had owned him over and over; and he likewiſe promiſed never to aſſiſt or protect him, or any of his adherents. As to the ſecond, a reaſonable ſatisfaction was obtained for the emperor, though he refuſed to accept it; and the moſt ſolemn renunciations of the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon, are inſerted in the body of the treaty itſelf, in order, as far as the thing was poſſible, to ſecure all Europe againſt the apprehenſions of ſeeing the crowns of France and Spain devolve upon one prince; and, to obviate another objection as to the commerce of New Spain, it is expreſsly provided, that the French ſhould enjoy no privilege of navigation thither, beyond what had been enjoyed under the kings of Spain of the Auſtrian line. In regard to our allies, it is plain, that the duke of Savoy, who indeed well deſerved it, having ſteadily adhered to the alliance in times of the deepeſt diſtreſs, had full ſatisfaction given him, and in ſuch a manner too, as had a viſible tendency to the properly fixing the balance of power; and the kings of Portugal, Pruſſia, and the States, were likewiſe ſatisfied.

I know it may be ſaid, that there was a force upon the latter; but I know people are very unfit judges in their own cauſe, and that the States got by this treaty, not only ſuch a barrier as ſeemed reaſonable to us, but as good a one as the emperor thought fit for them, after all our ſucceſſes, and when the allies were upon the beſt terms with each other. To ſay then, that the treaty of Utrecht did nothing, and that all our expences, and all our victories in that long war, were abſolutely thrown away, is much beyond the truth; but that a better treaty might have

have been made, I ſhall not diſpute, becauſe I think there is no arguing about poſſibilities [b].

Before I part with this treaty, however, I muſt obſerve, that it was very extraordinary in one reſpect; it procured us much greater advantages, I mean the people of Great Britain, as a trading nation, than any treaty with which I am acquainted either before or ſince; and upon theſe, I muſt particularly inſiſt, becauſe they are immediately within my province. We have ſeen that Dunkirk was long before put into our hands; let us now ſee what was to become of it; and becauſe this is a point that has been ſince, and may be hereafter, attended with warm diſputes, I think it neceſſary to tranſcribe the ninth article of the treaty, by which this great point (great indeed, if we conſider either the humbling France, or ſecuring ourſelves) was effectually ſettled. Thus it runs: "The moſt Chriſtian king ſhall take "care, that all the fortifications of the city of Dunkirk be "razed; that the harbour be filled up; and that the ſluices, "or moles, which ſerve to cleanſe the harbour, be levelled, "and that at the ſame king's own expence, within the ſpace of "five months after the conditions of peace are concluded and "ſigned; that is to ſay, the fortifications towards the ſea, with-"in the ſpace of two months; and thoſe towards the land, to-"gether with the ſaid banks, within three months; on this ex-"preſs condition alſo, that the ſaid fortifications, harbour, "moles, or ſluices, be never repaired again."

The demolition of this place was of prodigious importance; it lies but thirteen leagues from the ſouth Foreland, and any eaſter-

[b] The account biſhop Burnet has given us, will be ſufficient to clear up to the reader, the ſatisfaction ſecured to the princes and ſtates engaged with us in the war. "As for the allies," ſays he, "Portugal and Savoy were ſatisfied; the "emperor was to have the duchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, and the "Spaniſh Netherlands; Sicily was to be given to the duke of Savoy, with the "title of king; and Sardinia, with the ſame title, was to be given to the elec-"tor of Bavaria, in lieu of his loſſes; the ſtates were to deliver up Liſle, and "the little places about it; and beſides the places of which they were poſſeſſed, "they were to have Namur, Charleroy, Luxemburgh, Ypres, and Newport; "the king of Pruſſia was to have the Upper Guelder, in lieu of Orange, and "the other eſtates which the family had in Franche Comte." This was all I think neceſſary to inſert here, with relation to our treaty; the emperor was to have time, to the firſt of June, to declare his accepting of it.

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ly wind, which carries our ſhips down the channel, brings out thoſe at Dunkirk, to meet and intercept them; which, during the two wars preceding this treaty, made it often ſuſpected, that the French had intelligence, either from our admiralty, or ſecretary's office; though very probably without foundation, ſince the very ſituation of the place furniſhed the enemy with advantages enough; for the eaſt end of the channel, which is ſo much expoſed to Dunkirk, is but ſeven leagues broad, and gives them an opportunity of ſeeing our ſhips from ſide to ſide. It clearly appears from hence, that ſix parts in nine of our trade from the port of London, were freed from moſt of the hazards felt in thoſe wars; and though part of this muſt be expoſed when it paſſes through the chops, or weſtern entrance of the channel, yet it muſt be conſidered, that it was liable alſo to this before, ſo that no new inconvenience is created: and beſides, this is only the ſouth trade; ſuch ſhips as go to Holland, Hamburgh, or the north, are abſolutely free. Beſides all this, the demolition of DUNKIRK was an inexpreſſible blow to the French naval power, and even to their trade, eſpecially to the Weſt Indies; ſo that a clearer proof could not be of our ſuperior force, and of their diſtreſs, than the ſubmiſſion of France to this article. It is true, they endeavoured to ſhift off, and afterwards to mitigate the execution of it; but in vain. The queen inſiſted upon Dunkirk's being demoliſhed effectually, according to the letter, and it was demoliſhed as effectually as could be deſired; whether ever it ſhall be reſtored, or if in time of war reſtored, ſuffered to continue, ſo as to become, as in times paſt, a terror to the Engliſh nation, depends upon ourſelves and future adminiſtrations [c].

By the 10th and 11th articles, the countries compriſed in the charter of the Hudſon's-bay company, of which the French had got poſſeſſion, partly in the time of peace, and partly in that of war, were to be reſtored; and not only reſtored, but his moſt Chriſtian majeſty farther ſtipulated, that whatever had been taken

[c] Burnet, Oldmixon, complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1713, life of queen Anne, continuation of Rapin's hiſtory, the importance of Dunkirk conſidered, French faith in the demolition of Dunkirk, and many other pamphlets upon the ſame ſubject, publiſhed in thoſe times.

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in time of peace, or whatever injuries had been done to the Hudſon's-bay company, before the commencement of the war, ſhould be fairly examined, and full ſatisfaction made. The like is ſtipulated with reſpect to the depredations by M. Caſſard, in the Leeward Iſlands, after the negociations for peace were begun.

By the 12th article, the iſland of St. Chriſtopher, and the whole country of Nova Scotia, are yielded to the queen of Great Britain, as by the 13th article, is the whole country of Newfoundland; but the iſland of Cape Breton, is by the ſame article given up to France, which has been repreſented as a monſtrous piece of complaiſance, though there ſeems to be great reaſon to believe, it was much leſs owing to the inclination of the Engliſh miniſters, than to their inability of ſtanding out any longer againſt the oppoſition carried on at home; and for this reaſon it is made one of the charges againſt the earl of Oxford, in the 13th article of his impeachment, wherein it was affirmed, that Cape Breton was part of Nova Scotia; and the earl in his anſwer to that article aſſerts, that he had gone no farther than king William had gone in the treaty of Ryſwick. But, however we might fail as to the point of Cape Breton, yet undoubtedly we acquired more by the treaty of Utrecht, than by any of our former treaties; I mean at the expence of the French, who at the time this treaty was ſigned, were actually in poſſeſſion of Placentia in Newfoundland[d].

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[d] The earl of Oxford, even after he was impeached, thought he had a right to value himſelf upon this treaty; and therefore, in his anſwer, after having taken notice of the difficulties to which we were reduced by the war, he proceeds to ſpeak in the following terms, of the advantages accruing from the treaty of Utrecht. At this juncture the queen entered upon a negociation of peace, with circumſtances of great honour to herſelf: France applying to her firſt on this account, previouſly owning her title, and acknowledging the right of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, two chief grounds upon which the declaration of the laſt war was built. As to the allies, it was conducted in the ſame manner as all treaties of peace, in confederacies, have ever been, and according to the known laws of nations in ſuch caſes, the firſt motion and the ſeveral ſteps to it, as faſt as they ripened into propoſals fit for conſideration, being, without delay, communicated to the States General. By the terms of this peace, as all reaſonable ſatisfaction and ſecurity, due to any of the allies by treaty, were obtained for them by the queen, and their juſt pretenſions effectually ſupported, ſo larger

But, beſides theſe mighty advantages, there were others ſtill more conſiderable (the demolition of Dunkirk only excepted) procured from the crown of Spain; for by the 10th article, the full and entire property of the town and caſtle of Gibraltar, with all things thereto belonging, are given up to the crown of Great Britain, in propriety, to be held and enjoyed abſolutely, with all manner of right for ever, without any exception or impediment whatſoever. By the 11th article, his Catholic majeſty doth in like manner, for himſelf, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, yield to the crown of England, the whole iſland of Minorca, transferring to the ſaid crown for ever, all right, and the moſt abſolute dominion over the ſaid iſland, and in particular over the town, caſtle, and fortifications of Port Mahon. All that Spain reſerves to itſelf, being no more than the right of preemption, in caſe the crown of Great Britain ſhall at any time think fit to alienate or diſpoſe of the ſaid fortreſs of Gibraltar, or iſland of Minorca. By the 13th and 15th articles, the Aſſiento treaty is confirmed as fully, effectually, and authentically, as if the ſame had been repeated word for word in the ſaid treaty, which was ſigned at Utrecht, on the 2d of July, O. S. by the biſhop of Briſtol, then lord privy-ſeal, and the earl of Strafford, her majeſty's plenipotentiaries, and the duke de Oſſu-

advantages were actually procured for Great Britain, in particular, than ever had been demanded before, in any treaty or negociation between this and any other foreign ſtate. The ſaid earl craves leave on this occaſion, to appeal to your lordſhips, whether all the ends for which the war was entered into, have not by this treaty been fully attained? Whether it does not appear by the beſt of proofs, experience, that the kingdoms of France and Spain, are, by the conventions of this treaty, moſt effectually ſeparated? And whether any other expedient could have been ſo ſucceſsful to this purpoſe, as that whereby it is now happily brought about? Whether the balance of power in Europe be not now upon a better foot, than it has been for an hundred years paſt? Whether the advantages that have accrued to Great Britain by this treaty, do not appear, and have not appeared, in the ſecurity of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and in his majeſty's peaceable acceſſion to the throne, with the univerſal applauſe of his ſubjects; in the addition made to our wealth in the great quantities of bullion lately coined at the mint; by the vaſt increaſe of ſhipping employed ſince the peace, in the fiſhery, and in merchandize, and by the remarkable riſe of the cuſtoms upon import, and of our manufactures, and the growth of our country upon export? For the proof of which particulars, he refers himſelf to thoſe offices and books, wherein an authentic account of them is contained.

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na, and the marquis de Monteleon, plenipotentiaries from his Catholic majesty[e].

The ASSIENTO has since made so great a figure in our histories, and there will be such frequent occasion to mention it in the subsequent part of this work, (as that contract was the basis of the South Sea trade), that I find myself under a necessity, as well for the sake of order and perspicuity, as for the performance of what I promised, to enter into a full and regular account of all the steps taken for erecting and establishing this great company, which was one of the most signal performances of the Oxford ministry[f].

The earl of Godolphin, and his friends, had been peculiarly happy in the conduct of public affairs, and the maintainance of public credit, so long as the opposition given them did not rise so high, as to hinder their carrying public points in the house of commons; but after they once found themselves in that situation, their difficulties grew upon them daily, so that they were forced to contract debts in the public service, exclusive of such as were contracted, and provided for annually by parliament. At first these debts were seldom mentioned, some of them being pretty old, and others incurred by deficiencies, and the application of funds to other services than those for which they were originally designed. The drawing these debts out of obscurity, and de-

[e] As to this treaty with Spain, the earl of Oxford, in his answer to the impeachment, let us into a fact of very great import; for, says he, as for the matters concerted previously with France, for the particular interest of England, without the original intervention of Holland, the States were so far from protesting against her majesty's measures, and condemning her conduct in this respect, that their minister proffered several times, in their name, to have led the way in the most difficult part of the whole negociation, and to have done his utmost to facilitate the conclusion of it, provided his masters might have a share in the Assiento contract, and trade to the Spanish West Indies, one of those advantages which France had discovered its willingness should be allowed, previously, and entirely to England.

[f] Subsequent events may mislead us, in respect to the value of this concession. But if experience, (for we actually had this contract for negroes in the reign of king William); if the opinion of other nations, (for the French lost it with regret, and the Dutch were eager for a share in it), or the sense of our Spanish merchants, could ascertain the point this was a valuable acquisition.

claring them unprovided for, was one of the firſt acts of the new miniſtry[g].

Their next care was, to form the proprietors of theſe debts into a new company, which, they conceived, would be as much dependent upon, and as uſeful to them, as the bank, or Eaſt India company had been to the former miniſtry. But the buſineſs was, to find out a proper pretence of erecting ſuch a new company; and this was very happily found, and very dextrouſly applied. It was always matter of wonder to the greateſt part of this nation, why the war was not puſhed in the Weſt Indies; eſpecially, ſince there was a clauſe in the grand alliance, whereby we were intitled to hold whatever we could conquer in thoſe parts. Some political reaſons, however, reſtrained the vigour of our arms in that particular; and this, though the old miniſtry were very little to blame in it, made one great topic of public clamour[h].

When a thing is once made the theme of common diſcourſe, many lights come to be ſtruck out in relation to it, that were not thought of before; and this was the caſe here: ſome mer-

[g] The debts declared by the ſtatute, are as follow:

Debt to the navy, old, new, and deficient	5,130,539
Debt to the ordnance	154,324
Debt to tranſport-ſervice	424,791
Old army-debentures of laſt war	1,018,656
Deficient tallies 8 Gulielmi.	12,024
Proviſions for the navy, Oct. Nov. Dec. 1710	378,859
Subſidies to the duchy of Hanover, 1696	85,000
Intereſt on ditto, from Chriſtmas 1710 and 1711	9,375
Loans on cuſtoms, &c. 8 Annæ	1,296,552
Intereſt on ditto	74,876
Intereſt on the whole from Lady-day to Chriſtmas, 1711	386,325
To the year's ſervice 1711	500,000
Add, for odd ſhillings and pence	3
	L. 9,471,324

[h] If we had taken places from the Spaniards in America, it would have given an opportunity to ſuch of the grandees as had embraced the party of Charles III. to have quitted it, and reconciled themſelves to king Philip. It would have given umbrage to, and furniſhed a precedent for the Dutch. It was thought this point was well ſettled and ſecured by our private treaty. Beſides theſe, which were not ſlight motives, there were others which are elſewhere mentioned, that hindered the former miniſtry, or rather rendered it impracticable for them to take any ſteps of this nature.

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chants of Briſtol taking this matter into conſideration, began to apprehend, that, however the miniſtry might be bound, private perſons were not obliged to let ſlip advantages of this nature; and therefore they reſolved to fit out two ſhips for the South Seas, upon their private account; which they did; and theſe ſhips returning in the year 1711, after having made many rich prizes, the wealth of the South Seas came to make a great noiſe [i].

This determined the new miniſtry to join an ample ſecurity for the debts hitherto unprovided for, with the proſpect of the trade from the South Seas, and by this means, fix their whole deſign at once. Upon this plan, they made ſome propoſals to the monied people, who, having been long attached to the former adminiſtration, treated the whole as chimerical, and a project that could never be brought to bear. I mention this circumſtance, only to ſhew how little dependence ſhould be placed on the reſolution of men who, are known to be governed by nothing but their intereſts; for, notwithſtanding their ſlighting the propoſal when it was firſt made, lord Oxford and his friends carried on this ſcheme with ſucceſs [k].

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[i] As the buſineſs of this voyage to the South Seas very nearly concerns the ſubject of this work, it may not be amiſs to take notice, as conciſely as poſſible, of the moſt remarkable circumſtances attending this affair. The ſhips fitted out upon this occaſion, were the Duke of thirty guns, and 170 men, commanded by captain Woods Rogers; and the Ducheſs, of twenty-ſix guns, and 150 men, under the command of Stephen Courtney. The famous captain Dampier, whoſe voyages have made him known throughout Europe, was on board one of theſe veſſels, as pilot; they ſailed from Briſtol on the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1708, and having happily paſſed the Streights of Magellan, they not only took ſeveral ſhips in the South Seas, but ſeveral towns alſo upon the coaſt; and on the 22d of December, 1709, they met with the Acapulco ſhip, that is, the leſſer of the two ſhips which ſail annually from the Eaſt Indies to Mexico; ſhe was of the burden of 400 tons, and carried twenty guns, and as many pattararoes. The action laſted about half an hour, and the value of the prize was about 2,000,000 pieces of eight; the larger Acapulo ſhip fell alſo in their way, which they attacked two days ſucceſſively; but, as ſhe was of 900 tons burden, and had 600 men on board, they found it impoſſible to take her, which made them determine to return by the Eaſt Indies; captain Dover being appointed commander of the Acapulco ſhip, with which they arrived ſafely in the Downs, on the 2d of October, 1711.

[k] This ſettling the unliquidated debts, giving ſatisfaction thereby to the public creditors, and framing the plan of the South-Sea company, are all enume-

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In the firſt place, they took care to give a very plauſible account to the world, of the nature of this undertaking; and, which ſhewed their political dexterity, they made the very contempt, which was at firſt expreſſed for their deſign, ſubſervient to its extenſion; for they gave out, that the laſt miniſtry having been careleſs of the nation's intereſt in this reſpect, were deſirous of covering their reputation, by repreſenting that as impracticable, which they had never attempted[l]. They took notice likewiſe of its having been always thought the ſureſt way of diſtreſſing the Spaniards; and, to demonſtrate this, they printed a propoſal of the like nature, which was made in parliament, ſo long ago as in the year 1624. They further obſerved, that this was proſecuting the war againſt the French too, who carried on a mighty trade in the South Seas, and were actually making ſettlements there. This took off the edge from every argument that could be offered, as to the impoſſibility of the deſign; for all who talked in that ſtyle, were conſidered now as enemies to the Engliſh nation, and perſons abſolutely in a foreign intereſt[m].

To give the thing the higheſt gloſs, and to fix the nation in a full opinion of the great profit that might be made by this trade, care was taken to circulate a notion in Holland, about the time that Sir Hovenden Walker undertook his expedition againſt Canada, that the true intention of that armament was

rated in the preamble of the patent, creating him earl of Oxford, and earl Mortimer.

l There appeared ſeveral treatiſes about this time, on the ſubject, the titles of ſome of which are worth preſerving, (1.) A letter to a member of parliament, on the ſettling a trade to the South Sea of America, with reaſons for encouraging a commerce between Great Britain and the countries ſituated in thoſe ſeas. London, 1711, 4to. (2.) A true account of the deſign and advantages of a South Sea trade, with anſwers to all the objections made againſt it. London, 1711, 8vo. (3.) An eſſay on the nature and methods of carrying on a trade to the South Seas. By Robert Allan, who reſided ſome years in the kingdom of Peru. London, 1712, 8vo.

m There never was a period when party ſpirit ran higher, and conſequently when truth was more diſguiſed, or falſehood better dreſſed, than in this. There was leſs regard paid to the weight of propoſitions than to the perſons who propoſed them, and therefore the only way of coming at truth, is to conſider theſe propoſitions, without reſpecting who ſupported, or who cenſured.

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againſt Peru. This had the deſigned effect; the Dutch took umbrage at it, and expreſſed loudly enough their diſſatisfaction at our entering on any ſuch views. This anſwered the end propoſed, and begot an extraordinary concurrence in the new ſcheme here. The debts unprovided for, were next liquidated at 9,471,324 l. on which an annuity at the rate of 6 l. *per cent.* was granted, until the principal was paid, which annuity amounted to 568,279 l. [n]

The company was incorporated for carrying on a trade to the South Seas; and, by their charter, there was inveſted in them and their ſucceſſors, the ſole trade into, and from, all the kingdoms and lands on the eaſt ſide of America, from the river Oroonoko, to the ſouthermoſt part of Terra del Fuego, and on the weſt ſide thereof, from the ſaid ſouthermoſt part of Terra del Fuego, through the South Sea, to the northermoſt part of America, and into, and from all the countries, iſlands, and places within the ſaid limits, which are reputed to belong to Spain, or which ſhall hereafter be found out, or diſcovered within the limits aforeſaid, not exceeding three hundred leagues from the continent of America, on the ſaid weſt ſide thereof, except the kingdom of Brazil, and ſuch other places on the eaſt ſide of America, as are now in the poſſeſſion of the king of Portugal, and the country of Surinam, in the poſſeſſion of the States-General. And to give the thing ſtill the greater ſanction, the ſaid company, and none elſe, were to trade within the ſaid limits; and if any other perſon ſhould preſume to trade to the South Seas, they were to forfeit the ſhip and goods, and double the value: one fourth part to the crown; another fourth part to the proſecutor; and the remaining half to the uſe of the company. And it is alſo provided, that the company ſhall be the ſole owners of the iſlands, forts, *&c.* which they ſhall diſcover, and erect within the ſaid limits, to be held of the crown, under the annual-rent of one ounce of gold, and of all ſhips taken as prize, by the ſhips of the ſaid

[n] Annals of queen Anne, vol. x. p. 228, 333. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 569. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 459.

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company, and the company may ſeize, by force of arms, all other Britiſh ſhips trading in thoſe ſeas [o].

The ſtock of this corporation was to ariſe from the ſubſcription of theſe public debts, and the ſum of 8,279l. was granted for the charges of management; and as trade could not be carried on without money, ſo the governor and directors of the new company had power, by their charter, to make any call, not exceeding ten *per cent.* for the proſecution of this trade [p].

The lord high-treaſurer Oxford, than whom no miniſter had cleaner hands, or a ſounder head, ſaw, with great ſatisfaction, the South-Sea company's ſtock ſubſcribed, by the very people who, upon its firſt propoſal, had treated his project as a chimera. He knew, much better than they, how far it was chimerical; he knew, that no advantageous trade could be carried on according to the ſcheme of the charter; but when the charter was granted, it was too early for him to diſcover what he really meant by trade to the South Seas. In the year 1713, the ASSIENTO treaty, or agreement between king Philip of Spain, and the Guinea company in France, for the furniſhing negroes to the Weſt Indies, determined; and the lord-treaſurer had an agent of his in Spain, who took notice of it to the duke d'Oſſuna, hinting alſo, that the granting this to the Engliſh might prove a means towards bringing about a peace; inaſmuch, as this had been one of the principal points propoſed by the private treaty between Great Britain and king Charles. The propoſal was eagerly embraced, becauſe it not only had a ten-

[o] This was, indeed, liable to the objection made by ſome of the writers before-mentioned, that the trade was chimerical, as in truth the company never attempted to ſend a ſhip into the South Sea. But the miniſter had very juſt reaſons to proceed as he did. Firſt, he was obliged to ſettle the company without loſs of time, and, while the war continued, expeditions might have been made into the South Seas. Secondly, the forming this company, and the tenor of its charter, alarmed the Spaniards, and diſpoſed them to make any conceſſions, in order to procure a peace with Britain. Thirdly, the Aſſiento was obtained for this company, in lieu of this trade granted them to the South Sea.

[p] Statute 9. Annæ, cap. 21. Charter of the South-Sea company. See alſo the ſeveral treatiſes which have been before referred to, relative to this ſubject.

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dency to anſwer the great end of ſettling king Philip's title; but it alſo gave a handle to the Spaniards to rid themſelves of the French, whoſe dealings in the South Seas had long given them, as it ought to have given us, great umbrage[q].

Thus this wiſe and able miniſter brought about in Spain, what few had any thoughts of in England; and procured this to be offered by king Philip, as a means of conciliating the intereſts of the two crowns, and renewing the old correſpondence between the two nations. In conſequence of this, a project, conſiſting of forty-two articles, was delivered to his Catholic majeſty, who, on the 26th of March, 1713, ratified them by his royal decree at Madrid; and theſe are the articles ſo ſolemnly confirmed in the treaty of peace before-mentioned, and which have been the baſis of the trade carried on by the South-Sea company; and which, if it has not, might certainly have been made extremely beneficial to this nation[r].

This ASSIENTO contract ſtipulates, in the firſt place, that from the firſt of May 1713, to the firſt of May 1743, the company ſhall tranſport into the Spaniſh Weſt Indies 144,000 negroes of both ſexes, and of all ages, at the rate of 4800 negroes every year; that for each negroe the Aſſientiſts ſhall pay $33\frac{1}{3}$ pieces of eight, in full for all royal duties; that the ſaid Aſſientiſts ſhall advance his Catholic majeſty 200,000 pieces of eight, upon the terms preſcribed in the contract; that twice a-year they ſhall pay the before-mentioned duties of 4000 negroes, his Catholic majeſty giving them the duty on the other 800, to balance their riſk, and extraordinary expences; that his Catholic majeſty, and the queen of Great Britain ſhall each be concerned a quarter part in the ſaid trade, and ſhall be al-

[q] This leads me to take notice of an immediate and capital advantage which reſulted to Britain from this tranſaction. It wrought upon the natural jealouſy of the Spaniards, who never reſted till they ridded themſelves of the French traders, who were become perfectly well acquainted with the route by Cape Horn, and had even paſſed this way to the Eaſt Indies, and ſo round by the Cape of Good Hope to Europe, as appears by Frezier's and Barbinai's voyages; and, but for this treaty, no queſtion would, in the ſpace of a few years, have worked themſelves into a regular correſpondence this way into both Indies.

[r] Actes & memoires de la paix d'Utrecht, tome v. p. 72. Corps diplomatique, tome viii. p. 1. p. 330. Lamberti, tome viii. p. 360.

lowed a quarter of the profits, which ſhall be accounted for, by the Aſſientiſts, upon oath, that during the ſpace, neither the French Guinea company, or the ſubjects of any other crown, ſhall have any licence to import negroes; and in caſe they ſhould import them, they ſhall be conſidered as contraband, and the company ſhall have power to confiſcate them, with many other clauſes for the ſecurity of this trade, which are not neceſſary for me here to mention. I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that the rights and privileges granted by this contract were all by direction from the queen, properly aſſigned to the South-Sea company; and though it might be, as I believe it was, true, that a little jobbing was practiſed in making the aſſignments, yet the whole was moſt advantageous to this nation; and if we have not reaped ſuch benefits from this contract as we might have done, we ought not to blame the treaty of Utrecht, but ourſelves; for there is no ſerving any nation after it is come to a certain height of corruption.

It has been ſuggeſted, that, whatever benefits we might receive by this treaty, there were ſtill much greater advantages that might have been acquired, if we had not ſuffered them to ſlip through our fingers. I ſhall take ſome notice of theſe. In the firſt place, it has been ſaid, that we might have made ourſelves maſters of the Indies, or at leaſt of the trade of them. I do not ſee how this can be proved. For, on the one hand, our open enemies were extremely ſtrong there, ſo as not only to act upon the defenſive, but even to attack, and that ſucceſsfully too, the ſettlements of our allies, the Portugueſe; and, on the other hand, not the Dutch only, but all the confederates were extremely averſe to our making conqueſts in the Weſt Indies; which were amongſt the true and weighty reaſons why, under the earl of Godolphin's adminiſtration, they were forborne [s].

[s] We have more than once touched the reaſons why, under that miniſter, we did not carry on a ſea war againſt Spain, in the Indies, and we alſo acquainted the reader with the articles of the ſecret treaty; to which we will now add, that our navy was ſo fully employed, that, perhaps, leſs cogent reaſons might have induced our ſtateſmen not to attempt any thing at ſuch a diſtance, rather than riſk the attempting what would have exaſperated friends as well as foes, with ſmall hopes of ſucceſs.

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In time of war, therefore, it does not appear we were able to do much againſt the Spaniards, and againſt the French we were ſtill in a worſe condition; for in the iſlands they were too ſtrong for us, from their having but few colonies, and thoſe well peopled; and in Canada they found the ſituation of the country and its climate, ſufficiently defended them againſt all we could do. It was only in Newfoundland that we had any proſpect of making conqueſts; and there they gave us up Placentia, the only place they held[t].

I have already mentioned the affair of Cape Breton, which ſome writers have called a mine of gold, given up by the treaty of Utrecht to the French; and the reaſon aſſigned for it is this: that if that iſland had not been left to the French, we ſhould have poſſeſſed the fiſhery in that part of the world without a rival; and might conſequently have made what market of it we pleaſed. Yet, however acceptable this reaſon may be at home, I am ſure nothing raiſes us ſo many enemies abroad; this notion of monopolizing trade, and ſhutting our neighbours out of it by force, has a very bad effect, and is the engine conſtantly made uſe of by the French, to prejudice our once good allies the Dutch againſt us. I crave leave to add, that experience hath ſhewn the fact to be otherwiſe than it was then repreſented; we were, till the laſt war with Spain, in poſſeſſion of a very great trade in Newfoundland; and, whenever a definitive peace is made, on the concluſion of the preſent, care will no doubt be taken, that it ſhall be ſecured to us in its full extent, as a compenſation for our expence, and then I conceive we ſhall have no great cauſe to murmur[u].

We find it alſo objected, that greater ſecurity was not obtained for us in the Mediterranean; where, they ſay, we ſhould

[t] This was a conſiderable place, and in part the object of Sir Hovenden Walker's expedition, and the French choſe to give it up to facilitate a peace rather than have it taken from them, as it certainly would have been, had the war continued. It was equally a misfortune to the French, and to us, that the Iſle of Cape Breton was not alſo given up, which has been a bone of contention ever ſince.

[u] This entire ceſſion of the fiſhery ought to be conſidered as the ſole means of preſerving peace, and the conſequences attending this treaty before us, ſhew that all other expedients are ineffectual, which, till experience ſhewed it, could not be known.

not only have had Gibraltar, but a territory round it. It were to be wiſhed they had given us a plan of this fortreſs, with the territory they expected, and then at the cloſe of the enſuing war, perhaps it might have been obtained. But it is our misfortune, that even in points of ſuch importance as theſe, we borrow our opinions rather from the parties to which we attach ourſelves, than from the nature of things themſelves. For let it be remembered, that many of thoſe who inſiſted with the utmoſt vehemence on this error, in the treaty of Utrecht, afterwards, when their ſchemes of politics were changed, were as warm in aſſerting, that Gibraltar and Port Mahon too were of little or no uſe, and were actually inclined to give them up to Spain, not in conſideration of any equivalent to be given to Great Britain, but in order to have ſuch a peace made, as would ſuit the intereſt of our foreign allies. It is not, therefore, eaſy to diſcern, through the miſts of parties, what in this reſpect are the true intereſts of Britain [w].

All that can be fairly ſaid of this matter, lies in a narrow compaſs; the ſecurity of our trade in the Mediterranean is well provided for, by our having in our poſſeſſion the very beſt haven in the Mediterranean, I mean that of Port Mahon, the influence derived from which, when properly attended to, muſt always make us maſters of thoſe ſeas, and put it in our power to give law to the French. If an Engliſh civil government were once eſtabliſhed in the iſland of Minorca, and a large well-built city erected there, capable of becoming the centre of our trade in thoſe parts, we ſhould very ſoon ſee the worth of that iſland, and recover the beſt part of the trade we have loſt. But military governments agree ſo little with the induſtry of a trading people, and are in themſelves ſo repugnant to the genius of the Britiſh nation, that I do not at all wonder men of good ſenſe, and thoſe too of all parties, have ſecretly an inclination, that both Gibraltar and Minorca ſhould be given up for the ſame reaſon that the patriots in king Charles IId.'s reign, forced him

[w] The figure we make, as a maritime power, in Europe, requires we ſhould have proper ſtations in the Mediterranean; it will be the peculiar and perpetual glory of this reign, that in it they were gained: experience has ſhewn their utility, and, againſt ſuch arguments, conjectures and plauſibilities will never prevail.

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to part with Tangier. But, be this as it will, we certainly have no right to cry down the treaty of Utrecht, for furniſhing us with advantages, which our own corruption will not allow us to keep.

To conclude this part of my ſubject, I muſt obſerve, that, upon the cloſe of the war, the French found themſelves totally deprived of all pretenſions to the dominion of the ſea. We have, in part, demonſtrated this in the laſt volume; but ſomething more remains to be ſaid here. Moſt of our conqueſts, indeed all of them that were of any uſe to us, were made by, or at leaſt chiefly by our fleets. Sir George Rooke took Gibraltar, and Sir John Leake reduced Minorca; and it is alſo evident, that it was our fleet alone that ſupported king Charles in Catalonia, and kept the king of Portugal ſteady to the grand alliance; which, beſides the advantages it brought to the common cauſe, ſecured to us the invaluable profits of our trade to that country; and all this againſt the ſpirit, genius, and inclination of the king of Portugal, and his miniſters, who were all at that time in the French intereſt in their hearts; from which they had never departed ſo much as in ſhew, if the moſt Chriſtian king had been able to perform what we did; ſince it is well known, that the Portugueze firſt offered themſelves to, and contracted an alliance with that monarch, and his grandſon of Spain [x].

At the ſame time, our fleets prevented the French from ſo much as ſailing on the Mediterranean, where they had made a figure in the laſt war, and kept many of the Italian ſtates in awe. The very Algerines, and other piratical ſtates of Barbary, contrary to their natural propenſity to the French, were now obſequious to us, and entertained no manner of doubt of the ſuperiority of our flag. To ſpeak the truth, the ſlackneſs of the Dutch, in ſending ſhips to this part of the world, had in this reſpect an effect happy enough for us, ſince it occaſioned our being conſidered as the leading power, by all who had any concerns with us and them. Yet it muſt be admitted, that

[x] In every war this has been ſufficiently ſeen. Our fleet is naturally the offenſive ſtrength of this nation, by which the power of Britain is feared, being at ſome time or other felt under every clime.

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in the courſe of this war, the French performed ſome extraordinary exploits in the attacking the fleets and colonies of us, and our allies, at which we need not wonder, ſince now this was all they had in their power; and though it diſturbed us a good deal, and brought them ſome profit, yet it was more a mark of their weakneſs than of ours; for what greater, what more glorious argument of our naval force, than our ſinking a great maritime power into a petty piratical ſtate[y]?

Let us but conſider the figure that France made at the beginning of the laſt war, and at the end of this. She had then her fleets as well as we; nay, ſhe had ſometimes better fleets; inſtead of waiting till ſhe was attacked, or giving us the trouble to go and ſeek her ſquadrons at a diſtance, ſhe ſpread the ſea with her navy, and inſulted us upon our own coaſts; though we had Spain for us in all that war, yet it was thought extremely dangerous for us to winter in its ports; and every body knows, every body may ſee from this, and other hiſtories, that while we protected Spain by our fleets, we were often in danger, for want of them, of being invaded by France at home. But, in this war, the enemy ſeldom appeared at ſea, and always quitted it at our approach. Our naval empire commenced from the battle of Malaga; the extinction of the French force at ſea, was in a manner completed by our enterprize on Toulon. They were, from that time, incapable of any great expedition, and the only attempt of that kind they made, I mean the pitiful one on Scotland, very fully ſhewed it. They ſtole from our fleet through the advantage of winds and tides; the apprehenſion of being overtaken, hindered them from landing, and their return was a plain flight.

In a word, to ſum up all, we had to deal, in the firſt war, with the fleets of Breſt and Toulon, capable of diſputing with

[y] It is really wonderful that this fact has not been more conſidered. When marſhall Tourville lay in wait for the Smyrna fleet, what was it leſs than converting the naval power of France into privateers. *Commercia hoſtibus interclaſa.* Commerce rendered impracticable to enemies, is the legend of the medal ſtruck upon that event. After the battle of Malaga, the men of war were let, or lent, to the merchants, to be fitted out as corſairs. John du Bart, Mr. du Guai Trouin, and Fourbin, were the heroes who kept up the French fame at ſea, and were employed in picking up trading veſſels, while our ſquadrons were ſubduing kingdoms.

us the dominion of the ſea in our full ſtrength; in this, if we could guard againſt the Piccaroons of St. Maloes, and Dunkirk, all was well; our merchant-men ſuffered ſometimes; but our fleets and ſquadrons were always ſafe; nay, even in the trivial war between ſingle ſhips, we had the advantage, upon the whole, as appears by the admiralty's computation; which ſhews, not only the French ſuffered more than we, but, what I believe few people have obſerved, that they ſuffered a third more in this war, than they did in the laſt, notwithſtanding the many ſea-fights in that, and there being but a ſingle one in this [z].

z The truth of what is aſſerted in this paragraph, will appear at firſt ſight, by comparing the two following liſts, which ſhew the loſs ſuſtained by England and France, in this war, with thoſe in vol. iii. p. 224, 225. where we have ſhewn what was loſt on both ſides in the laſt war, and from whence it is manifeſt, that the French loſt 754 guns, and conſequently 11,310 tons of ſhipping more in this war than in that.

A LIST of Engliſh ſhips loſt, or taken, in queen ANNE's war.

Guns.	Number.	Guns.
80	2	160
70	4	280
60	2	120
50	8	400
48	1	48
40	2	80
36	1	36
32	4	128
30	1	30
28	1	28
24	11	264
22	1	22
Total,	38	1596

French ſhips loſt or taken.

Guns.	Number.	Guns.
100	4	400
90	8	720
86	8	688
74	1	74
70	3	210
64	1	64
56	1	56
54	4	216
50	2	100
48	1	48
40	1	40
36	2	72
34	1	34
32	1	32
30	2	60
28	1	28
24	8	192
20	3	60
Total,	52	3094
	38	1596
The loſs of the French exceeds ours,	18	1498

There

There happened no further naval armaments within the compaſs of this reign, except the ſending a ſquadron into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir James Wiſhart; the deſign of it, without queſtion, was to execute what remained to be executed of the peace; and as his Catholic majeſty was, at that time, intent on the reduction of Catalonia, the Engliſh fleet rendered him ſome ſervices; which, however, made a great noiſe at home; for, as the Catalans had been originally brought into the war by the perſuaſion of the queen's miniſter, and upon repeated promiſes of her majeſty's conſtant ſupport of them, it was thought not a little extraordinary, that the Engliſh fleet ſhould afford any countenance, much leſs aſſiſtance, to the enemies of that brave people, who ſtill conſidered themſelves as the allies of Great Britain [a].

It is true, that many plauſible things were offered in excuſe of this conduct. It is ſaid, that her majeſty had done all that lay in her power, to procure for thoſe people the continuance of their ancient privileges; and that though ſhe had not abſolutely ſucceeded in this, yet ſhe had procured them an equivalent for their ancient privileges; which was ſharing thoſe of Caſtile, and particularly that of being capable of having a concern in the trade to the Weſt Indies, from which all other ſubjects of the crown of Spain are excluded. To this it was added, that it was in a great meaſure owing to the faults of the Catalans themſelves, that her majeſty's interpoſition did not ſucceed to the full; ſince, while ſhe was applying in their favour to king Philip, they actually declared war againſt him; which put it out of her majeſty's power to ſolicit for them any longer. It was likewiſe alledged, that the emperor might have ſtipulated conditions for them, under the guaranty of her majeſty, in his proviſional treaty for the evacuation of that province; ſo that, upon the whole, it ought to be underſtood, that whatever mercy theſe people received, flowed from the care taken of them by the queen; whereas, the many and great miſeries they ſuf-

[a] The queen had excited theſe people to take up arms, by her miniſter, Mitford Crow, Eſq; who had letters of credence. The earl of Peterborough had treated with them by her orders. Inſtructions were conceived in ſtrong terms in their favour, when lord Lexington was ſent to Spain, nor was it ever the queen's intention they ſhould be given up.

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fered, were abſolutely the effects of their own perverſeneſs and obſtinacy [b].

But, that I may not appear an apologiſt, rather than an hiſtorian, I muſt ſpeak my ſentiments ſincerely of this matter. The obligation that Great Britain was under, to protect theſe people, was very clear, and withal ſo ſtrong, and ſo binding on the government, that it is impoſſible to conceive, how any miniſters, and eſpecially thoſe who counter-ſigned the very inſtructions for giving ſuch aſſurances to the Catalans, could believe it right, or could even imagine it excuſable, not to ſecure them their privileges by the peace. As to their having this in their power, it appears to me a thing paſt all doubt; for, when they firſt thought of the peace, they knew the engagements they were under to theſe people, and they ought to have taken care, that what had been promiſed them upon the public faith, ſhould have been performed. Beſides, it appears plainly by the treaty of peace with Spain, that our miniſtry had power enough to obtain the whole kingdom of Sicily for the duke of Savoy; and one cannot eaſily conceive, that people, who were able to do ſo much to oblige one ally, ſhould not be able to obtain juſtice for another [c].

The truth ſeems to have been, that the Spaniſh court were very deſirous of carrying this point, and found a way to gain our miniſter, who was ſent thither before the formal concluſion of the treaty, to relax a little in this particular; which, perhaps, he did not conſider in the light that I do; and afterwards, it was impoſſible to recover, what had been departed from. I am very far, however, from thinking, that all the miniſters then about the queen were culpable in this matter. I

[b] They were obſtinate in their averſion to king Philip, even when they found themſelves left by the allies; they firſt deſired to be annexed to the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, then to become a free republic, and, by the imperial miniſter at Conſtantinople, they demanded the protection of the Ottoman Porte.

[c] However their behaviour, as ſtated in their former note, might excuſe his Catholic majeſty, it did by no means juſtify the queen's miniſters, who ſhould have inſiſted upon king Philip's offering them their privileges, as well as a general amneſty; after which, if they had continued in arms, the queen's honour had been ſaved.

have reaſon to doubt, whether the lord-treaſurer Oxford came into that meaſure; and I have authority to ſay, that the late duke of Buckinghamſhire was ſo far from concurring in it, that he brought this matter twice upon the carpet in council, and exerted all his intereſt to have prevented the Catalans from being given up as they were. I am likewiſe aſſured, that whatever Sir James Wiſhart did, was from his own conſtruction of his inſtructions, and not from any expreſs directions contained in them. This, ſo far as I have been able to learn, is the truth, and the whole truth without diſguiſe or extenuation; and, if there was any miniſter, whoſe intereſt with the queen contributed in any degree to theſe poor people's misfortune, I freely own, that I think he departed in this reſpect from the duty he owed to his miſtreſs and to his country.

I am now to proceed from the general hiſtory of the naval operations in this reign, to the particular memoirs of ſuch eminent ſeamen as flouriſhed in it; and as I have taken particular pains to be well informed as to their conduct and behaviour, ſo I ſhall deliver what has come to my hands, with the utmoſt impartiality; at the ſame time, I muſt expreſs my deep regret, that many circumſtances relating to the worthy men of whom I am now to ſpeak, are attended with more obſcurity than I could wiſh, notwithſtanding the recentneſs of the facts, and the obligation that public and private hiſtorians were under, to have preſerved, as far as lay in their power, whatever might have contributed to the honour of thoſe brave officers, who ſo gallantly expoſed themſelves for the advantage of their country, and to whoſe courage and conduct we ſtand indebted for the many advantages this nation ſtill enjoys, as well as for the force and reputation of our maritime power, which has extended itſelf to the moſt diſtant parts of the world, and, under this reign particularly, drew the higheſt reſpect to the Engliſh flag wherever it appeared. As it ſecured to us ſuch a mighty acceſſion of trade, that the ſhipping of this kingdom was increaſed near a third, in the ſhort interval between the concluſion of the peace and the death of the queen.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS of Vice-admiral BENBOW.

AS fame ought conſtantly to attend on virtue, ſo, without doubt, it ought to follow, in a particular manner, that kind of virtue which is of greateſt uſe to ſociety; I mean, ſincere, active, and well-conducted public ſpirit. This it was, that diſtinguiſhed the gentleman of whom I am now to ſpeak, and that in an age when public ſpirit was not only out of faſhion, but out of countenance; when a man who profeſſed to love his country, if known to have ſenſe, was thought to be a hypocrite; and, if not known to have it, a fool. Mr. Benbow was neither; he had a probity that was never queſtioned, and a knowledge of men and things, which always procured him credit, in whatever ſtation he appeared [d].

But there was this peculiar in his character, that never any addition of fortune or honour accrued to himſelf, but ſome good reſulted from it to his country; for that reaſon I have, with great care, collected every circumſtance, relating to his progreſs through life, from private hands; which I flatter myſelf will be ſo much the more agreeable to the public, from the want of pains in other writers to vindicate the memory of this great man; which they have rather injured, by heaping together idle and ill-founded ſtories, and repreſenting, as the rough behaviour of a tar, that ſteady courage, and that ſtrict regard for diſcipline, which were not the foibles, as ſome people would inſinuate, but the truly laudable qualities of this honeſt, gallant, and accompliſhed admiral [e].

[d] The reader will diſcern, from the facts delivered in theſe memoirs, that the firſt beginning, the progreſs, and indeed every ſingle acceſſion of character, as well as every ſtep of preferment after that character brought him into the ſervice, were the ſole effects of his merit; unaſſiſted by ſolicitation, unſupported by connection.

[e] Amongſt other worthy gentlemen to whom I ſtand indebted, for many particulars recorded in theſe memoirs, I am eſpecially bound to mention the late worthy Paul Calton, Eſq; of an ancient and honourable family in Berkſhire, who married one of the daughters and co-heireſſes of vice-admiral Benbow, and into whoſe hands many of his father in law's papers came after his deceaſe.

It would have been, I think, no reflection upon the merit of this worthy man, if he had really ſprung, as ſome authors ſuggeſt he did, from a very mean original; but the fact is abſolutely otherwiſe. He was deſcended from the antient and honourable family of the Benbows in the county of Salop; which, though now ſunk in point of riches and credit, is ſtill remembered with honour, as it deſerves to be, ſince the misfortune of the family were not the effects of their follies and vices, but owing to their firmneſs and fortitude, their attachment to honour in preference to intereſt, and their unſhaken adherence to the good old Engliſh principles of loyalty and patriotiſm f.

When the civil war broke out, king Charles I. relying ſtrongly on the affection of the inhabitants of this county, repaired in perſon to Shrewſbury, entered that city on the 20th of September, 1642, and the ſame day made a ſolemn and public declaration, that he did not carry on this war from a thirſt of blood, of conqueſt, or of abſolute power, but from a deſire of preſerving his own juſt rights, and thoſe of his people, ſince he was determined, if God gave him ſucceſs therein, to be as tender of the privileges of parliament, as of his own prerogative. Upon this declaration, the lords Newport and Littleton, with the greateſt part of the gentry in that county, came in, and offered his majeſty their ſervice; among theſe, were Thomas Benbow, and John Benbow, Eſqrs. both men of eſtates, and both colonels in the king's ſervice, of whoſe fortunes I am obliged to ſay ſomewhat, ſince the latter was the father of our admiral, and there are many things worthy of being recorded, that befel them both g.

When his majeſty's affairs were thrown into abſolute confuſion, and he had been traiterouſly murdered, ſuch gentlemen as

f Camden's remains, p. iii. Verſtegan's reſtitution of decayed intelligence, chap. ix. Charter's analyſis of honour, p. 73. We may, from the accounts given by theſe learned authors, collect from both ſirname and arms, that Benbow is a Saxon family, as Bowes, called in Latin, *de arcubus*, certainly appears to be, and as Strongbow and Bowman are eſteemed.

g The earl of Clarendon gives a large account of this affair, in his hiſtory, and takes particular notice of the king's coining his plate there, which inclined many noblemen and gentlemen to bring in theirs, as alſo conſiderable ſums of money. See the folio edition of his hiſtory, p. 248: but, as for the king's ſpeech, it may be found at large in Heath's chronicle, p. 38, 39.

had

had ſerved in his army, retired into the country, and lived as privately as they could. But, though their intereſts were much reduced, and their fortunes in a great meaſure ruined, yet their ſpirit remained unbroken, and they acted as chearfully for the ſervice of king Charles II. as if they had never ſuffered at all by ſerving his father; ſo much a better principle is loyalty than corruption. When therefore that prince marched from Scotland, towards Worceſter, the two Benbows, amongſt other gentlemen of the county of Salop, went to attend him; and after fighting bravely in the ſupport of their ſovereign, were both taken priſoners by the rebels [h].

That unfortunate battle was fought September 3, 1651, and ſoon after a court-martial was appointed to ſit at Cheſter, wherein colonel Macworth had the chair as preſident, and major-general Mitton, and other ſtaunch friends to the cauſe, aſſiſted; by whom ten gentlemen, of the firſt families in England, were illegally and barbarouſly ſentenced to death, for barely correſponding with his majeſty, and five of them were executed. They then proceeded to try Sir Timothy Fetherſtonhough, colonel Thomas Benbow, and the earl of Derby, for being in his ſervice. They were all condemned, and, in order to ſtrike the greater terror in different parts of the county, the earl of Derby was adjudged to ſuffer death on the 15th of October, at Bolton; Sir Timothy to be beheaded on the 17th, at Cheſter; and colonel Thomas Benbow to be ſhot on the 19th, at Shrewſbury; all theſe ſentences were ſeverally put in execution [i]; which, I think, ſufficiently ſhews, that the Benbows were then, or had been lately, a very conſiderable family in Shropſhire; for otherwiſe the colonel would hardly have been ſent out of the world in ſo good company [k].

[h] Whitlocke's memorials, p. 511. Heath's chronicle of the civil wars, p. 302. A new hiſtory of loyal martyrs, p. 259. [i] Lloyd's memorials of loyal ſufferers, p. 558, where, from his own, or the printer's inaccuracy, it is Benlow inſtead of Benbow. Sir George Wharton, in his Geſta Britannorum, ſays, he ſuffered at Shrewſbury, October 15, 1651, the ſame day the earl of Derby was beheaded at Bolton. Whitlocke, in his memorials, p. 511, ſtates it ſo likewiſe. [k] This is not mentioned in Clarendon's hiſtory, but is particularly taken notice of by Sir Philip Warwick, Dr. Bates, and other writers of thoſe times, and in Heath's chronicle, p. 302.

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As for colonel John Benbow, he made his eſcape, after a ſhort impriſonment, and lived privately in his own country, till after the reſtoration, when he was far in years, and yet ſo much to ſeek for a livelihood, that he was glad to accept of a ſmall office belonging to the ordnance in the Tower, which juſt brought him an income ſufficient to ſubſiſt himſelf and his family without danger of ſtarving. In this ſituation he was, when a little before the breaking out of the firſt Dutch war, the king came to the Tower to examine the magazines. There his majeſty caſt his eye on the good old colonel, who had now been diſtinguiſhed by a fine head of grey hairs for twenty years. The king, whoſe memory was as quick as his eye, knew him at firſt ſight, and immediately came up and embraced him. "My old "friend, colonel Benbow," ſaid he, "what do you here?" I have, returned the colonel, a place of fourſcore pounds a-year, in which I ſerve your majeſty as chearfully, as if it brought me in four thouſand. "Alas!" ſaid the king, "is that all that "could be found for an old friend at Worceſter? Colonel "Legge, bring this gentleman to me to-morrow, and I will "provide for him and his family as it becomes me." But, ſhort as the time was, the colonel did not live to receive, or ſo much as to claim, the effects of this gracious promiſe; for the ſenſe of the king's gratitude and goodneſs ſo overcame his ſpirits, that, ſitting down on a bench, he there breathed his laſt, before the king was well out of the Tower. And thus, both brothers fell martyrs to the royal cauſe, one in grief, and the other in joy[1].

When we conſider the many misfortunes, and diſtreſſed circumſtances of the father, it is impoſſible not to be ſurprized at the poverty, or not feel compaſſion for the condition of his family, of the ſtate of which, at the time of his deceaſe, I am not able to give any diſtinct account; all that I have been able to learn, is, that this ſon John, who was then about fifteen, was bred to the ſea; but that it was in ſo low a ſtation as a waterman's boy, which ſome writers poſitively affirm, I can hardly believe, becauſe, even in king Charles IId.'s reign, he was own-

[1] This particular I had from Mr. Calton, and it has been likewiſe confirmed to me by ſeveral other perſons of credit.

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er and commander of a ſhip called the Benbow frigate, and made then as reſpectable a figure as any man concerned in the trade to the Mediterranean. He was always conſidered by the merchants, as a bold, brave, and active commander, one who took care of his ſeamen, and was therefore chearfully obeyed by them, though he maintained ſtrict diſcipline, with greater ſafety there, than afterwards in the royal navy. This behaviour raiſed his reputation greatly, ſo that no man was better known, or more eſteemed by the merchants upon the Exchange, than captain Benbow. It does not, however, appear, that he ever ſought any preferment in that whole reign; neither is it likely he would have met with it in the next, but from a remarkable accident, of which I ſhall give the reader the beſt account I can, becauſe it gave riſe to all his future fortunes, and is withal as extraordinary a ſtory in itſelf, as perhaps ever appeared [m].

In the year 1686, captain Benbow, in his own veſſel the Benbow frigate, was attacked in his paſſage to Cadiz by a Sally rover, againſt whom he defended himſelf, though very unequal in the number of men, with the utmoſt bravery, till at laſt the Moors boarded him; but were quickly beat out of his ſhip again, with the loſs of thirteen men, whoſe heads captain Benbow ordered to be cut off, and thrown into a tub of pork-pickle. When he arrived at Cadiz, he went aſhore, and ordered a negro ſervant to follow him, with the Moors heads in a ſack. He had ſcarce landed, before the officers of the revenue inquired of his ſervant what he had in his ſack? The captain anſwered, ſalt proviſions for his own uſe. That may be, anſwered the officers; but we muſt inſiſt upon ſeeing them. Captain Benbow alledged, that he was no ſtranger there; that he did not uſe to run goods, and pretended to take it very ill that he was ſuſpected. The officers told him, that the magiſtrates were ſitting not far off, and that if they were ſatisfied with his word, his ſervant might carry the proviſion where he pleaſed; but that otherwiſe it was not in their power to grant any ſuch diſpenſation.

[m] See the complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1702, p. 496, 497. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 303. Collier's columna roſtrata, p. 290.

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The captain conſented to the propoſal; and away they marched to the cuſtom-houſe, Mr. Benbow in the front, his man in the centre, and the officers in the rear. The magiſtrates, when he came before them, treated captain Benbow with great civility; told him, they were ſorry to make a point of ſuch a trifle, but that, ſince he had refuſed to ſhew the contents of his ſack to their officers, the nature of their employments obliged them to demand a ſight of them; and that, as they doubted not they were ſalt proviſions, the ſhewing them could be of no great conſequence one way or other. "I told you," ſays the captain ſternly, "they were ſalt proviſions for my own uſe. Cæſar, "throw them down upon the table; and, gentlemen, if you like "them, they are at your ſervice." The Spaniards were exceedingly ſtruck at the ſight of the Moors heads, and no leſs aſtoniſhed at the account of the captain's adventure, who, with ſo ſmall a force, had been able to defeat ſuch a number of barbarians. They ſent an account of the whole matter to the court of Madrid, and Charles II. then king of Spain, was ſo much pleaſed with it, that he would needs ſee the Engliſh captain, who made a journey to court, where he was received with great teſtimonies of reſpect, and not only diſmiſſed with a handſome preſent, but his Catholic majeſty was alſo pleaſed to write a letter in his behalf to king James, who, upon the captain's return, gave him a ſhip, which was his introduction to the royal navy[n].

After the revolution, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſeveral ſucceſsful cruizes in the channel, where he was employed at the requeſt of the merchants, and not only did his duty by protecting the trade, and annoying the enemy, but was alſo remarkably careful in examining the French ports, gaining intelligence, and forming ſchemes for diſturbing the French commerce, and ſecuring our own. For this reaſon he was commonly made choice of to command the ſquadrons employed in bombarding the French ports, of which we have given a large account in our ſecond volume[o]; and therefore it is altogether unneceſſary to repeat thoſe things here. I ſhall content myſelf, for this reaſon,

n This I had from the before-mentioned Mr. Calton.

o See volume ii. of this work, particularly p. 405, 420. Burchet's naval memoirs, p. 231. Larrey Hiſtoire d'Angleterre, tome iv. p. 740.

with

with remarking, that he ſhewed no leſs courage than conduct upon ſuch occaſions, being always preſent in his boat, as well to encourage as to inſtruct the ſeamen and engineers, according to his manner of ever enforcing his commands by his example [p].

The diligence and activity of captain Benbow, could not fail of recommending him to the favour of ſo wiſe and brave a prince as king William; to whoſe perſonal kindneſs, founded on a juſt ſenſe of Mr. Benbow's merit, he owed his being ſo early promoted to a flag; after which he was generally employed as the moſt experienced ſeaman in the navy, to watch the motions of the French at Dunkirk, and to prevent, as far as it was poſſible, the depredations of du Bart; in which he ſhewed ſuch diligence, and did ſuch ſignal ſervice, by preſerving our merchant ſhips, that he eſcaped the ſlighteſt cenſure, when libels flew about againſt almoſt every other officer of rank in the whole fleet. The truth really was, that the ſeamen generally conſidered rear-admiral Benbow as their greateſt patron; one, who not only uſed them well while under his care, but was always ready to interpoſe in their favour, as far as his intereſt went, when they were ill-treated by others [q].

There was, at that time, a warm diſpute as to the expediency of preferring mere ſeamen, or, as they were then called, tarpaulins, or gentlemen, in the navy: admiral Benbow was conſulted more than once by the king upon that ſubject, and always gave it as his opinion, that it was beſt to employ both; that a ſeaman ſhould never loſe preferment for want of recommendation, or a gentleman obtain it, barely from that motive. He was alſo a great enemy to party-diſtinctions, and thought a man's merit ought to be judged of from his actions at ſea, rather than from the company he kept on ſhore; and for this reaſon he lived upon good terms with the admirals of different

[p] Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, *&c.*

[q] There were many ſevere pamphlets written in this reign againſt the managers of the fleet; but in all theſe we find him treated as an officer of the old ſtamp, one who had deſerved the poſt to which he was raiſed, a ſteady ſervant to the crown, and the ſeaman's friend.

parties, who were all of them ready to teſtify, upon any occaſion, his courage and conduct[r].

In the year 1697, he was ſent with a ſmall ſquadron before Dunkirk; where he ſaved the Virginia and Weſt India fleet from falling into the hands of the French privateers, for which he received the thanks of the merchants. He would likewiſe have ſucceeded in reſtraining du Bart from going out, if the Dutch rear-admiral Vandergoes had been in a condition to aſſiſt him, or if the lords of the admiralty had been inclined to have taken his advice; for obſerving, in the beginning of Auguſt, that the French frigates were hauled into the baſon, to clean, he judged their deſign to be what it really proved, to put to ſea by the next ſpring-tide; and, therefore, as his ſhips were all foul, he wrote up to the board, to deſire that four of the beſt ſailers might be ordered to Sheerneſs to clean, and that the others might come to the Downs, not only to take in water, which they very much wanted, but alſo to heel and ſcrub; which he judged might have been done, before the ſpring tide gave the French an opportunity of getting over the Bar; but this was not then thought adviſable, though he afterwards received orders for it, when the thing was too late. By this unlucky accident, the French had an opportunity given them of getting out with five clean ſhips; yet this, however, did not hinder the admiral from purſuing them as well as he was able; and ſome ſhips of his ſquadron had the good luck to take a Dunkirk privateer of ten guns, and forty men, which had done a great deal of miſchief. This was one of the laſt actions of the war, and the rear-admiral ſoon after received orders to return home with the ſquadron under his command[s].

It is very well known, that after the peace of Ryſwick, and even while the partition treaties were negociating, king William had formed a deſign of doing ſomething very conſiderable in

[r] I have theſe facts, not only from private authority, but alſo from a multitude of political treatiſes publiſhed under that reign; in which, as great freedom was uſed, ſo there is not the leaſt reaſon to believe, that if our admiral had been guilty of any exceſſes in point of power, or any omiſſions in reſpect of duty, they would have been concealed.

[s] Burchet, Burnet, and our own hiſtory under the naval tranſactions of the year 1697, vol. ii. p. 479.

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the Weſt Indies. This project had long occupied the king's thoughts, into which, it is ſaid, it was firſt put by father Hennepin, who was extremely well acquainted with that part of the world. The king had turned it ſeveral times in his mind; and, at laſt, took a ſettled reſolution, that, if the French attempted to deceive him, as he had great reaſon to believe they would, ſomething of conſequence ſhould be done in that part of the world.

In the mean time, however, he thought fit to ſend a ſmall ſquadron, of three fourth rates, into the Weſt Indies, under the command of rear-admiral Benbow [t], who had private inſtructions from the king, to make the beſt obſervations he could on the Spaniſh ports and ſettlements, but to keep as fair as poſſible with the governors, and to afford them any aſſiſtance, if they deſired it. He was likewiſe inſtructed to watch the galleons; for the king of Spain, Charles II. was then thought to be in a dying condition. Rear-admiral Benbow ſailed in the month of November, 1698, and did not arrive in the Weſt Indies till the February following, where he found things in a very indifferent ſituation. Moſt of our colonies were in a bad condition, many of them engaged in warm diſputes with their governors; the forces that ſhould have been kept up in them for their defence, ſo reduced by ſickneſs, deſertion, and other accidents, that little or nothing was to be expected from them. The admiral carried with him colonel Collingwood's regiment, which he diſpoſed of to the beſt advantage in the Leeward Iſlands [u].

He then addreſſed himſelf to execute his commiſſion, and ſailed for that purpoſe to Carthagena, where he met with a very indifferent reception from the governor, which he returned, by talking to him in a ſtyle ſo very plain, that forced him, though he had been wanting in civility, to make it up, in ſome mea-

[t] This was, properly ſpeaking, a voyage chiefly of obſervation, that, upon his report, the king might the better take his meaſures upon his Catholic majeſty's death, when, if a war was neceſſary, king William's plan was to make it as ſhort as poſſible, by ſtriking a great blow in Europe, and another in America, at once.

[u] Burchet's juſtification of his naval memoirs, p. 152, where he ſhews why ſo little could be done, even by ſo good an officer.

ſure, by doing juſtice; and in the ſame manner he proceeded with the governor of Porto Bello, as I have ſhewn elſewhere; but ſtill the great ends of his commiſſion remained altogether unanſwered, not through any fault of the admiral's, but for want of a ſufficient force, either to engage the Spaniards to confide in him, or to perform any thing conſiderable, in caſe the French had ſent a ſtrong fleet into that part of the world, as it was then expected they would have done. This affair was complained of in parliament, where the ſmallneſs of the ſquadron, and the ſending it ſo late, were very ſeverely reflected upon [w]; though, at the ſame time, great compliments were paid to admiral Benbow's courage, capacity, and integrity, by both parties; and when he returned home two years after, he brought with him authentic teſtimonies of his having done the merchants and planters all the ſervices they could either expect or deſire; ſo that he was received with the moſt cordial friendſhip by his majeſty [x]; who, as a mark of his royal favour, was graciouſly pleaſed to grant him an augmentation of arms, by adding to the three bent bows, which he and his family already bore, as many arrows.

The whole ſyſtem of affairs in Europe was changed by that time admiral Benbow came back; the king had diſcovered the diſingenuity of the French, and ſaw himſelf under an abſolute neceſſity of entering upon a new war, while he was ſenſible the nation was as yet very little recovered from the expences of the laſt. One of his firſt cares was, to put the fleet into as good condition as it was poſſible, and to give the command of it to

[w] This moſt clearly decides as to his character, and ought to encourage every officer in like ſtation to do his duty ſteadily and correctly, for then even the want of ſucceſs may contribute to riſe of reputation.

[x] It is certain, that the French had great advantages from the nature of their government, which enabled them to take much quicker meaſures for effecting their purpoſes, than we could do to oppoſe them; but, as this was in a great degree owing to overſights and miſmanagements in the former war, ſo it ſhews the neceſſity there is of ſtrict and prudent inquiries, in order to obtain the confidence of this nation; which, whenever it is acquired, will be always found an over-balance even for the French power; whereas, if the people of England entertain any doubts of the manner in which their money is to be employed, it will often be found difficult, ſome time or other, perhaps impracticable, to make them part with it.

officers

officers that might in all reſpects be depended upon; and to this diſpoſition of the king's, Mr. Benbow owed his being declared vice-admiral of the blue. He was at that time cruizing off Dunkirk, in order to prevent, what was then much dreaded here, an invaſion. There was, as yet, no war declared between the two crowns; but this was held to be no ſecurity againſt France; and it was no ſooner known, that they were fitting out a ſtrong ſquadron at Dunkirk, than it was firmly believed to be intended to cover a deſcent. Vice-admiral Benbow ſatisfied the miniſtry, that there was no danger on this ſide; and then it was reſolved to proſecute, without delay, the projects formerly concerted, in order to diſappoint the French in their views upon the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; to facilitate which, it was thought abſolutely neceſſary to ſend, without delay, a ſtrong ſquadron to the Weſt Indies.

This ſquadron was to conſiſt of two third rates, and eight fourths; which was as great a ſtrength as it was judged could be at that time ſpared; and it was thought indiſpenſibly requiſite that it ſhould be under the orders of an officer, whoſe courage and conduct might be ſafely relied on, and whoſe experience might give the world a good opinion of the choice made of him for this important command; upon the right management of which, it was believed, the ſucceſs of the war would in a great meaſure depend. Mr. Benbow was thought of by the miniſtry, as ſoon as the expedition was reſolved; but the king would not hear of it. He ſaid, that Benbow was in a manner juſt come home from thence, where he had met with nothing but difficulties; and that, therefore, it was but fair ſome other officer ſhould take his turn[y]. One or two were named, and conſulted; but either their health, or their affairs were in ſuch diſorder, that they moſt earneſtly deſired to be excuſed; upon which the king ſaid merrily to ſome of his miniſters, alluding to the dreſs and appearance of theſe gentlemen, "Well

[y] This was the American branch of the grand ſcheme before hinted, and was to ſeize the galleons; at the ſame time, the fleet which was to ſail into the Mediterranean took Cadiz, and gave us a ſecure entrance into Andaluſia; than which, a more ſimple, more noble, or more practicable deſign, the human mind could not conceive.

"then,

" then, I find we muſt ſpare our beaus, and ſend honeſt Ben-
" bow."

His majeſty, accordingly, ſent for him upon this occaſion, and aſked him, whether he was willing to go to the Weſt Indies, aſſuring him, if he was not, he would not take it amiſs, if he deſired to be excuſed. Mr. Benbow anſwered bluntly, " That he did not underſtand ſuch compliments; that he " thought he had no right to chuſe his ſtation; and that, if " his majeſty thought fit to ſend him to the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, " or any where elſe, he would chearfully execute his orders " as became him." Thus the matter was ſettled, in very few words, and the command of the Weſt India ſquadron conferred, without any mixture of envy, on our vice-admiral Benbow[z].

To conceal the deſign of this ſquadron, but above all to prevent the French from having any juſt notions of its force, Sir George Rooke, then admiral of the fleet, had orders to convoy it as far as Scilly, and to ſend a ſtrong ſquadron with it thence, to ſee it well into the ſea; all which he punctually performed; ſo that admiral Benbow departed in the month of September, 1701; the world in general believing, that he was gone with Sir John Munden, who commanded the ſquadron that accompanied him into the Mediterranean; and to render this ſtill more credible, our miniſter at Madrid was ordered to demand the free uſe of the Spaniſh ports; which was accordingly performed[a]. As ſoon as it was known in England, that vice-admiral Benbow was ſailed, with ten ſhips only, for the Weſt Indies, and it was diſcovered, that the great armament at Breſt, with which we were long amuſed, was intended for the ſame part of the world, a mighty clamour was raiſed here at home, as if he had been ſent to be ſacrificed, and heavy reflections were made upon the inactivity of our grand fleet; whereas, in truth, the whole affair had been conducted with all imaginable prudence, and the vice-admiral had

z Moſt of theſe particulars I had from perſons of reputation, upon their own knowledge.

a Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 590. Hiſtory of Europe, for 1701, p. 117. Life of king William, p. 627.

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as conſiderable a ſquadron, as, all things maturely weighed, it was, in that critical juncture, thought poſſible to be ſpared [b].

It is certain, that king William formed great hopes of this expedition, knowing well that vice-admiral Benbow would execute, with the greateſt ſpirit and punctuality, the inſtructions he had received; which were to engage the Spaniſh governors, if poſſible, to diſown king Philip; or, in caſe that could not be brought about, to make himſelf maſter of the galleons. In this deſign it is very plain, that the admiral would have ſucceeded, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of his force, if his officers had done their duty; and it is no leſs certain, that the anxiety the vice-admiral was under, about the execution of his orders, was the principal reaſon for his maintaining ſo ſtrict diſcipline, which proved unluckily the occaſion of his coming to an untimely end. Yet there is no reaſon to cenſure either the king's project, or the admiral's conduct; both were right in themſelves, though neither was attended with the ſucceſs it deſerved [c].

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[b] The ſending vice-admiral Benbow at that critical ſeaſon, was a very judicious meaſure, the faults were committed afterwards. Sir John Munden was puniſhed for the conſequence, rather than the nature of his error. A ſtrong ſquadron ſhould have been then ſent to the ſupport of Benbow, which had ſaved him, and ſerved the nation.

[c] That I may not ſeem to ſpeak altogether without book, I ſhall cite a paſſage from a pamphlet publiſhed in 1702, intitled, The preſent condition of the Engliſh navy, p. 24. "A new war I believe to be unavoidable; and we "are much beholden to the laſt parliament, that we are not entered into it "already, and ſo become the Fight-alls, the Pay-alls, and the Loſe-alls, of "Europe, as we have hitherto been. But, if we have a war managed as the "laſt was, we had better ſpend a little money in booms and chains, to ſecure "our ſhips in harbour, than to ſend them abroad to ſpend our money, loſe "our reputation, and not ſecure our trade. I cannot perſuade myſelf, that "the parliament of England will evermore ſend the native ſtrength of their "country abroad in other people's quarrels, and be at the charge of levies, "clothing, arms, and tranſportations, to put their own liberties in danger at "home, by a ſtanding army, when they have done the buſineſs of our allies "abroad. The men we loſt, and the money we ſpent in the laſt war, as alſo, "how hard it was to get them diſbanded, in oppoſition to the intereſt of men "that wanted to ſupport their titles to their illegal grants, and ill gotten gains, "is too freſh in our memories, ever to bring ourſelves under the like hard-"ſhips. I foreſee that the war will be now at ſea, and we have but a very ill

"omen

The French knew too well the importance of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, not to think of providing for their ſecurity, as ſoon as ever they reſolved to accept the will of his Catholic majeſty, the late king Charles II. which, it may be, was ſome time before his death, though, to ſave appearances, ſolemnly debated after the contents of the will were communicated by the privy-council of Spain. The officer whom his moſt Chriſtian majeſty made choice of to command the ſquadron which was firſt to be ſent thither, was the famous M. du Caſſe, governor of St. Domingo. He was to carry with him one hundred officers of all ranks, who were intended to diſcipline the Spaniſh militia in the kingdom of Mexico; but, before this could be done, it was thought neceſſary to ſend M. du Caſſe to Madrid, to aſk the conſent of the Spaniſh council, which took up ſome time; for though the Spaniards could not but be ſenſible in how wretched a ſituation their affairs in the Weſt Indies were, yet it was with great reluctancy, that they gave way to this expedient, though a little reflection (of which no nation is more capable) would have ſhewn them, that in reality they had no choice to make; but, when they had once come to a reſolution, that M. du Caſſe ſhould be ſent, they were continually ſoliciting the French court to diſpatch him immediately [d].

" omen of ſucceſs, from the laſt ſummer's expedition of our fleet. Our mo-
" dern Whigs, in their legion letters, and Kentiſh petitions, exclaimed againſt
" the parliament, becauſe they raiſed no more money; but I hope theſe folk,
" if they have any brains, or honeſty, are now ſenſible of their groundleſs
" complaint, when they find how little has been done for what was then
" raiſed. They gave 1,500,000 pounds for the fleet, for this expedition; and
" what has been the effect? the whole fleet went to convoy Benbow in his
" way to the Weſt Indies, and, while they were gone, our modern Whigs,
" boaſted of their conduct, and built caſtles in the air, to hold the money they
" ſhould bring home in the Spaniſh galleons; but, in a ſhort time, we found
" them all at Spithead, except a few ſhips that proceeded with Benbow to
" the Weſt Indies, where, if they be not talmaſh'd, they have good for-
" tune."

d Memoires de la Torre, tome i, ii, iii. where it manifeſtly appears, that the hopes of preſerving their monarchy entire, having the protection of the fleets and armies of France, and being relieved from the pillages to which they had been expoſed during the laſt reign, determined the grandees to call in the duke of Anjou.

The

The French councils, which were better conducted, had, as we already ſuggeſted, foreſeen all theſe difficulties; and, therefore, had a ſquadron ready at Breſt, conſiſting of five ſhips of the line, and ſeveral large veſſels laden with arms and ammunition, which, under the command of the marquis de Coetlogon, in the month of April, 1701, ſailed for the Spaniſh Weſt Indies; and on the 20th of October the count de Chateau-Renaud ſailed alſo with fourteen ſhips of the line, and ſixteen frigates, to meet the galleons, that were ſuppoſed to be already departed from the Havannah, under the eſcort of the marquis de Coetlogon; and, after all this, M. du Caſſe likewiſe ſailed with his ſquadron; from whence the Engliſh reader will eaſily ſee, that as admiral Benbow received no ſupplies, he was truly in danger of being cruſhed by the ſuperior power of our enemies, and that extraordinary diligence which was uſed to ſtrengthen and ſupport them [e].

When vice-admiral Benbow arrived firſt at Jamaica, which was at the cloſe of the year 1701, he made ſuch juſt and wiſe diſpoſitions for ſecuring our own trade, and annoying that of the enemy, that the French ſaw, with great amazement, all their ſchemes defeated; which they had been enabled to form, by their having much earlier intelligence than we of the intended war; and their own writers fairly admit, that even after the arrival of the marquis de Coetlogon, they were conſtrained to act only on the defenſive; and found all the grand projects they had meditated, for attacking Jamaica and the Leeward Iſlands, entirely fruſtrated [f].

The Dutch accounts, at the ſame time, from Curoçoa, ſaid plainly, that, notwithſtanding all the bluſtering of the French, vice-admiral Benbow, with a ſmall Engliſh ſquadron, remained maſter of thoſe ſeas; nor did he fail to make uſe of this advan-

[e] Hiſtoire militaire, tom. v. and in general all the French hiſtorians, who are extremely careful to preſerve diſtinct accounts, even of ſuch ſchemes as have proved abortive; and in this they are certainly right, becauſe it ſecures their reputation with poſterity, and ſhews they did not fail from want of ſkill or attention, but from want of fortune.

[f] Hiſtoire de St. Domingue, tome iv. p. 197. Memoires hiſtoriques et chronologiques.

tage, by taking many prizes, and by giving all imaginable countenance to the private trade carried on by the Engliſh on the Spaniſh coaſts: but, in a few weeks time, the ſcene began to change; for the vice-admiral had firſt the news of M. Chateau Renaud's arrival at Martinico, with a ſquadron much ſtronger than his own; and, ſoon after, information that this ſquadron had been joined by the marquis de Coetlogon from the Havannah, which alarmed the inhabitants of Barbadoes and Jamaica exceſſively, becauſe we had no force capable of reſiſting this French fleet, in caſe their commanders were determined to act offenſively [g].

In this uncertain ſituation, things continued to the end of April, 1702, when the vice-admiral reſolved, notwithſtanding there was great want of men on board the ſquadron, to put to ſea, in order to cruize between Jamaica and Hiſpaniola; and accordingly he ſailed on the 8th of May; but, before he was quite clear of the iſland of Jamaica, he met with rear-admiral Whetſtone, with whom he returned, to communicate to the government ſome orders received from England; having firſt ſent the Falmouth, Ruby, and Experiment, to cruize off Petit Guavas. He had advice about the middle of May, that, on the 18th of the preceding month, there paſſed by Camanagoto, on Terra Firma, ſeventeen tall ſhips, which ſteered towards the weſt end of Cuba. Theſe ſhips he judged to be part of M. Chateau-Renaud's ſquadron, and that they were bound to the Havannah, to offer their ſervice for convoying home the flota; but he had not ſtrength to follow them, without ſubjecting the iſland to the inſults of thoſe ſhips which were at Leogane. Some little time after, the maſter of a Spaniſh ſloop from Cuba, acquainted him, that M. Chateau-Renaud was actually arrived at the Havannah, with twenty-ſix ſhips of war, waiting for the flota from La Vera Cruz; and this was confirmed by the ſhips he had ſent out, which, during their cruize in thoſe parts, had taken four prizes; one of them a ſhip mounted with no more than twenty-four, but capable of carrying forty guns [h].

[g] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 592. Annals of queen Anne, vol. i. p. 144. Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 337. [h] Hiſtoire de St. Domingue, tome iv. liv. xi. p. 197. Memoires hiſtorique et politique, tom. xxxiii. p. 657. Memoires hiſtoriques et chronologiques.

The

The vice-admiral being likewiſe informed, by a ſloop from Petit Guavas, that four ſhips, with proviſions, were bound from thence to the Havannah, he ſent three frigates to intercept them, between Cape St. Nicholas, and Cape Mayze, the very track leading thither; but they had not the expected ſucceſs. The ſame day he detached rear-admiral Whetſtone, with two third rates, three fourths, and a fire-ſhip, to intercept M. du Caſſe, who, he had heard, was expected at Port Lewis, at the weſt end of Hiſpaniola, a little within the iſle of Aſh, with four ſhips of war, to ſettle the Aſſiento at Carthagena, and to deſtroy the trade of the Engliſh and Dutch for negroes, reſolving to ſail himſelf, in five or ſix days, with the remainder of the ſquadron, in ſearch of theſe French ſhips, in caſe the rear-admiral ſhould miſs them [i].

I have given ſo full and particular an account, in the former part of this volume, of what happened on the admiral's ſailing to intercept du Caſſe, that I ſhall confine myſelf here to ſuch circumſtances as are perſonal only. The ſcheme formed by admiral Benbow, for the deſtruction of the French force in the Weſt Indies, and having a chance for the galleons, ſhews him to have been a very able and judicious commander, and effectually diſproves that idle and ridiculous calumny of his being a mere ſeaman. He ſaw, that the French officers were exceſſively embarraſſed by the wayward conduct of the Spaniards, who would not take a ſingle ſtep out of their own road, though for their own ſervice. He reſolved to take advantage of this, and to attack the ſmalleſt of their ſquadrons, having before ſent home ſuch an account of the number and value of the Spaniſh ſhips, and of the ſtrength of the French ſquadrons that were to eſcort them, as might enable the miniſtry to take all proper meaſures for intercepting them, either in their paſſage from the Weſt Indies, or when it ſhould be known that they were arrived in the European ſeas. When he had done this, he ſailed from Jamaica on the 11th of July, with two third rates, ſix fourths, a fire-ſhip, bomb, tender, and ſloop, in hopes of meeting rear-admiral Whetſtone; but miſſing him, he ſailed not, however, firſt to give the utmoſt di-

[i] Admiral Benbow's journal. Annals of queen Anne, vol. i. p. 163. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 303.

ſturbance to the French ſettlements in St. Domingo, and then ſailed in ſearch of du Caſſe's ſquadron, which he came up with and engaged, on Wedneſday the 19th of Auguſt, and fought him bravely for five days; which not only demonſtrates the courage and conduct of this gallant ſeaman, but the fidelity and attachment of his own ſhip's company; ſince it is impoſſible he could, in ſuch circumſtances, have maintained the engagement ſo long, if his inferior officers, and all the common ſeamen, had not been very affectionate. The French accounts, indeed, repreſent the whole affair to their own advantage; but M. du Caſſe, who was a brave man, and withal by much the beſt judge of this matter, has put the thing out of diſpute, by the following ſhort letter, written by him immediately after his arrival at Carthagena; the original of which is ſtill, or was very lately, in the hands of admiral Benbow's family [k].

"SIR,

"I had little hopes, on Monday laſt, but to have ſupped "in your cabbin: but it pleaſed God to order it other-"wiſe; I am thankful for it. As for thoſe cowardly captains "who deſerted you, hang them up; for, by ——, they de-"ſerve it.

"Yours,
"DU CASSE."

The firſt care the admiral had, after his return to Jamaica, was, to provide for the officers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the late engagement; and next, to bring thoſe to juſtice, who had ſo baſely betrayed their truſt; and in this he was ſo earneſt, that perhaps he failed a little in point of form, ſince, in order to their trial, he granted a commiſſion, which it has been queſtioned, whether he might legally do; but he certainly acted from two very excuſable reaſons; the firſt was, that he found himſelf in no condition to preſide in a court-martial, having been ill of a fever, which enſued upon cutting off his leg from the time of his coming a-ſhore; the other, that, in caſe he had

[k] The copy of this letter I received from Mr. Calton, whoſe authority I have ſo often mentioned.

been

been able to aſſiſt upon that occaſion, he was deſirous of declining it, from his having ſo great a perſonal intereſt in the affair. After the court-martial was over, the admiral lived near a month; for that court ſat on the 6th of October, and the admiral died on the 4th of November following [l].

He was all that time extremely ſenſible of his danger, and never entertained any flattering hopes of recovery. Yet, during that long illneſs, he ſupported his character as an Engliſh admiral, with the ſame firmneſs he had ſhewn during the engagement, giving all the neceſſary orders for protecting the trade, that could have been expected from him, if he had been in perfect health; and, in the letters he wrote home to his lady, he diſcovered much greater anxiety for the intereſt of the nation, than for his private fortune, or the concerns of his family. The queen had ſo juſt a regard for the memory of this gallant man, that ſhe ſpoke of his loſs with great regret; and, as I have already ſhewn, would not ſuffer herſelf to be teazed into an ill-timed act of mercy (though, like all her family, moſt tender in her own nature) towards thoſe, who, through their cowardice, were ſprinkled with his blood. His ſiſter had, in his life-time, preſented the admiral's picture to the corporation of Shrewſbury, who cauſed it to be hung up in their town-hall; where it ſtill remains, as a teſtimony of the regard his countrymen had for this worthy officer and true patriot [m].

The vice-admiral left behind him a numerous poſterity of both ſexes; but his ſons dying, all of them without iſſue, his two ſurviving daughters, became co-heireſſes; and of theſe, the eldeſt married Paul Calton, Eſq; of Milton, near Abington, in the county of Berks. John Benbow, one of his ſons, claims ſome notice in a work of this nature, independent of his relation to his gallant father. He was bred to the ſea, and went to the

[l] London Gazette, N°. 3886. Hiſtory of Europe, for 1702, p. 497. Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 339.

[m] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 598. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 49, 50, 51. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 303. Columna roſtrata, p. 291. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. xxxiv. p. 335, where it is ſaid, his body was ſent for home in order to be ſolemnly interred at the public expence, which, conſidering the manner of his death, would have been certainly right.

East Indies in quality of fourth mate, on board the Degrave, captain William Young, commander, which ship passed through the Downs, on February 19, 1701, when admiral Benbow lay there with his squadron, ready to proceed to the West Indies. The Degrave was a fine ship, of 700 tons, and carried fifty-two guns; she was bound for Fort St. George, in the East Indies, where she safely arrived, and proceeded from thence to Bengal, where her captain and first mate died; by which means the command devolved on the captain's son, who was second mate, and Mr. John Benbow became second mate. From Bengal, they sailed for the Cape of Good Hope; but, in going out of the river, the ship ran a-ground and stuck fast; she floated again the next high tide, and put to sea with little or no damage, as they then imagined; but they very soon after found her so leaky, that they were forced to keep two chain-pumps continually going; in this condition they sailed two months, before they reached the island of St. Maurice, at that time inhabited by the Dutch, who received them kindly, gave them all the assistance in their power, permitting them to set up a tent on shore, into which they brought most part of their cargo, having unladen their ship, in order to search for the leak; which, however, they could not find. After about a month's stay at the island before-mentioned, and taking on board about fifty Lascars, or mooriſh seamen, they sailed directly for the Cape of Good Hope; they had then about one hundred and seventy hands on board, and, though the Lascars could not do much in point of navigation, they were, however, of great use, as they eased the English seamen from the labour of pumping. Yet, after all, it was fatal for them, that this rash resolution was taken, of putting to sea before they stopped, or even discovered the leak; for in a few days time it gained so much upon them, that, notwithstanding they pumped day and night, it was as much as they could do, to keep the vessel above water, though they were still above six hundred leagues from their intended port[n].

[n] Most of this account is taken from the travels of Robert Drury; which book, so far as it relates to Mr. Benbow, is very exact, as I have been informed by this gentleman's relations, from whom also I had some other circumstances, which the reader will find interspersed through this remarkable history.

The

The ſhip's company, believing that common danger put them all on an equality, repreſented to captain Young, that his deſign of proceeding to the Cape, was become impracticable; and that therefore the wiſeſt thing he could do, was to make the neareſt land, which was that of Madagaſcar, to the ſouthward of which, they had ſailed about an hundred leagues. The captain complied with their advice, and endeavoured to run the ſhip on ſhore; but that was found impracticable likewiſe; ſo that when they were within a quarter of a mile of the coaſt, they let go an anchor firſt, and then cut down all her maſts and rigging, and threw their guns and goods overboard, in hopes of making the ſhip ſwim nearer; but this being found alſo impoſſible, and having already loſt their long-boat and pinnace, they reſolved to make a raft, which they did in the night; and the next morning Mr. Pratt, their chief mate, with four men, went in a little boat on ſhore with a rope, by which they propoſed to warp the raft.

This boat was ſtaved to pieces, before it reached the land; but the men eſcaped, and ſecured the rope, which brought the raft on ſhore, with the reſt of the ſhip's company, except the captain, who remained laſt on board the ſhip, and did not leave her, till he found ſhe began to break to pieces, and then he threw himſelf into the ſea, and ſwam a-ſhore. They were quickly made priſoners by the king of that part of the iſland, who carried them fifty miles up into the country, where they found one captain Drummond, and one captain Stewart, with a few of their ſhip's crew, in the ſame ſituation with themſelves; and who ſoon let them into a perfect knowledge of their condition, by aſſuring them that the king intended to make them ſerve him in his wars, and would never permit them to return to Europe; which ſtruck them, as may be imagined, with the utmoſt conſternation [o].

In

[o] This captain Drummond is the ſame I have mentioned in my former volume, as commander of the Riſing Sun, a ſhip belonging to the Scots Eaſt India company; he came to trade at Madagaſcar, and while his ſhip lay at anchor, ſhe was ſurprized by a pirate, who ſuffered the captain, with his friend captain Stewart, and a few hands, to go aſhore in the long-boat, in the territories of the ſame prince who made Mr. Benbow priſoner. It was for the ſuppoſed murder of this captain Drummond, that one captain Green, a very honeſt Engliſh gentleman,

In this diſtreſs, the captains Drummond, Stewart, and Young, held a conſultation, in conjunction with Mr. Pratt, and Mr. Benbow, in which captain Drummond propoſed it, as the only expedient by which they could poſſibly recover their liberty, to ſeize the black king, and march off with him priſoner into ſome other province of the iſland, where the ſhips more frequently came. Mr. Benbow warmly eſpouſed this propoſal, and aſſiſted with great courage in the execution of it, which was performed with more eaſe than was expected; and the king, his ſon, and his queen, were made priſoners; but the queen was releaſed by captain Young, out of mere pity. It is not very eaſy to conceive a bolder enterprize than this, when between fifty and ſixty white people, and not above half of theſe armed, carried off a black prince, out of the midſt of his capital, and in the ſight of ſome hundreds, nay, ſome thouſands, of his ſubjects, better armed than themſelves; who were, notwithſtanding, reſtrained from firing upon them, by captain Young's threatening immediately to kill their king if they did.

Afterwards, however, they miſmanaged the thing ſtrangely; for, upon a propoſal made by the negroes to give them ſix guns for their king, it was agreed to give him up, upon a ſuppoſition that the blacks would then follow them no farther; and this, notwithſtanding Mr. Benbow warmly oppoſed it, and ſhewed them the miſchievous conſequences with which ſo wild a meaſure muſt be attended. The king being given up, the blacks ſtill continued to follow them, though at a diſtance, at laſt it was agreed to give up the prince too, upon a ſuppoſition, that this would put an end to the purſuit; taking, however, three

tleman, his mate, Mr. Mather, and ſeveral other perſons, were executed in Scotland, on the teſtimony of a black, and more had been executed, but for the care of the late worthy duke of Argyle, who interpoſed out of pure generoſity, and procured their pardons. I remember, while a boy, to have ſeen this captain Green's original journal, in the cuſtody of a merchant in Edinburgh, who did him all the ſervice in his power, at the hazard of his own life; from which journal it appeared, that they only met with captain Drummond at ſea, as they were homeward bound, on board whoſe ſhip captain Green dined, and received from him a preſent of a bible, which was made uſe of to corroborate the black's evidence; who, from a wicked ſpirit of revenge, perjured himſelf, that he might murder his maſter.

people,

people, who, the blacks told them, were the principal men in their country, by way of hoſtages, of whom two ſoon made their eſcape; and then the blacks not only purſued them, but began to fire upon them, which hitherto they had not done. The weakneſs of their own conduct, and the wiſdom of Mr. Benbow's advice, was by this time viſible to every body; and, as it now appeared clearly they had nothing for it but fighting, they began to diſpoſe their little army in order of battle. Thirty-ſix armed men were divided into four bodies, commanded by the three captains and Mr. Benbow; but, after an engagement that laſted from noon till ſix in the evening, it was agreed to treat. The negroes demanded their arms, and then promiſed to let them go; and, at the perſuaſion of captain Young, this wild propoſition was accepted, though vigorouſly oppoſed by Mr. Benbow; but, when it came to be put in execution, the captains Drummond and Stewart [p], with four or five of their crew, refuſed to deliver their arms, and marched off unperceived in the night, accompanied by Mr. Benbow, and got ſafe to Port Dauphine, while the reſt were cruelly murdered, except one Robert Drury, a boy of fifteen or ſixteen years old, whom they preſerved, and made a ſlave. As for Mr. Benbow, after remaining ſeveral years amongſt the negroes, where he lived after their manner, and went naked, he eſcaped on board a Dutch ſhip, the captain of which had been well acquainted with his father, and, for his ſake, treated him with great kindneſs and reſpect [q].

[p] The reader may, perhaps, be deſirous of knowing what became of this captain Drummond, of which nothing more can be ſaid, than what is found in the travels of Drury, who remained ſo many years upon the iſland. He informs us, that he ſaw captain Drummond once, ſeveral years after they parted, and that he was then at liberty, and lived as happily as it was poſſible for a man of his education to do in ſuch a country; and he farther adds, that the year he came away, which was in 1716, he was informed, that captain Drummond had been killed by a negro; but without any particular circumſtances.

[q] I had this particular of Mr. Benbow's eſcape, in a Dutch ſhip, from ſeveral perſons of Mr. Benbow's acquaintance, who had received it from his own mouth; for his eſcape was ſo wonderful, and attended with ſuch ſurpriſing circumſtances, that many people had the curioſity to viſit Mr. Benbow, in order to hear it from himſelf, in which he very readily gratified them, though otherwiſe a man of much taciturnity.

This Mr. John Benbow lived many years after here in England, and compoſed a work, intitled, "A complete deſcrip-"tion of the ſouth part of the Iſland of Madagaſcar;" which was a very curious and accurate performance, and therefore, often borrowed by his acquaintance, with ſome of whom it ſtill remains; nor have the family, after the ſtricteſt ſearch, been able to retrieve it. It would be certainly a kind preſent to the learned world, and, at the ſame time, an act of great juſtice to the memory of Mr. Benbow, if any gentleman, in whoſe hands it now is, would publiſh it, becauſe it contains many things of a commercial, as well as hiſtorical and philoſophical nature. I do not know whether, ſtrictly ſpeaking, ſo long an account of Mr. Benbow's misfortunes be reconcileable to a work of this nature; but as the recital of them cannot but be entertaining to the reader; and as ſo many remarkable facts might have been buried in oblivion, if I had not taken this occaſion to preſerve them, I hope I ſhall at leaſt ſtand excuſed, if not juſtified, for the liberty I have taken; and, in this hope, I return to the thread of my hiſtory, and to the memoirs which occur next in order of time[r].

[r] As I have made great uſe of Drury's travels, I think it neceſſary to inſert the following certificate, by captain William Mackett, whoſe reputation was ſo well eſtabliſhed, both for underſtanding and probity, that nobody judged it poſſible for him to be either deceived himſelf in a caſe of this nature, or capable of entering into a deſign of deceiving or amuſing others; and, therefore, his certificate ſeems ſufficient to eſtabliſh this author's credit. It runs thus:

"This is to certify, That Robert Drury, fifteen years a ſlave in Madagaſ-"car, now living in London, was redeemed from thence, and brought into Eng-"land, his native country, by myſelf. I eſteem him an honeſt, induſtrious man, "of good reputation, and do firmly believe, that the account he gives of his "ſtrange and ſurpriſing adventures is genuine and authentic.

"May 7, 1728. W. MACKETT."

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS of SIR RALPH DELAVAL, Knt. Vice-admiral of the Red, and Joint-admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet.

IT is a misfortune, which we muſt be content to deplore, without hopes of redreſs, ſince it is a misfortune flowing from liberty, that in all free countries the greateſt men are liable to be ſacrificed to clamour; and innocence is not always a ſecurity againſt the ſhafts of envy. This was the caſe of the gentleman of whom we are now to ſpeak, and who, in the ſhort ſpace of one ſingle ſummer, was in the higheſt credit, loſt it, and was actually laid aſide: ſo fluctuating a thing is human happineſs; ſo fickle a poſſeſſion is popularity, and ſo little to be depended on a prince's favour! Theſe are the reflections that will naturally ariſe on the reading the memoirs of our admiral; and they are premiſed only to ſhew, that I think as the reader does, and do not believe myſelf obliged to follow the humours of thoſe, who have treated his memory with the ſame prejudice with which they purſued him living.

Sir Ralph Delaval was the ſon of a worthy gentleman in the north of England, of the ſame name, diſtinguiſhed for his loyalty to king Charles I. and king Charles II. and to whoſe houſe general Leſley had leave given him by Cromwell to retire, after the fatal battle of Worceſter [s]. Mr. Ralph Delaval came very early into the navy, under the protection of the duke of York, who treated him with great kindneſs, and took care he ſhould not loſe his turn in preferment. By this means it was, that he came to be captain of the York, a third rate man of war, in which ſtation the revolution found him [t].

He concurred heartily in that great change, though he had no hand in making it; and, therefore, king William, who was

[s] Complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1707, p. 445. [t] Memoirs of the ſtate of the royal navy of England for ten years, ending December 1688, by Samuel Pepys, Eſq; ſecretary to the admiralty, during the reigns of king Charles II. and king James II. London, 1690, 12mo, p. 165.

a prince of great penetration, ſoon promoted him to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue; and at the ſame time conferred upon him the honour of knighthood; in this ſtation he ſerved under the earl of Torrington, in the famous battle off Beachy-Head, in which the Engliſh and Dutch fleets were beat by the French on the 30th of June, 1690; but without any impeachment of his own character, either in point of courage or conduct, as appears plainly by his being appointed preſident of the court-martial which tried the earl, and which ſat on board the Kent, on the 10th of December in the ſame year, and in which he was unanimouſly acquitted; and, if I miſtake not, the ſhare he had in that affair ſubjected him to the hatred of a certain ſet of men ever after; but that he was in reality no way to blame, will appear by his being immediately after declared vice-admiral of the blue by king William, in which ſtation he ſerved, the next year, under admiral Ruſſel; and, in the winter of the ſame year, was appointed to command a ſquadron in the Soundings; where, if he did little, it was owing to the bad ſeaſon of the year, and contrary winds, by which he was four times beat back into Torbay; however, he punctually executed his orders, and thereby hindered the French from relieving Limerick, which much facilitated the reduction of the kingdom of Ireland [u].

In 1692, when it was known the French were fitting out by far the greateſt fleet they ever had at ſea, he was appointed to ſerve under admiral Ruſſel, was alſo declared vice-admiral of the red, and intruſted with a large ſquadron of Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, with orders to cruize for our homeward-bound fleet from the Mediterranean, and then join the main fleet; which he performed with great conduct and ſucceſs; and having firſt ſeen ſeventy of our merchant-men ſafe into port, he next, according to his inſtructions, joined admiral Ruſſel on the 13th of May, at St. Helen's; which was then juſtly conſidered as a very ſignal ſervice, for, if he had been twenty-four

[u] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 428. Biſhop Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. i. p. 375.

hour

hours later, it might have been of the greateſt prejudice to the ſervice [w].

On the 15th of the ſame month, a council of war was called of all the flag-officers on board the fleet, wherein it was reſolved, in obedience to the poſitive commands of queen Mary who was then regent, to ſail the firſt fair weather for the coaſt of France. In this council of war the admiral took notice of an intimation which had been given him by the ſecretary of ſtate, that reports were ſpread, as if ſeveral captains of the fleet had given ſecret aſſurances to king James's friends on ſhore, of their readineſs to join them, and of their confidence that they ſhould be able to carry over a great part of the fleet. As nobody knew againſt whom this information was particularly pointed, it was thought neceſſary, that the queen might be thoroughly ſatisfied of their loyalty and integrity, to draw up the following paper, which was done upon the ſpot [x].

" We, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects and ſer-
" vants, flag-officers and captains in your majeſty's fleet, out
" of a deep and grateful ſenſe of your majeſty's good and juſt
" opinion of our loyalty and fidelity, imparted to us by the
" right honourable admiral Ruſſel, in a letter to him from the
" earl of Nottingham, principal ſecretary of ſtate, do, in be-
" half of ourſelves, and all the other officers and ſeamen,
" humbly preſume to addreſs ourſelves to your majeſty at this
" juncture, to undeceive the world as to thoſe falſe and mali-
" cious reports which have been lately ſpread in prejudice of
" your majeſty's ſervice, by people diſaffected to the govern-
" ment, and who have an averſion to the quiet and good of
" their country; that there are ſome among us who are not
" truly zealous for, and entirely devoted to, the preſent happy
" eſtabliſhment. We do, therefore, moſt humbly beg leave to
" add to our repeated oaths, this aſſurance of our fidelity:
" That we will, with all imaginable alacrity and reſolution,

[w] Burchet's naval memoirs, p. 134, 135. This is a proof of his zeal and activity in the ſervice, independent of its conſequences.

[x] Lond. Gaz. N°. 2767. Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 640. Biſhop Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 92.

" venture

" venture ourſelves in the defence of the government, and of " the religion and liberty of our country, againſt all Popiſh in- " vaders whatſoever. And, that God Almighty may preſerve " your majeſty's moſt ſacred perſon, direct your councils, and " proſper your arms by ſea and land againſt your enemies, " may all people ſay Amen, with your majeſty's moſt dutiful " and loyal ſubjects. Dated on board the Britannia, at St. He- " len's, the 15th of May, 1692." This addreſs was ſigned by Sir John Aſhby, admiral of the blue; Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red; George Rooke, Eſq; vice-admiral of the blue; Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, rear-admiral of the red; Richard Carter, Eſq; rear-admiral of the blue; and all the captains of the fleet [y].

On the 18th of May, admiral Ruſſel ſtood over to the French coaſt; and, on the 19th, engaged the enemy in the glorious battle of La Hogue; in which Sir Ralph Delaval, as vice-admiral of the red, did his duty with great reputation, and, purſuant to the admiral's order, formed the rear of the fleet in ſuch a manner, that though ſeveral of the French ſhips that had ſuffered leaſt, hovered round, and attempted to do miſchief, they were obliged, at length, to ſeek their ſafety, as the reſt of the fleet had done before, by a plain flight [z]; and he afterwards did remarkable ſervice in deſtroying ſome of the enemy's largeſt ſhips [a].

It was natural to expect, after ſo gallant an action as this, that every officer who had a ſignal concern therein, ſhould be encouraged and promoted; but it fell out, in ſome meaſure, otherwiſe, from that cauſe which is generally fatal to the merits of Engliſh officers, the power of party-intereſt. A ſpirit

[y] It would have been of ſome uſe, if the names of theſe captains had been printed, of which I take notice, in order, as far as is in my power, to prevent future omiſſions of the like kind, which defeat us of lights in hiſtory, which are often of more conſequence than perhaps the writers of the Gazettes can imagine.

[z] See the admiral's letter to the earl of Nottingham, and all the relations hitherto publiſhed of that engagement, in which this fact of preſerving the rear of our fleet is allowed to have ſecured and eſtabliſhed the victory, and to have contributed the moſt of any thing to the defeat of the French.

[a] Life of king William, p. 332. Burchet's naval memoirs, p. 145. Larrey hiſtoire d'Angleterre, tome iv. p. 712.

had

had been raiſed againſt admiral Ruſſel, who commanded in chief; and king William, for certain reaſons, found himſelf under a neceſſity of laying that great man aſide, which alſo obliged him to put the command of the fleet into commiſſion [b].

Accordingly, Henry Killegrew, Eſq; Sir Ralph Delaval, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, Knts. were appointed joint-admirals of the fleet, which was reputed one of the greateſt the maritime powers had ever ſent to ſea [c]. In the month of May, the admirals formed their line of battle at St. Helen's, which conſiſted of ſeventy ſhips of the line, thirteen frigates, nineteen fire-ſhips, beſides brigantines, bomb-veſſels, and hoſpital-ſhips. Biſhop Burnet [d], and ſome other writers, would have us believe, that the inactivity of this mighty naval armament was owing to the ſecret inclination that two of the admirals, Killegrew and Delaval, had for the ſervice of king James; but the real truth of the matter was, that the fleet was not either victualled or manned; the men being put to ſhort allowance at their firſt going to ſea, and five regiments of foot ordered on board from Portſmouth, purely to make up an appearance of manning.

Beſides all this, the miniſtry were abſolutely deceived in their intelligence; in conſequence of which they ſent impracticable, inconſiſtent, and, at laſt, contrary orders. For, firſt, the admirals were enjoined to attack the French fleet at Breſt, to which port it was believed the Toulon ſquadron was already come, and diſpoſitions were accordingly made for that ſervice; but, upon ſending the Warſpight to look into Breſt, it was found there was not ſo much as a ſhip there. Before the return of this frigate, the grand fleet had convoyed Sir George Rooke, with the great Turkey fleet under his care, twenty leagues farther than it was firſt intended; and yet they had ſcarce parted with them, before they had an account, that the Toulon ſquadron was actually in the Mediterranean. It was

[b] Burchet's naval memoirs, p. 157, where it appears, that admiral Ruſſel was exceedingly uneaſy at his having nothing to do, but ly toſſing at ſea, expecting troops, tranſports, and orders, which came at laſt ſo prepoſterouſly, that after all he could do nothing. This uneaſineſs was eſteemed pride and peeviſhneſs, for which the ſubverter of the naval power of France, as this gentleman was owned to be, in the medals ſtruck for the victory, was for the preſent deprived of command.

[c] See vol. ii. p. 376.

[d] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 103.

then

then propoſed, in a council of war, to follow Sir George to Liſbon; but this deſign was laid aſide for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe the court having already ſent orders to Sir George to return, it was very uncertain, whether they ſhould be able to meet him; and, ſecondly, becauſe upon a review of their proviſions, and after an equal repartition of them it was found, they had not ſufficient for ſuch an expedition, even at ſhort allowance [e].

The admirals having communicated all this to the court, orders were ſent them, on the 25th of Auguſt, to return to St. Helen's, which they did; and having landed the regiments they had on board, the fleet ſeparated, part of the great ſhips were laid up, and the remainder were appointed for a winter guard; and thus (if they can be ſo called) the operations of the campaign ended [f]. The misfortune that befel Sir George Rooke, and the Turkey fleet under his convoy, naturally occaſioned a great clamour; and upon this, a very ſtrict inquiry was made into the affair, firſt by the privy-council, and then by parliament, where, on the 17th of November, the houſe of commons came to a reſolution, "That, in the affair of convoying "Sir George Rooke to ſea, there had been a notorious and treacherous miſmanagement;" and yet, when the queſtion was put for cenſuring the admirals who commanded in chief, it met with a negative [g].

We muſt therefore, in order to reconcile theſe two votes,

[e] This is among the number of thoſe tranſactions, which never are to be underſtood from general hiſtories, and which are with very great difficulty unravelled in a houſe of commons. He who obeys orders does his duty certainly, though he ſhould do his country injury by his obedience, becauſe a general example of diſobedience is of much worſe conſequence than any particular wrong ſtep with regard to the conduct of an expedition; and beſides, if you take away this general rule of obedience, it is impoſſible for men to know how to conduct themſelves from the higheſt to the loweſt ſtation; add to all which, that where men receive doubtful, perplexed, and confuſed orders, they ought, in regard to their own ſafety, to adhere cloſely to the letter, and leave ſuch as drew the orders to anſwer for them.

[f] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 490. The preſent ſtate of Europe for the month of Auguſt, 1693. London Gazette, No. 2901. [g] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 657. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 87. Chandler's debates, vol. ii. p. 420, 422.

ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe the opinion of the houſe of commons to have been, that this notorious and treacherous miſmanagement was not in them: And indeed biſhop Burnet, though he condemns the admirals, has left us ſuch an account of their juſtification, as ſeems to confirm this ſuppoſition; for he ſays, that the orders ſent them from the cabinet council, were ill given, and worſe executed [h]. Now, it may be queſtioned, how bad orders can be well executed? But the Biſhop goes farther; he tells us, that theſe orders were weakly drawn, ambiguous and defective; to which he adds, that the admirals ſhewed no other ſign of zeal, than in ſtrictly obeying theſe orders. I ſhould be glad to know, what other zeal they could ſhew, when under ſuch inſtructions, and with a fleet in ſuch a condition [i].

The buſineſs, however, ended in laying Mr. Killegrew and Sir Ralph Delaval aſide; and, to ſpeak my ſentiments freely, I believe this to be as much the effect of party-ſpirit, as the laying aſide admiral Ruſſel was the year before. As for Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, he happened to be in favour with the party that diſliked the other two admirals, and ſo he eſcaped, though he had concurred with them in every thing. I do not ſay this, with the ſmalleſt deſign of reflecting on the memory of that brave man, who, I am entirely perſuaded, was not at all culpable; but only to ſhew the pernicious effects of party intrigues, by which all things were then governed: I wiſh I could ſay, that nothing like it has ever happened ſince [k].

[h] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 125.

[i] If it had ever occurred to biſhop Burnet, that the abſurd, confuſed, indigeſted orders, which himſelf ſuggeſts ſo diſguſted admiral Ruſſel, as to hinder his doing any thing of conſequence, after his glorious victory the year before, came from the very ſame perſons who puzzled and perplexed the joint admirals, he would not have imputed diſaffection to them, but have acquieſced with the houſe of commons in cenſuring their inactivity without loading the commanders.

[k] In ſuch caſes, the faireſt way is to take the judgment of the ſailors. If a man, who has been unfortunate, retains the love of ſuch as he commanded; there ſeems to be no reaſon for laying him aſide, becauſe ſuch an officer, when employed again, will be more vigilant than any other, in order to retrieve his credit; and the French have, generally ſpeaking, purſued this maxim with equal honour and advantage. It is always right to puniſh bad conduct in an officer, even where he has ſucceſs; but to puniſh a good officer merely for want of ſucceſs, is barbarous and baſe; contrary to the maxims of diſcipline and good policy.

Sir Ralph Delaval lived thenceforward privately, as a country gentleman, upon his own eſtate, which was very conſiderable, and troubled not himſelf with public affairs. He died in the beginning of the month of January, 1707, and on the 23d of the ſame month was buried with great ſolemnity in Weſtminſter-Abbey. The violence of party-prejudice being then abated, he went to the grave with the reputation of a great and gallant officer, and of a generous, hoſpitable man; which, according to the beſt accounts I have been able to procure, he certainly deſerved; though he was ſo unfortunate as to paſs nine years of his life in an obſcure retirement, and that too, in a ſeaſon when his ſervice might have been moſt uſeful to his country[1].

MEMOIRS of SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, Knight, Rear-Admiral of England, &c.

IT is certainly a juſt obſervation, that virtue alone creates nobility. He who enjoys a title by birth, derives it from the virtue of his anceſtors; and he who raiſes himſelf into high rank, which is a ſort of ſelf-creation, ſupplies the want of anceſtors by perſonal merit. Under all free governments, the latter ought to be encouraged, as well as the former reſpected; for, as every ſuch government muſt flouriſh or decline, according to that portion of public ſpirit, which is found among its ſubjects; ſo the only means by which this ſpirit can be either excited or maintained, is the proper diſtribution of rewards, and the ſtrict puniſhment of criminals. Where virtue is neglected, and vice unpuniſhed, corruption is at the height, and the diſſolution of that ſtate near at hand.

We were not in any ſuch ſituation, at the time this brave man was born, which was about the year 1650. His parents were but in middling circumſtances; and as they had ſome expectations from a relation, whoſe name was Cloudeſley, they thought fit to beſtow that name upon their ſon, as a probable means of recommending him to this relation's notice. But, whether they

[1] The complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1707, p. 447. Le Neve's monumenta Anglicana, p. 121. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. xlii. p. 180.

were

were diſappointed in their views, or, from what other accident it aroſe, I am not able to ſay; but ſo it was, that young Cloudeſley Shovel was put out apprentice to a mean trade, I think to that of a ſhoemaker, to which he applied himſelf for ſome years; but being of an aſpiring diſpoſition, and finding no appearance of raiſing his fortune in that way, he betook himſelf to the ſea, under the protection of Sir John Narborough, with whom, I ſpeak it to his honour, he went as a cabin-boy; but applying himſelf very aſſiduouſly to navigation, and having naturally a genius for that art, he ſoon became an able ſeaman; and as thoſe were ſtirring times, in which merit always thrives, he quickly arrived at preferment. This he, in a great meaſure, owed to the favour of that famous perſon, who, having been cabin-boy to Sir Chriſtopher Mynnes, was a man who raiſed himſelf to the higheſt honours of his profeſſion, by mere dint of capacity, and therefore proved a generous patron of all who diſcovered any extraordinary degree of worth, and this was what recommended Mr. Shovel to his notice [m].

After the cloſe of the ſecond Dutch war, our merchants, in the Mediterranean, found themſelves very much diſtreſſed by the piratical ſtate of Tripoli; which, notwithſtanding ſeveral treaties of peace that had been concluded with them, began to commit freſh depredations, almoſt as early as the Dutch war broke out. As ſoon, therefore, as the king found himſelf at leiſure, he ordered a ſtrong ſquadron into thoſe parts, to repreſs the inſolence of theſe corſairs, under the command of Sir John Narborough, who arrived before Tripoli in the ſpring of the year 1674, where he found all things in very good order for his reception. The appearance of the enemy's ſtrength, joined to the nature of his inſtructions, which directed him to try negociation rather than force, determined him to ſend a perſon in whom he could confide, to the Dey of Tripoli, to propoſe terms of accommodation, and thoſe too very moderate in their nature; for he deſired only ſatisfaction for what was paſt, and ſecurity for the time to come. The admiral intruſted Mr. Shovel with this meſſage, who accordingly went on ſhore, and delivered it with great ſpirit. But the Dey, deſpiſing his youth, treated

[m] Complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1707, p. 499.

him with much diſreſpect, and ſent him back with an indefinite anſwer [n].

Mr. Shovel, on his return to the admiral, acquainted him with ſome remarks he had made on ſhore: Sir John ſent him back again with another meſſage, and well furniſhed with proper rules for conducting his inquiries and obſervations. The Dey's behaviour was worſe the ſecond time; but Mr. Shovel, though naturally warm, bore it with wonderful patience, and made uſe of it as an excuſe for ſtaying ſome time longer on ſhore. When he returned, he aſſured the admiral, that it was very practicable to burn the ſhips in the harbour, notwithſtanding their lines and forts: accordingly, in the night of the 4th of March, lieutenant Shovel, with all the boats in the fleet, filled with combuſtible matter, went boldly into the harbour, and, as I have already related in another place [o], deſtroyed the enemy's ſhips, with a degree of ſucceſs ſcarce to be conceived; of which Sir John Narborough gave ſo honourable an account in all his letters, that the next year Mr. Shovel had the command given him of the Sapphire, a fifth rate, from whence he was not long after removed into the James galley, a fourth rate, in which he continued to the death of king Charles II. who firſt raiſed, and had always a great kindneſs for him [p].

There were reaſons which engaged king James to employ captain Shovel, though he was a man far enough from being in his favour; accordingly he was preferred to the command of the Dover, a fourth rate, in which ſituation he was, when the re-

[n] The reader has ſeen the whole of this affair in the former volume, which plainly ſhews, of how great importance it is to excite and encourage an obſerving ſpirit, and an intrepid valour in young officers, Sir John Narborough frankly aſcribing this important ſervice to the courage, and, which is more, to the conduct of his boy Shovel, as he always called him.

[o] See vol. ii. p. 165.

[p] Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, volume iii. p. 355. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 404. Columna roſtrata, p. 251, and Sir John Narborough's letter to Sir Paul Rycaut. Memoirs of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, p. 12. This hardy enterprize was not only highly honourable to the reputation of the Engliſh arms at ſea, but of infinite conſequence to our commerce; which remained from this time forward ſafe from the inſults of theſe barbarous and thieviſh enemies, who were now convinced, that forts and lines were no ſecurities againſt the courage of Engliſh ſeamen.

volution

volution took place [q]. This was very fortunate for captain Shovel, as well as very agreeable to his way of thinking; which, together with his activity in the ſervice, (for he was in every engagement almoſt that happened during that reign), made him very conſpicuous, and made his riſe in the navy as quick as he could wiſh. He was in the firſt battle, I mean that of Bantry-bay, in the Edgar, a third rate, and gave ſuch ſignal marks of his courage and conduct, that when king William came down to Portſmouth, he was pleaſed, on the recommendation of admiral Herbert, who, for that action, was raiſed to the dignity of earl of Torrington, to confer upon him and captain Aſhby, of the Defiance, the honour of knighthood [r].

This was ſoon followed by further ſervices, as they were by additional rewards; for Sir Cloudeſley, after cruizing in the Soundings, and on the coaſt of Ireland, during the winter of the year 1690, and the enſuing ſpring, was, in the month of June, employed in convoying king William and his army into Ireland; who was ſo highly ſatisfied with his diligence and dexterity, (for without queſtion, in matters of this nature, he was one of the ableſt commanders ever put to ſea), that he was graciouſly pleaſed, not only to appoint him rear-admiral of the blue, but did him alſo the honour, with his own hands, to deliver him his commiſſion [s].

After performing this ſervice, it was intended he ſhould have joined the grand fleet; but on the 10th of July, king William receiving information, that the enemy intended to ſend upwards of twenty ſmall frigates, the biggeſt not above thirty-ſix guns, into St. George's channel, to burn the tranſport-ſhips, he was ordered to cruize off Scilly, or in ſuch a ſtation as he ſhould judge moſt proper for preventing that deſign; and to ſend frigates to ply eaſtward and weſtward, to gain intelligence of the body of the French fleet, ſo that he might be the better able to provide for his own ſafety. And they, upon meeting with vice-

[q] Pepy's memoirs of the royal navy of England, p. 164. [r] An impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington, p. 20. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 11. Memoirs of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, p. 20. [s] Burchet's memoirs, p. 58. Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 598. Memoirs of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, p. 27.

admiral

admiral Killegrew, in his return from the Streights, were to give him notice of all circumſtances, that ſo he might likewiſe take care not to be intercepted [t].

He cruized up and down in the aforeſaid ſtation, till the 21ſt of July, without meeting any thing remarkable; and then the Dover and Experiment joined him from the coaſt of Ireland, with a ketch that came out of Kingſale, on board of which was colonel Hacket, captain John Hamilton, Archibald Cockburn, Eſq; Anthony Thompſon, Eſq; captain Thomas Power, Mr. William Sutton, and ſix ſervants, who were following king James to France, in order to their accompanying him in his intended expedition to England. They gave Sir Cloudeſley an account, that king James took ſhipping at Duncannon, and ſailed to Kingſale; but after ſtaying there a little above two hours, he proceeded to France, with two Spaniſh frigates, that had lain there for that purpoſe a conſiderable time; and that he carried with him the lord Powis, Sir Roger Strickland, and captain Richard Trevanion [u].

Sir Cloudeſley Shovel ſailed afterwards to Kingſale, and, as I have ſhewn in the former volume, did all that could reaſonably be expected from him, in regard to what was preſcribed by his orders, and yet without much ſucceſs. But an opportunity quickly offered of demonſtrating his zeal and affection for the ſervice. General Kirke, with a handful of troops, was before the ſtrong town of Waterford, which he could not take, on account of the numerous garriſon in Duncannon caſtle, commanded by general Bourk, who profeſſed his reſolution to defend both town and fort, as long as one ſtone remained upon another; Sir Cloudeſley rightly gueſſed, that a good part of this bravery proceeded from certain intelligence, that Mr. Kirke had not a ſingle piece of cannon; upon which he ſent him word, that he was ready to aſſiſt him from his ſquadron, not only with

[t] Theſe expeditions, which give little pleaſure to either author or reader, are moſt perilous to ſea officers. If they perform all they are commanded, which is always difficult, not always poſſible, there is no praiſe to be hoped. But, if they fail, a ſtorm of clamour ariſes, and as men of courage are ſeldom men of art, 'tis odds they ſuffer ſhipwreck on ſhore.

[u] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 431. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1707, p. 502. Memoirs of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel.

guns,

guns, but with boats and men; which, on the general's accepting this propoſition, he accordingly did; and then general Bourk was ſo prudent as to ſurrender the place, before there was ſo much as one ſtone beat from another[w].

The remainder of the year 1690 was ſpent by Sir Cloudeſley for the moſt part in cruizing, till he was ordered to make part of Sir George Rooke's ſquadron, which eſcorted the king to Holland, in the month of January following[x]. On the 13th of April his majeſty landed in England, when having given directions for haſtening out the fleet, and diſpatched other affairs of great importance, that prince embarked again for Holland, on the 1ſt of May, and on the 18th of October following returned to England, in the Mary yacht, being then alſo attended by a ſquadron of men of war, under the command of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel[y].

It was his felicity, that, as his ſervices were well intended, ſo, generally ſpeaking, they were well received; and, if Sir Cloudeſley Shovel at any time miſſed of ſucceſs, nobody ever pretended to fix imputations upon his conduct. His courage, and his ſincerity, were alike unqueſtionable; and though this was not the moſt credulous age, yet there never was heard of ſuch an infidel, as one who did not believe Shovel had both.

On this account, moſt people were very well ſatisfied, when the king, in the ſpring of the year 1692, and juſt before he ſet out for Holland, declared him rear-admiral of the red; and, at the ſame time, commander of the ſquadron that was to convoy him thither[z]. On his return from thence, he joined admiral Ruſſel with the grand fleet, and had a great ſhare in the danger, and as great a ſhare in the glory of the famous victory at La Hogue. For the French, after an engagement for ſome hours, breaking their line, and Tourville being diſcovered to tow away northward, when the weather cleared up, the Engliſh admiral gave the ſignal for chacing, and ſent notice to all the ſhips, that the

[w] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 57. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. Hiſtory of the wars in Ireland, p. 138, 139.

[x] Burchet's memoirs, p. 63. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 612. The preſent ſtate of Europe, for the month of January, 1691, p. 34

[y] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 618. [z] The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1707, p. 504.

enemy

enemy was retiring. At the ſame time, ſeveral broadſides were heard to the weſtward, and, though the ſhips that fired could not be ſeen, it was concluded they were the blue ſquadron, that by a ſhift of wind had weathered the French; it proved, however, to be the brave Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, rear-admiral of the red, who had, with wonderful pains and diligence, weathered their admiral's own ſquadron, and got between them and their admiral of the blue[a]; but, after he had fired upon the French for ſome time, Tourville, as well as the admiral of that ſquadron, came to an anchor with ſome of the ſhips of their diviſion, but could not diſcover one another by reaſon of the thickneſs of the weather[b].

When it was thought requiſite, as we have had occaſion more than once to obſerve, that the fleet ſhould be put under the joint admirals in the ſucceeding year, he was one; and perhaps, if there had been nothing more than this joint commiſſion, we might well enough account from thence for the misfortune that happened in our affairs at ſea during the year 1693[c]. This the intelligent reader will the more eaſily credit, when he is put in mind, that theſe joint admirals were of different parties; that is to ſay, Killegrew and Delaval were declared Tories, and Shovel a determined Whig. Yet, as they were all good ſeamen, and very probably all meant their country well, though they did not agree in the manner of ſerving it, it is moſt likely, that, upon mature conſideration of the poſture things were then in, the orders they had received from court, and the condition of the fleet, which was not either half-manned or half-victualled, the admirals might agree, that a cautious execution of the inſtructions they had received was a method as ſafe for the nation, and more ſo for themſelves, than any other they could take. There

[a] Kennet. Columna roſtrata, p. 260. Memoirs of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, p. 51.

[b] It may not be amiſs to mention here the care taken by queen Mary to encourage thoſe who had behaved ſo well in this engagement; for ſhe was no ſooner informed of the victory, than ſhe immediately ſent down 30,000 l. to be diſtributed amongſt the ſoldiers and ſeamen, and gold medals for all the officers. Colonel Haſtings, who was killed in the fight, was buried on the 7th of June in great ſtate, the queen ſending her coaches, and the nobility and gentry two hundred more; the whole being eſcorted by eight companies of guards.

[c] London Gazette, N°. 2839. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1707, p. 595. Memoirs of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, p. 58.

was,

was, therefore, no great reaſon for that piece of Dutch wit played off upon this occaſion in a picture, wherein the taking of the Smyrna fleet was repreſented at a diſtance, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel on board his own ſhip, with his hands tied behind him, one end of the cord being held by each of his colleagues; to inſinuate, that he would have prevented this misfortune, if the admirals Killegrew and Delaval had not hindered him [d].

But, when the affair came to be very ſtrictly inquired into in parliament, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, at the bar of the houſe, defended his colleagues as well as himſelf, and gave ſo clear and plain an account of the matter, that it ſatisfied all people, who were capable of being ſatisfied, of the innocence of the commanders, I mean in point of treachery, which had been aſſerted by a vote of the houſe of commons; for which, if there was any foundation, it muſt have lain either among the inferior people at the admiralty, or thoſe in the ſecretary of ſtate's office, who were bribed to give intelligence to the French [e]. But poſſibly even this was but ſuſpicion.

The character of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel remaining abſolutely unimpeached, we find him again at ſea, in the year 1694, in the channel, and on the French coaſt, where he had the honour to command, as vice-admiral of the red, under lord Berkley, admiral of the blue, in the famous expedition to Camaret-bay; of which I have already given ſo large an account, that I think it altogether needleſs to repeat it here, and therefore ſhall only ſay, that Sir Cloudeſley diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſpeedy and dextrous embarkation of the land forces, when they ſailed upon that unfortunate expedition, as alſo when, on their return to England, it was thought neceſſary to ſend the fleet again upon the coaſt of France, to bombard Diepe and other places [f].

Towards the end of the ſeaſon the command devolved upon Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, by lord Berkley's coming to London; and then he received his majeſty's expreſs commands to undertake the bombardment of Dunkirk, which he attempted, as I have ſhewn in the naval hiſtory of that year, to no purpoſe,

[d] The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1707, p. 507. [e] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 115, 116. Kennet, and all our hiſtorians. Chandler's debates, vol. ii. p. 418, 422. [f] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xvii. p. 219, where there are very pertinent remarks on theſe expeditions.

through the fault of the engineer, who had promiſed more than either he, or, as was then believed, any other man could perform. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, however, took care to demonſtrate from his conduct, that there was no fault lay in him; for he went with a boat within the enemy's works, and ſo became an eye-witneſs of the impoſſibility of doing what his orders directed to be done; and therefore, on his coming home, he was perfectly well received, and continued to be employed as a man who would command ſucceſs where it was poſſible, and omit nothing in his power where it was not. He had his ſhare in the remaining part of the war, and, after the peace of Ryſwick, was always conſulted by his majeſty, whenever maritime affairs were under conſideration [g].

In the beginning of the reign of queen Anne he was not much in favour, and therefore I do not find him employed, though he was then admiral of the white, in any affair of importance, till he was ſent to Vigo, after the taking that place by Sir George Rooke, to bring home the ſpoils of the Spaniſh and French fleet. This was in the latter end of the year 1702, and he performed all that was expected from him, with that zeal and expedition which he had formerly ſhewed upon every occaſion: for, arriving at Vigo on the 16th of October, he got things into ſuch forwardneſs, that he carried off whatever could poſſibly be brought home, burnt the reſt, and, notwithſtanding the ſtormy ſeaſon of the year, the foulneſs of his ſhips, and his being embarraſſed with prizes, arrived ſafely in the Downs on the 7th of November; which was conſidered as ſo remarkable a ſervice by the court, that it was immediately reſolved to employ him in affairs of the greateſt conſequence for the future [h].

Accordingly he commanded the grand fleet up the Straits in the year 1703, where he did every thing it was poſſible for an admiral to do, whoſe inſtructions were very extenſive, and who yet wanted an adequate force to accompliſh a great part of thoſe inſtructions. It is in ſuch conjunctures as theſe that the ſkill and

[g] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book iv. ch. 13. The ſecond volume of this hiſtory under the year 1694. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1707, p. 508. Memoirs of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, p. 60. [h] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 628. Columna roſtrata, p. 275. Memoirs of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, p. 83, 84. London Gazette, N°. 3861, 3862.

capacity

capacity of an admiral chiefly appear; and in this expedition Sir Cloudesley gave as convincing proofs of his courage and conduct as any admiral could do; for he protected our trade from all attempts of the French; he did what was to be done for the relief of the Protestants then in arms in the Cevennes; he countenanced such of the Italian powers as were inclined to favour the cause of the allies, and he struck such a terror into the friends of the French, that they durst not perform what they had promised to undertake for that court [i].

All this he did with a fleet very indifferently manned, and still worse victualled; so that, notwithstanding the management of our affairs at sea was severely censured that year in the house of commons, yet all parties agreed, that Sir Cloudesley Shovel had done his duty in every respect, and very well deserved the high trust and confidence that had been reposed in him [k].

In the year 1704, Sir George Rooke commanded the grand fleet in the Mediterranean, to reinforce which Sir Cloudesley Shovel was sent with a powerful squadron; and he took such care not only to execute his orders, but to distinguish in what

i Oldmixon's history of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 313. The complete history of Europe for 1703, p. 319. London Gazette, N°. 3928.

k Bishop Burnet gives us but a melancholy account of this expedition, and yet he very honestly justifies the admiral's conduct. This prelate's account of the matter is very curious, and very well worth the reader's notice. I have not touched it in the former part of this volume, and therefore I think it will not be amiss to insert it here, as a proof that I do not over-rate the merit of the great men whose actions I record: "It was resolved to send a strong fleet into the "Mediterranean; it was near the end of June before they were ready to sail; "and they had orders to come out of the Straits by the end of September. "Every thing was so ill laid in this expedition, as if it had been intended, that "nothing should be done by it, besides the convoying our merchant ships, which "did not require the fourth part of such a force. Shovel was sent to command; "when he saw his instructions, he represented to the ministry, that nothing "could be expected from this voyage: he was ordered to go, and he obeyed his "orders. He got to Leghorn by the beginning of September. His arrival seemed to be of great consequence, and the allies began to take courage from it; "but they were soon disappointed of their hopes, when they understood that, "by his orders, he could only stay a few days there. Nor was it easy to imagine what the design of so great an expedition could be, or why so much money was thrown away on such a project, which made us despised by our enemies, while it provoked our friends, who might justly think they could not depend upon such an ally, who managed so great a force with so poor a conduct, "as neither to hurt their enemies, nor protect their friends by it."

manner they ought to be executed, that, by joining the fleet in the midſt of the month of June, he was very inſtrumental in the ſingular ſucceſs that followed, as by that very action he effectually diſappointed all the French ſchemes, though that court had boaſted, they ſhould be able to reſtore their maritime power, and give law to the confederates at ſea that ſummer [l].

He took his part in the glorious action off Malaga, in which he behaved with the utmoſt bravery, as biſhop Burnet very juſtly obſerves; and yet he had the good luck to eſcape extremely well in that action, though, as he ſaid himſelf in his letter, he never took more pains to be well beat in his life; but he was very far from taking to himſelf, what ſome have ſince endeavoured to confer upon him, the glory of beating the French fleet, while Sir George Rooke only looked on, or fought at a diſtance. This was not at all in Sir Cloudeſley's nature; he would no more be guilty of an act of injuſtice of this ſort, than he would have been patient in bearing it. He knew very well his own merit and his admiral's, and he did juſtice to both in the letter he wrote on that occaſion, and of which the reader may find an extract in the former part of this volume.

This battle was fought on the 13th of Auguſt, 1704; Sir Cloudeſley Shovel and Sir John Leake led the van; Sir Cloudeſley's diviſion conſiſted of nine ſhips, the Barfleur, Eagle, Orford, Aſſurance, Warſpight, Swiftſure, Nottingham, Tilbury, and the Lenox, in which they had only one officer killed, *viz.* the firſt lieutenant of the Lenox, and ſeven wounded, 105 private men killed, and 303 wounded [m]. After this victory the French never durſt think of fighting our fleets; and, upon Sir Cloudeſley Shovel's return, he was preſented to the queen by prince George, as lord high-admiral of England, met with a very gracious reception, and was the next year employed as [n] commander

[l] Lamberti, tome iii. p. 324. Quincy, hiſtoire militaire, tome iv. p. 426. Memoirs d'Eſpagne, tome i. p. 275—281. [m] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 390. Columna roſtrata, p. 278. London Gazette, N°. 4054.

[n] I ſhall be obliged to touch ſome particulars in this engagement, when I come to the memoirs of Sir George Rooke; but it may not be amiſs to obſerve here incidentally, that, at the beginning of the battle, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with the van of the Engliſh fleet, narrowly miſſed being ſurrounded by the French, but that Sir George Rooke perceiving their deſign, bore down immediately to his

mander in chief, being appointed rear-admiral of the fleet of England on the 6th of January following [o].

Sir Cloudesley had no concern in the arts made use of to lessen the reputation of Sir George Rooke, in order to pave the way for laying him aside [p]; but after this was done, and it became necessary to send both a fleet and army to Spain, Sir Cloudesley thought it reasonable to accept the command of the fleet, jointly with the earl of Peterborough and Monmouth, and accordingly arrived at Lisbon with the fleet, which consisted of twenty-nine line-of-battle ships, in the month of June, 1705, and, towards the latter end of the same month, sailed from thence to Catalonia, arriving before the city of Barcelona on the 12th of August [q], when the siege of the place was undertaken, though the English army was very little, if at all, superior to the garrison within the town.

There certainly never was an admiral in a more untoward situation than that in which Sir Cloudesley Shovel found himself here. The scheme itself appeared very impracticable; the land-officers divided in their opinions; the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, upon whom king Charles principally depended, was not in speaking terms with the earl of Peterborough; all things necessary for the siege were in a manner wanting, and all hopes of supply depended on admiral Shovel, who on this occasion gave the most signal proofs not only of his vigilance, dexterity, and courage, but of his constancy, patience, and zeal for the public service [r].

He

his assistance; which seasonable succour Sir Cloudesley Shovel returned in the latter part of the engagement, when, several ships of the admiral's division being forced out of the line for want of ammunition, Sir Cloudesley very gallantly came in to his aid, and drew several of the enemy's ships from our centre, which, after they had felt the force of some of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's division, did not think it safe to advance along his; but, being clean and better sailers, they set their sprit-sails, and with their boats a-head, towed from him, without giving him the opportunity of exchanging with them so much as a single broadside.

[o] London Gazette, N°. 4086. [p] The complete history of Europe for 1705, p. 5. Memoirs of Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

[q] Sir Cloudesley sailed from Spithead to St. Helen's on the 22d of May; the earl of Peterborough went on board the next day, and the 24th the fleet sailed to the westward. London Gazette, N°. 4126. [r] Burchet's naval history, book v. ch. 18. Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 419. Dr. Freind's

account

He furniſhed guns for the batteries, and men to ſerve them; he landed, for the uſe of the army, almoſt all the military ſtores of the fleet; he not only gave prudent advice himſelf in all councils of war, but he moderated the heats and reſentments of others, and, in ſhort, was ſo uſeful, ſo ready, and ſo determined in the ſervice, and took ſuch care that every thing he promiſed ſhould be fully and punctually performed, that his preſence and councils in a manner forced the land-officers to continue the ſiege, till the place was taken, to the ſurprize of all the world, and, perhaps, moſt of all to the ſurpriſe of thoſe by whom it was taken; for, if we may gueſs at their ſentiments by what they declared under their hands in ſeveral councils of war, they ſcarce believed it practicable to reduce ſo ſtrong a place with ſo ſmall a force, and that ſo ill provided[s].

How great a ſenſe the queen had of this important ſervice, and how much ſhe was perſuaded it would contribute to the advantage of the common cauſe, the reputation of her arms abroad, and the ſatisfaction of her ſubjects at home, may appear from her going expreſsly to parliament, upon this occaſion, upon the 27th of November, 1705, where, being ſeated on the throne, ſhe ſent for the houſe of commons on purpoſe to communicate to them the news of this important ſucceſs, which ſhe did in the following ſpeech, that deſerves, for its ſingularity, as well as for its relation to the ſubject in hand, a place in this hiſtory:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" Having newly received letters from the king of Spain and " the earl of Peterborough, which contain a very particular ac- " count of our great and happy ſucceſſes in Catalonia, and ſhew- " ing at the ſame time the reaſonableneſs of their being imme- " diately ſupported, I look upon this to be a matter of ſuch " conſequence in itſelf, and ſo agreeable to you, that I have or- " dered a copy of the king of Spain's letter to myſelf, and a let- " ter from the junto of the military army of Catalonia, and an-

account of the earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, p. 34. An impartial inquiry into the management of the war in Spain, p. 17. Boyer's life of queen Anne. [s] Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 361. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1705, p. 384. London Gazette, N°. 4164, 4169, 4177, 4178. Memoirs of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, p. 106.

" other

" other letter from the city of Vich, as alſo an extract of the " earl of Peterborough's letter to me, to be communicated to " both houſes of parliament.

" I recommend the conſideration of them to you, gentlemen " of the houſe of commons, very particularly, as the ſpeedieſt " way to reſtore the monarchy of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria; " and therefore I aſſure myſelf, you will enable me to proſecute " the advantages we have gained, in the moſt effectual manner, " and to improve the opportunity, which God Almighty is plea- " ſed to afford us, of putting a proſperous end to the preſent " war.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I muſt not loſe this occaſion of deſiring you to give as much " diſpatch to the matters before you as the nature of them al- " low, that ſo, in our preparations for next year, you may be " early, which cannot fail of being a great advantage to us[t]."

The next year Sir Cloudeſley again commanded the fleet; but it ſailed very late[u], ſo as not to reach the river of Liſbon till the month of November; and, even when it arrived there, the diſputes which aroſe amongſt the lords of king Charles's council and his generals, with the delays of the Portugueze, who were far from being hearty in his cauſe, diſappointed all the great deſigns of the maritime powers, and the effects that might have been reaſonably expected from the powerful reinforcement of troops which were embarked on board the grand fleet. In this uneaſy ſituation Sir Cloudeſley Shovel did all that could be expected from a wiſe and vigilant commander; for he not only cloſely attended to the proper duties of his own charge, but left no method untried to prevail upon the generals and favourites of king Charles to come to ſuch an agreement, as might ſecure the advantages already obtained, and effectually fix their maſter, who was then at Madrid, upon the throne of Spain.

But, tho' h the care and concern of the admiral had very little effect on this ſide, yet his repreſentations in Portugal met

[t] London Gazette, N°. 4179.

[u] The queen's fleet, under the command of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with the land-forces on board, and the earl of Rivers as general in chief, ſailed from Torbay the firſt of October. London Gazette, N°. 4268.

with

with greater regard. It ſeems that one of the young princes of the royal family, who was of a very wild temper, had committed ſome odd inſults on the ſeamen as they came aſhore from the fleet, and the forts, at the entrance of the river, had fired upon ſome of our men of war; upon which Sir Cloudeſley made his repreſentations to the miniſtry; and, having received a very diſſatisfactory anſwer, he immediately demanded a conference with a perſon of great diſtinction, who was then at the head of their councils, and told him plainly, that the ſeamen, ſo long as he bore the Engliſh flag, ſhould maintain the ſtricteſt diſcipline while in the harbour of Portugal, and therefore he expected it ſhould receive thoſe marks of friendſhip and reſpect, which were due to ſo great a princeſs as the queen his ſovereign; or, in caſe of any failure, he ſhould think himſelf obliged to do his ſeamen, and the honour of his country, right, and not ſuffer the Engliſh flag to be inſulted, while he had the honour to wear it. This Sir Cloudeſley expreſſed in ſuch a manner, and ſeconded his words with ſo briſk a reſentment, when the firſt-mentioned affront was next repeated, that the crown of Portugal thought fit to iſſue out ſuch orders as he deſired, and things wore another face in that part of the world ever afterwards; which was entirely owing to the courage and conduct of Sir Cloudeſley, who knew very well how to diſtinguiſh between the complaiſance due to an ally, and that complying forbearance which is unworthy of an Engliſh admiral [w].

The beginning of the year 1707 wore but an indifferent aſpect for Sir Cloudeſley. He had diſpoſed all things in ſuch a manner, as that he might be able to ſuccour Alicant; and very probably had ſucceeded therein, if not prevented, when the troops were on the point of embarking, by an order from England. This order was obtained by the preſſing inſtances of the court of Portugal, which repreſented here, that the forces might be more effectually employed in conjunction with their army. Orders were ſent to this purpoſe, and a memorial was drawn up, containing the terms upon which her Britannic majeſty would conſent to the propoſitions made by the Portugueze miniſter, in the name, and on the behalf of his maſter. But,

[w] They had behaved in the ſame way to Sir John Leake in February, 1706. See Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 690, 729.

notwith-

notwithſtanding this application, the Portugueze, being either unwilling or unable to comply with thoſe demands, it was reſolved in a council of war to reſume the former project, and to land them at Alicant; for which orders ſoon after arrived from England [x].

According to this reſolution, the confederate fleet ſailed on the 7th of January, with the land-forces from Liſbon to Alicant, where they arrived on the 28th of the ſame month, and were actually landed. But, through the delays the expedition met with, (an account of which we have formerly given), the troops, which at their ſailing from England were little if any thing ſhort of 10,000 men, were now found to be ſcarce 7000; and Sir Cloudeſley finding that his preſence would be of little uſe there, and that the fleet ſtood in need of repairs, left Alicant on the 17th of February, and returned to Liſbon, where he arrived the 11th of March following. There he received orders to prepare for the expedition againſt Toulon; of which we have already ſaid much, and therefore ſhall be the more conciſe in what we are obliged to add further upon that ſubject here [y].

The inſtructions which Sir Cloudeſley Shovel received, in relation to this important affair, which, if it had ſucceeded, muſt have put an end to the war, by obliging the French king to abandon the ſupport of his grandſon in Spain, were ſent him to Liſbon; and, in obedience to them, the admiral made ſuch diſpatch, that on the 10th of May he ſailed for Alicant; where, having joined Sir George Byng, he proceeded to the coaſt of Italy, and in the latter end of the month of June, came to an anchor between Nice and Antibes; where he waited the arrival of the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene, who ac-

[x] Theſe diſputes, and the delays they occaſioned, ruined our affairs, and made this, which was the moſt expenſive of all our wars, the moſt ineffectual. The Spaniſh malecontents had their particular views, ſo had the Portugueze, ſo had the Germans likewiſe; Charles III. as we called him, indeed had none, but followed the humour of his favourite for the time being.

[y] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 479. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1707, p 41. London Gazette, No. 4299, 4302, 4308, 4312.

tually came on board the 29th of that month, and were entertained by Sir Cloudeſley with the utmoſt magnificence [z].

The enemy were at that time ſtrongly entrenched on the river Var, and had extended their works above four miles into the country. Theſe entrenchments were defended by 800 horſe, and ſix battalions of foot, and a reinforcement was daily expected, of three battalions more, under the command of lieutenant-general Dillon, an old Iriſh officer, from whoſe courage and conduct the French had reaſon to expect as much as from any man in their ſervice; and indeed if he had arrived in thoſe lines, it is very doubtful whether the confederates could have forced them. But Sir Cloudeſley having obſerved to the duke, that part of the French lines were ſo near the ſea, that it was in his power to cannonade them; and that he would land a body of ſeamen, who ſhould attack the higheſt and ſtrongeſt of their entrenchments; his royal highneſs conſented that they ſhould be attacked immediately [a].

Accordingly, on the 1ſt of July, Sir Cloudeſley ordered four Engliſh, and one Dutch man of war, to enter the mouth of the river Var, where they began to cannonade the French lines; ſoon after which, ſix hundred Engliſh ſeamen landed in open boats, under the command of Sir John Norris, who was quickly followed by the admiral; and having begun the attack, the enemy were ſo terrified with ſuch an unexpected ſalutation, that they threw down their arms, after a ſhort diſpute, and abandoned their works [b].

This great effort made by the Engliſh, not only procured an eaſy paſſage, where the greateſt reſiſtance was expected, but totally diſconcerted the French ſchemes, ſince the troops had ſcarce quitted theſe entrenchments before they met, in their

[z] Burnet, vol. ii. Columna roſtrata, p. 284. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1707, p. 261. Lond. Gaz. N°. 4352. Memoirs of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, p. 115 [a] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 731, 732 Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 476. Boyer's life of queen Anne. Lond. Gaz. Memoirs of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, p. 112.

[b] See the London Gazette, N°. 4352, wherein there is an account of this expedition, by authority. Complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1707, and all the French writers, who agree, that if this paſs had not been forced by the Engliſh, the duke of Savoy and his army could not have proceeded farther.

march, lieutenant-general Dillon, at the head of his twelve battalions, who was ſo aſtoniſhed, that he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to abandon the town of St. Paul, and to continue this retreat. On the 14th, a council of war was held on board the admiral, in which it was reſolved to proſecute the march to Toulon, which the duke of Savoy promiſed to reach in ſix days. It appears from this account, that whatever there was of zeal and ſpirit in the conduct of this affair, proceeded from the diligence and activity of Sir Cloudeſley. He propoſed forcing the paſſage of the Var, and executed it; he induced his royal highneſs of Savoy to purſue his march immediately; and, as ſoon as that reſolution was taken, the admiral ſailed with his fleet for the iſlands of Hieres, leaving ten or twelve frigates to interrupt the enemies correſpondence with Italy [c].

The ſtory, therefore, that is told of Sir Cloudeſley's detaining a ſum of money, muſt be without foundation: for, before the attack, his royal highneſs muſt have been perfectly ſatisfied, otherwiſe he would not have undertaken it; and he marched as ſoon as prince Eugene joined him, with the remainder of the forces, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel ſeeing no more of him till he reached Toulon [d]. But, inſtead of ſix, his royal highneſs made it

[c] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 477, 478. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1707. Oldmixon, Boyer, and all our hiſtorians. Memoirs of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel.

[d] I have, in the former part of this volume, given ſome account of the real and pretended reaſons for the miſcarriage of this expedition; and I there lay the greateſt weight on the body of forces ſent by the emperor Joſeph, to conquer the kingdom of Naples; which expedition, firſt delayed, and then weakened, the attempt upon Toulon; but I had not at that time ſeen a valuable letter of her majeſty queen Anne to the emperor, upon this ſubject; which, as it was never publiſhed, as it was written with her own hand, and contains matter of an extraordinary nature, I thought it might not be amiſs to inſert it here, rather than conceal it from the reader. This letter was to felicitate the emperor on the ſucceſs of his arms in Naples.

"SIR, my Brother,

"I rejoice with all my heart, with your imperial majeſty, on the reduction "of the kingdom of Naples to the obedience of the Catholic king, of which "he has given me an account by his letter of the 30th of Auguſt laſt; and I "hope that by a joint purſuit, for the time to come, of whatever ſhall be ad-

it full twelve days before he attacked, in any manner, the place; and then never pretended to lay any blame upon Sir Cloudeſley, but threw it on prince Eugene, who commanded the emperor's forces, and who had orders not to expoſe them. It is true, that when Sir Cloudeſley went firſt to compliment the duke upon his ſafe arrival, and to receive his commands about landing artillery and ammunition, his royal highneſs told him, he was glad to ſee him at laſt, for the maritime powers had made him wait a long while; to which, when Sir Cloudeſley anſwered, that he had not waited a moment ſince it was in his power, to wait upon his royal highneſs; he replied, ſmiling, "I did "not ſay you, but the maritime powers had made me wait; "for this expedition I concerted ſo long ago as 1693; and "fourteen years is a long time to wait, Sir Cloudeſley[e]."

The admiral ordered immediately one hundred pieces of cannon to be landed from the fleet, for the ſervice of the batteries, with two hundred rounds of powder and ſhot, and a conſiderable number of ſeamen to ſerve as gunners; neither was he wanting, in any thing that was deſired from him, during the whole affair, but rather exceeded what the duke and prince Eugene could reaſonably expect, as well with regard to his perſonal attendance as to the ſervice of the fleet. Beſides, there was not any misfortune on his ſide, but it fell out altogether amongſt the land-troops, who were beat from their poſts with very great loſs on the 15th of Auguſt, N. S. On the 16th the fleet began to cannonade the town, and throw bombs in the night, which was continued till ſuch time as the ſiege was raiſed, and which obliged the French to ſink all their capital ſhips,

"vantageous to the common cauſe, this ſucceſs will be followed by another, "equally glorious and important to the houſe of Auſtria, in putting my bro- "ther, the Catholic king, in poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, by the power- "ful ſuccours that your imperial majeſty will, after this happy event, be able "to furniſh him; to whom I wiſh all kind of proſperity, and to your imperial "majeſty a continual ſeries of good fortune. This will give me extreme plea- "ſure, as being,

"Your imperial majeſty's

"Moſt affectionate ſiſter,

"Kenſington, Sept. 29, 1707. "ANNE R."

[e] Mercure hiſtorique, 1707, vol. ii. p. 331.

a diſtreſs

a diſtreſs that more than countervailed the whole expence of this ſervice, great as it was[f].

As the duke of Savoy never would have undertaken this affair without the aſſiſtance of the fleet, commanded by Sir Cloudeſley; as he did nothing, when before Toulon, but by the aſſiſtance of the fleet, from whence he had all his military ſtores; ſo he could not poſſibly have made a ſafe retreat, if it had not been covered by the confederate fleet, which attended him again to the time of his repaſſing the Var. There ſome new diſputes happened, in which Sir Cloudeſley had little or no concern. Her Britannic majeſty's miniſter laboured to perſuade prince Eugene to take upon him the command of all the forces in Spain, in which the duke of Savoy likewiſe concurred; and Sir Cloudeſley offered to tranſport his royal highneſs, with a body of troops under his command; but this propoſition being rejected, his excellency bore away for the Streights; and ſoon after, reſolved to return home, which was the laſt act of his life[g].

He left Sir Thomas Dilkes at Gibraltar, with nine ſhips of the line; three fifth rates, and one of the ſixth, for the ſecurity of the coaſts of Italy, and then proceeded with the remainder of the fleet, conſiſting of ten ſhips of the line, five frigates, four fire-ſhips, a ſloop, and a yacht, for England[h]. On the 22d of October, he came into the Soundings, and in the morning had ninety fathom water. About noon he lay by; but, at ſix in the evening, he made ſail again, and ſtood away under his courſes, believing, as it is preſumed, that he ſaw the light on St. Agnes, one of the iſlands of Scilly. Soon after which, ſeveral ſhips of his fleet made the ſignal of diſtreſs, as he himſelf did; and it was with much difficulty that Sir George Byng, in the Royal Anne, ſaved himſelf, having one of the rocks under her main chains. Sir John Norris, and lord Durſley, alſo ran very great riſks; and, as we have ſhewn elſewhere, ſeveral ſhips beſides the admiral's periſhed. There were with him, on

[f] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 732. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 303. Memoirs of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel. [g] Burnet. Oldmixon's hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1707, p. 302, 303. Annals of queen Anne, p. 107, 108. London Gazette, N°. 4364. [h] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 733.

board

board the Aſſociation, his ſons-in-law, Sir John Narborough, and James his brother, Mr. Trelawny, eldeſt ſon to the biſhop of Winchéſter, and ſeveral other young gentlemen of quality[i]. There is no ſaying how this unhappy accident fell out, or to whoſe fault it was owing, though a report prevailed immediately after it happened, that a great part of the crew had got drunk for joy that they were within ſight of land.

Sir Cloudeſley's body was thrown a-ſhore the next day upon the iſland of Scilly, where ſome fiſhermen took him up, and, having ſtolen a valuable emerald ring from his finger, ſtripped and buried him. This ring, being ſhewn about, made a great noiſe all over the iſland, and coming to the ears of Mr. Paxton, who was purſer of the Arundel, he found out the fellows, declared the ring to be Sir Cloudeſley Shovel's, and obliged them to diſcover where they had buried the body[k]; which he took up, and carried on board his own ſhip, in which it was tranſported to Plymouth, conveyed from thence by land to London, and buried, from his houſe in Soho-ſquare, in Weſtminſter-abbey, with great ſolemnity, where, if not an elegant, an expenſive monument of white marble was afterwards erected, by the queen's direction, in order to do honour to the memory of ſo great a man, and ſo worthy and uſeful a ſubject[l].

Since the laſt edition of this work, a very ingenious and inquiſitive writer[m], who had himſelf paid a viſit to theſe iſlands,

i Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 485. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 394. Columna roſtrata, p. 285, 286. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 304. Memoirs of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, p. 120. London Gazette, N°. 4380.

k Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome xliii. p. 668, 669. Heath's natural and hiſtorical account of the iſlands of Scilly, p. 142, 144. There are various accounts of the finding Sir Cloudeſley's body; ſome ſay, he was firſt diſcovered upon a hatch, with a little dog dead by him, endeavouring by that means to ſave himſelf. A ſoldier belonging to St. Mary's garriſon, is reported to have firſt met with it, and to have interred it in the ſand at Porthelic, which ſoldier lady Shovel, as ſome write, rewarded with a penſion for life.

l Antiquities of the Abbey of Weſtminſter, vol. ii. p. 11. Annals of queen Anne, vol. vi. p. 306. London Gazette, N°. 4397.

m Obſervations on the ancient and preſent ſtate of the iſlands of Scilly, and their importance to the trade of Great Britain, in a letter to the reverend Charles Lyttleton, L. L. D. dean of Exeter, and F. R. S. By William Borlaſe. M. A. F. R. S. Oxford, 1759, 4to. p. 26—28.

has

has given us a farther account of this matter, which the reader will be pleaſed to ſee in his own words. "Before I come to "deſcribe the ancient ſepulchres of theſe iſlands," ſays this reverend author, "give me leave to make a ſmall excurſion from "the Druid pale, and, now I am ſo near the ſpot, to carry you "down to the grave of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel. In a cave called "Porthelic, between the Tolmens, which I have been deſcribing to you, the body of this great ſea-captain, after his ſhipwreck in the year 1707, was found naked, and not to be diſtinguiſhed from the moſt ordinary ſailor under his command; "and here he was buried, a bank of ſand offering itſelf very "opportunely for that purpoſe. The nature of the place, it "muſt be allowed, would make it doubly inhuman not to have "buried him, (whoever he was), and is, therefore, the firſt argument Archytas makes uſe of to beſpeak the ſame friendly "office after a like misfortune.

"*At tu, nautu, vagæ ne parce malignus arenæ*
"*Oſſibus, et capiti inhumato*
"*Particulam dare.*——

HOR. ode xxviii. lib. 1.

"Stay, traveller, and let thy gen'rous breaſt,
"Gueſs the ſad tale, and bear my bones to reſt.
"See where, at hand, theſe ſports of wind and wave,
"May find the wiſh'd-for, tho' a ſandy grave.

"His body was afterwards taken up, and conveyed to Weſt-"minſter-abbey, and a little pit on this ſandy green ſtill ſhews,

——"*Pulveris exigui parva munera.*" Ibidem.

Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, at the time of his death, was rear-admiral of England, admiral of the white, and commander in chief of her majeſty's fleet, one of the council to prince George of Denmark, as lord high-admiral of England, elder brother of Trinity-houſe, and one of the governors of Greenwich-hoſpital; in all which ſtations he diſcharged his truſt with the greateſt honour and integrity; and as, in his public character, he was an accompliſhed ſea-officer, one who had always the glory

of

of his queen, and the good of his country at heart; ſo in all circumſtances of private life, as an huſband, parent, or maſter of his family, he conducted himſelf with ſuch prudence, wiſdom, and tenderneſs, that few men lived more beloved, or died more lamented. Her majeſty expreſſed a very particular concern for his loſs, and was pleaſed to tell Sir John Leake, when ſhe made him rear-admiral of England, that ſhe knew no man ſo fit to repair the loſs of the ableſt ſeaman in her ſervice [n].

Sir Cloudeſley Shovel married the widow of his friend and patron, Sir John Narborough, who was the daughter of captain Hill, by whom he left two daughters, co-heireſſes; Elizabeth the eldeſt, eſpouſed to Robert lord Romney [o], and afterwards to John lord Carmichael, now earl of Hyndford, and who deceaſed at the Hague in 1750; Anne, who became the wife of the honourable Robert Manſel [p], and, upon his demiſe, married Robert Blackwood, Eſq; of London, merchant. Lady Shovel had alſo three children by her firſt huſband: John, who, while a child, was created a baronet, and James Narborough, Eſq; who, as we have already mentioned, were loſt in the Aſſociation, with their father-in-law; likewiſe a daughter, Elizabeth, married to Sir Thomas D'aeth, of Knowlton, in the county of Kent [q], baronet, and who departed this life in 1721. After ſurviving the unfortunate Sir Cloudeſley twenty-five years, her ladyſhip deceaſed, March the 15th, 1732, at her houſe in Thrift-ſtreet, near Soho-ſquare, having lived to a great age. It may not be improper to add to theſe memoirs, his monumental inſcription in Weſtminſter-abbey; ſince it is the only one of its kind, and ſtands there as a perpetual memorial of the ſervices he rendered his country, and of the grateful ſenſe retained by the great and glorious princeſs who employed him, and under whoſe auſpicious conduct the arms of Great Britain, by ſea and land, were ever victorious. Thus that inſcription runs [r]:

[n] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 733. Burnet. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1707, p. 511. Memoirs of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, p. 122. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 304, 305. [o] Collins's peerage of England, edit. 1756, vol. v. p. 337. [p] Collins's peerage of England, edit. 1741, vol. iv. p. 273. [q] Engliſh baronetage, vol. iv. p. 184. Harris's hiſtory of Kent, p. 172. [r] Antiquities of St. Peter's, Weſtminſter, vol. ii. p. 11, 12.

"Sir

" Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, knt. rear-admiral of Great Britain;
" admiral and commander in chief of the fleet; the juſt rewards
" of long and faithful ſervices: he was deſervedly beloved of
" his country, and eſteemed, though dreaded, by the enemy:
" who had often experienced his conduct and courage. Being
" ſhipwrecked on the rocks of Scilly, in his voyage from Tou-
" lon, the 22d of October, 1707, at night, in the 57th year
" of his age.

" His fate was lamented by all; but eſpecially the ſeafaring
" part of the nation, to whom he was a worthy example. His
" body was flung on the ſhore, and buried with others in the
" ſands; but being ſoon after taken up, was placed under this
" monument, which his royal miſtreſs has cauſed to be erected,
" to commemorate his ſteady loyalty, and extraordinary vir-
" tues."

MEMOIRS of SIR GEORGE ROOKE, Knt. Vice-admiral, and Lieutenant of the Admiralty of England, and Lieutenant of the Fleets and Seas of this Kingdom, one of her Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council, *&c.*

IT is a thing we may reaſonably expect, and it is commonly found true, from experience, that ſuch perſons as riſe into high and honourable employments, by dint of merit, and are withal of a reſpectable deſcent, as they enjoy their fortunes with leſs envy, ſo they are, generally ſpeaking, more attached to the government and conſtitution of their country, than thoſe who, by a haſty riſe from a low beginning, have ſmall concern for thoſe eſtabliſhments from which they derive no honour; and are therefore more prone to changes and revolutions, in which men of active parts muſt be always conſiderable. This truth was never more manifeſt, than in the conduct of the illuſtrious perſon of whom we are now to ſpeak. A man, who, to hereditary honours, added reputation founded on perſonal merit, and who repaid the credit derived to him from his anceſtors, by the glory reflected from his own actions. Yet ſo modeſt withal, that he coveted titles as little as wealth; and after a life ſpent in no-

ble atchievements, went to his grave with a moderate fortune, though he had long enjoyed ſuch employments as enabled others to raiſe princely eſtates.

He was the ſon of Sir William Rooke, knt. of an ancient and honourable family in the county of Kent, where he was born, in the year 1650; his father gave him the education becoming a gentleman, in which, by the quickneſs of his parts, and the ſolidity of his judgment, he made an extraordinary progreſs, inſomuch that Sir William Rooke had great hopes, that he would have diſtinguiſhed himſelf in an honourable profeſſion, for which he was intended[s]. But as it frequently happens, that genius gives a bias too ſtrong for the views even of a parent to ſubdue, ſo Sir William, after a fruitleſs ſtruggle with his ſon George's bent to naval employment, at laſt gave way to his inclinations, and ſuffered him to make a campaign at ſea.

His firſt ſtation in the navy was that of volunteer, then ſtyled a reformade, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by his undaunted courage and indefatigable application. This quickly acquired him the poſt of a lieutenant, from whence he roſe to that of a captain before he was thirty; a thing, in thoſe days, thought very extraordinary, when no man, let his quality be what it would, was advanced to that ſtation, before he had given ample, as well as inconteſtable teſtimonies, of his being able to fill it with honour. Theſe preferments he enjoyed under the reign of Charles II. and under that of his ſucceſſor, king James, he was appointed to the command of the Deptford, a fourth rate man of war, in which poſt the revolution found him[t].

Admiral Herbert diſtinguiſhed him early, by ſending him, in the year 1689, as commodore, with a ſquadron on the coaſt of Ireland. In this ſtation, he heartily concurred with major-general Kirke, in the famous relief of Londonderry, aſſiſting in perſon in taking the iſland in the Lake, which opened a paſſage

[s] The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1709, p. 383. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 1. See the inſcription on his monument. The hiſtory and antiquities of the cathedral church of Canterbury, by the reverend Mr. J. Dart. London, 1726, folio, p. 75, 79. [t] Pepys's memoirs of the royal navy of England, p. 164. Memoirs of Sir George Rooke, MS. Annals of queen Anne, vol. viii. p. 363.

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for the relief of the town[u]. Soon after, he was employed in eſcorting the duke of Schomberg's army, and landing them ſafe near Carrickfergus, facilitated the ſiege of that place, and, after it was taken, ſailed with his ſquadron along the coaſt; where he firſt looked into the harbour of Dublin, manned all his boats, and inſulted the place where king James was in perſon; and, in the night of the 18th of September, he formed a deſign of burning all the veſſels in the harbour; which he would have certainly executed, if the wind had not ſhifted, ſo as to drive him out to ſea[w].

From thence he ſailed to Corke, into which haven he likewiſe looked, though, in the apprehenſion of the people of Ireland, it was the beſt fortified port in the iſland; but Sir George ſoon convinced them of the contrary; for, notwithſtanding all the fire from their batteries, he entered and took poſſeſſion of the great iſland; and might have done more, but that his ſhips were ſo foul, that they could ſcarce ſwim; and his proviſions grown ſo ſhort, that he was obliged to repair to the Downs, where he arrived in the middle of October, having acquired great reputation by his activity and good ſervice[x]. In the beginning of the year 1690, he was, upon the recommendation of the earl of Torrington, appointed rear-admiral of the red[y], and, in that ſtation, ſerved in the fight off Beachy-head, which happened on the 30th of June the ſame year; and, notwithſtanding the misfortune of our arms, which was indiſputably the greateſt we ever met with at ſea, admiral Rooke was allowed to have done his duty with much reſolution; and therefore the lords and others, appointed to inquire into the conduct of that affair, had orders to examine him and Sir John Aſhby, who, in their accounts, juſtified their admiral, and ſhewed, that the misfortune happened by their being obliged to fight under vaſt diſadvantages[z].

It was believed by many, that this would have been a bar to

[u] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 417. Columna roſtrata, p. 255. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1709, p. 384. [w] Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 7—11. Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 580. Hiſtory of the wars in Ireland, chap. vi. Burchet's memoirs, p. 32. [x] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 421. [y] Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 41. Life of king William, p. 265. [z] Burchet's memoirs, p. 51. Kennet. An impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur, earl of Torrington, p. 13.

his preferment; but it proved otherwiſe, and he was immediately appointed to command the ſquadron that convoyed the king to Holland [a]; and afterwards joined the grand fleet, under the command of Mr. Ruſſel, who was then admiral of the red ſquadron, and commander in chief; but that year being ſpent without action, the French declining it, and the admiral being too wiſe a man to riſk the fate of his predeceſſor, by any raſh attempt, rear-admiral Rooke had no opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf further, than by exactly obeying orders, and protecting our trade; which he did very effectually [b].

In the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, he again convoyed king William to Holland, and was then, or very ſoon after, promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue [c], in which ſtation he ſerved in the famous battle of La Hogue, on the 22d of May, 1692, in which he behaved with diſtinguiſhed courage and conduct, as the relation publiſhed by admiral Ruſſel fully ſhews; and it was owing to his vigorous behaviour, that the laſt ſtroke was given on that important day, which threw the French entirely into confuſion, and forced them to run ſuch hazards, in order to ſhelter themſelves from their victorious enemies.

But the next day, which was Monday the 23d of May, was for him ſtill much more glorious; for vice-admiral Rooke had orders to go into La Hogue, and burn the enemy's ſhips as they lay [d]. There were thirteen large men of war, which had crowded as far up as poſſible, and the tranſports, tenders, and ſhips with ammunition, were diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, that it was thought impoſſible to burn them. Beſides all this, the French camp was in ſight, with all the French and Iriſh troops that were to have been employed in the invaſion, and ſeveral batteries upon the coaſt, well ſupplied with heavy artillery. The vice-admiral, however, made the neceſſary preparations for obeying his orders, notwithſtanding he ſaw the diſpoſitions made on ſhore for his reception; but, when he came to make the attempt, he found it impoſſible to carry in the ſhips of his ſqua-

[a] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 612. Annals of Q. Anne, vol. viii. p. 363. [b] Burchet. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1709. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 12—15. [c] Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 45. [d] Burchet's memoirs, p. 145. Kennet, and other writers. The preſent ſtate of Europe for the year 1692, p. 206. Columna roſtrata, p. 261. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 17, 18. See admiral Ruſſel's letter to the earl of Nottingham in vol. ii. p. 358. as alſo our account of this famous action.

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dron; yet even this did not diſcourage him. He ordered his light frigates to ply in cloſe to the ſhore, and, having manned out all his boats, went himſelf to give directions for the attack, burned that very night ſix three-deck ſhips; and the next day, being the 24th, he burnt ſix more from ſeventy-ſix to ſixty guns, and deſtroyed the thirteenth, which was a ſhip of fifty-ſix guns, together with moſt of the tranſports and ammunition-veſſels, and this under the fire of all thoſe batteries I have before mentioned, in ſight of the French and Iriſh troops; and yet, through the wiſe conduct of their commander, this bold enterprize coſt the lives of no more than ten men. In order to have a diſtinct conception of the merit of this moſt glorious action, we need only caſt our eyes on the letter written to their high mightineſſes the States-General by their admiral Allemonde, who was preſent, and who penned this letter on the 24th, before vice-admiral Rooke went the very laſt time into La Hogue to burn the remaining ſhips and tranſports. It is but natural to believe the admiral gave the beſt account in his power to his maſters; and we cannot believe he meant to flatter the Engliſh officer, ſince it does not appear from his letter, that he ſo much as knew who he was; theſe circumſtances therefore conſidered, his epiſtle may be juſtly looked upon as the moſt authentic teſtimony that can be offered on this ſubject[e].

It

[e] This letter of admiral Allemonde, was dated from on board the Prince, near Cape Barfleur, June 3, / May 24, ——— 1692, in which letter he ſays:

"I came to an anchor under this cape where I have been ſince yeſterday "in the afternoon with your high mightineſſes ſquadron, and that of Sir John "Aſhby, admiral of the Engliſh blue ſquadron, and ſome other ſhips of their "Britannic majeſties. At which time being informed by the captain of a French "fire-ſhip, who was taken priſoner, that about twelve of the ſhips that had fought "againſt your high mightineſſes ſquadron, and to which we had given chace, "were got in among the rocks. I prepared to go and deſtroy them. But, as I "was ready to put my deſign in execution, I found that admiral Ruſſel had given "orders to the ſame purpoſe. Preſently I offered him your high mightineſſes "light frigates and fire-ſhips to aſſiſt his ſhips, and immediately gave all neceſ-"ſary orders, in caſe he ſhould make uſe of them; but, as yet, I know not "whether thoſe frigates or fire-ſhips were employed or no. All that I can aſſure "your high mightineſſes is, that, the ſame day they took a reſolution to deſtroy "thoſe twelve ſhips, they burnt ſix of the biggeſt, being ſhips of three decks; "and this day the reſt that remained, the leaſt of which carried ſixty pieces of "cannon,

It was extremely happy for Mr. Rooke, that he ſerved a brave prince, who would not take his informations upon truſt, but inquired particularly into every man's conduct before he puniſhed or rewarded. The behaviour of the vice-admiral at La Hogue appeared to him ſo great, and ſo worthy of public notice, that, having no opportunity at that time of providing for him, he ſettled a penſion of a thouſand pounds *per annum* on him for life[f]. In the ſpring of the year his majeſty thought fit to go to Portſmouth, as king Charles II. had ſometimes done, to view the fleet, and, going on board Mr. Rooke's ſhip then in the harbour, dined with him, and conferred on him the honour of knighthood[g], having a little before made a grand naval promotion, in which he was declared vice-admiral of the red[h]; and, the direction of the fleet being now put in commiſſion, Sir George Rooke was intruſted with the command of the ſquadron that was to eſcort the Smyrna fleet, and the joint admirals received orders to accompany him as far to ſea as they ſhould think proper; after which his inſtructions were, to take the beſt care of the fleet he could, and, in caſe of any misfortune, to retire into ſome of the Spaniſh ports, and put himſelf under the protection of their cannon[i].

It cannot be ſuppoſed, that Sir George Rooke had any better intelligence than the admirals or the ſecretaries of ſtate, and therefore we ought to aſcribe the great unwillingneſs he ſhewed to part with the grand fleet ſo ſoon, to his ſuperior ſkill in naval affairs, from whence he judged, that, ſince the French ſquadron was not at Breſt, it muſt be gone to Toulon, for which he

" cannon, ran the ſame fate, being burnt with all their ammunition and provi-
" ſion, together with the ſix other ſmaller veſſels, which they had lightened of
" their guns, to try whether it were poſſible to ſave them by towing them any
" higher; ſo that this expedition has completed the irreparable ruin of the ene-
" my's fleet. I underſtand this day, from aboard admiral Ruſſel, that orders
" are given out to burn the tranſport-veſſels that are in the bay of La Hogue,
" to the number of about 500, if it may be done with ſafety; but I fear the ex-
" ecution of the enterprize will be very difficult by reaſon of the ſhallowneſs of
" the water where theſe veſſels ly, and the reſiſtance which may be made from
" the land, and therefore leave the ſucceſs of the deſign to Providence."

f Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 19. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1709, p. 385. g London Gazette, N°. 2847. h London Gazette, N°. 2843. i Burchet's memoirs, p. 176. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 22, 23. Life of king William, p. 363, 364.

thought

thought there could ſcarce be a better reaſon aſſigned than their hopes of intercepting the Smyrna fleet under his convoy. However, he ſailed, as his orders and duty required; and on the 15th of June, being about ſixty leagues ſhort of Cape St. Vincent, he ordered the Lark to ſtretch a-head of his ſcouts into Lagos-bay; but, next day having confirmed accounts of the danger they were in, he propoſed in a council of war to keep the wind, or ly by all that night, that ſo a diſcovery of the enemy's ſtrength might be made next morning. But in this he was over-ruled, and it was urged that the wind being freſh northerly, it gave the fleet a fair opportunity of puſhing for Cadiz; purſuant to this reſolution, the admiral ran along the ſhore all night with a preſt ſail, and forced ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips to cut from their anchors in Lagos-bay [k].

The next day, when he was with his fleet off Villa Nova, it fell calm, and, a little after day-break, ten ſail of the enemy's men of war, and ſeveral ſmall ſhips, were ſeen in the offing. The French no ſooner diſcovered Sir George Rooke, than they ſtood away with their boats a-head, ſetting fire to ſome, and ſinking others of their ſmall craft, which yet did not hinder ſeveral of them from falling into our hands, as a fire-ſhip likewiſe did, by dropping into the fleet in the night. The crew of this ſhip, being carried on board the flag-ſhip, and examined by the admiral, told him a very plauſible tale, *viz.* That the French ſquadron conſiſted but of fifteen ſhips of the line, notwithſtanding there were three flags, and had with them forty-ſix merchantmen and ſtore-ſhips, that were bound either to Toulon, or to join M. d'Eſtrees [l]. They ſaid alſo, that the ſquadron had been becalmed off the cape, and that, having watered in the bay, they were bound directly into the Straits, without any intention of ſeeing our fleet.

[k] The French fleet under marſhal Tourville had waited ſome time for the Engliſh Smyrna fleet; they had certainly very early and very exact intelligence, which is much leſs to be wondered at, than that this fleet of French men of war ſhould remain a month on the Spaniſh coaſt, without our having any timely notice of it; and in reality this was the very point upon which the houſe of commons grounded their vote of treachery.

[l] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 115. Columna roſtrata, p. 262. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1709, p. 386. Burchet's naval hiſtory. London Gazette, N°. 2888.

This

This at firſt, with the haſty retreat of their men of war in the morning, and their deſerting and burning their ſmall veſſels, gained a perfect belief with the admiral and the reſt of the officers; but afterwards it was judged, (and with reaſon too), that this precipitate retreat was purpoſely to amuſe us, and thereby draw the whole ſquadron inſenſibly in to the enemy. About noon the ſea breeze ſprung up to W. N. W. and N. W. and then the admiral bore away along ſhore upon the enemy, diſcovering their ſtrength the more the nearer he came to them, and at laſt counted about eighty ſail; but the number with which they plyed up to him was not above ſixteen, with three flags, the admiral, vice-admiral of the blue, and rear-admiral of the white. The vice-admiral of the blue ſtood off to ſea, in order to weather our ſquadron, and fall in with the merchant-ſhips, whilſt the body of their fleet lay promiſcuouſly to leeward one of another as far as they could be ſeen, eſpecially their biggeſt ſhips.

About three in the afternoon the Dutch vice-admiral ſent Sir George Rooke advice, that he was now perfectly ſenſible of the fraud, as diſcovering plainly the enemy's whole fleet; but that, in his judgment, the beſt courſe that could be taken was, by all means to avoid fighting. Sir George differed with him in that point, and had actually diſpoſed all things for engaging the enemy; but reflecting that he ſhould take upon himſelf the whole blame of this affair, if he fought contrary to the Dutch admiral's ſentiments, he brought to, and then ſtood off with an eaſy ſail, and at the ſame time diſpatched the Sheerneſs, with orders to the ſmall ſhips, that were on the coaſt, to endeavour to get along ſhore in the night, and ſave themſelves in the Spaniſh ports; which advice, as it was ſeaſonably ſuggeſted, ſo it was happily purſued, no leſs than fifty getting into the port of Cadiz only [m].

[m] The firſt account we had of this unlucky buſineſs was by a letter from captain Littleton, commander of the Factor of Smyrna, which, I take it, was an hired man of war, that is, a merchantman turned into a man of war to ſtrengthen the convoy. His letter gave the merchants ſome conſolation, becauſe he not only aſſured them, that his own, and between forty and fifty more ſhips, were ſafe at Cadiz, but that the admiral was eſcaped, and had carried off a great part of the fleet with him, notwithſtanding the vaſt ſuperiority of the enemy.

I have

I have already given ſo large an account of this affair [n], as well from foreign writers as our own, that I think it needleſs to ſay more here, except as to the perſonal conduct of the vice-admiral. His whole ſquadron conſiſted of no more than twenty-three ſhips of war; of theſe thirteen only were Engliſh, eight Dutch, and two Hamburghers. The fleet of merchantmen under his convoy was compoſed of four hundred ſail of all nations, though the greater part of them were Engliſh ſhips [o]. The fleet under M. Tourville conſiſted of one hundred and twenty ſail, of which ſixty-four were of the line, and eighteen three-deck ſhips; yet Sir George Rooke ſaved all the men of war; for he brought twelve of them to Kingſale, and the other got into Cadiz; and he likewiſe brought back with him ſixty merchantmen, and, having ſent the Lark with advice of his misfortune, he afterwards proceeded from Kingſale, with the largeſt ſhips, to join the grand fleet [p].

One thing, indeed, is very remarkable with reſpect to this ſingular tranſaction, *viz.* That, while in France the people in general charged their admirals with not making the moſt of their advantage, and the admirals themſelves charged each other with want of conduct, and neglect of duty, there was not ſo much as a ſingle reflection made upon Sir George Rooke's behaviour; but, on the contrary, he was ſaid in the Dutch gazettes to have gained more reputation by his eſcape, than accrued to the French by their conqueſt. On his return home the merchants gave him their thanks; the king promoted him from being vice-admiral of the blue to the rank of vice-admiral of the red, and ſoon after, as a farther mark of his favour and confidence, made him one of the lords-commiſſioners of the admiralty [q]; and, before the cloſe of the year 1694, promoted him again from vice-admiral of the red to admiral of the blue [r].

In

[n] See vol. iii. of this work, p. 378—388. [o] Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 657. The preſent ſtate of Europe for the month of July, 1693. Life of Sir George Rooke. [p] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 116. Oldmixon. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1709, p. 387, 388. [q] Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 42. Life of K. William, p. 375.

[r] We muſt not imagine, however, that Sir George eſcaped all trouble in this affair; on the contrary, he was examined at the bar of the houſe of commons, and that very ſtrictly, though he was ſo very ill that he could ſcarce ſtand upon

In the month of May, 1695, admiral Rooke commanded the ſquadron which convoyed the king to Holland [s]; and in the autumn of the ſame year, being then admiral of the white, he was alſo appointed admiral and commander in chief in the Mediterranean, having a fleet of ſeventy men of war and merchant-ſhips under his care; and, having very ſucceſsfully executed this commiſſion, he remained ſeveral months in the Mediterranean with a very ſmall force, where, nevertheleſs, he made a ſhift to preſerve our trade from the inſults of the enemy; and at length, receiving orders to return, he executed them with ſo much prudence, that he arrived ſafely on the Engliſh coaſt on the 22d of April, 1696, to the great joy and ſatisfaction of the nation in general, which was much alarmed, from an apprehenſion, that the French fleet at Toulon ſhould come up with him, to which he was much inferior in ſtrength [t].

Soon after his arrival, he took upon him the command of the fleet, had orders to proceed to the Soundings [u], and to lie in ſuch a ſtation, as he ſhould judge moſt proper for preventing the French fleet from getting into any port of France; but receiving intelligence, that the Toulon ſquadron was got ſafe into Breſt, and the largeſt ſhips in the fleet being very foul, he thought fit to return, agreeable to his inſtructions, and put into Torbay [w].

his feet; and, therefore, was at laſt allowed a chair. He ſaid, that when he parted from the grand fleet, he had a very briſk gale of wind, which drove him directly upon the enemy, and retarded the advice-boats that were ſent after him, with intelligence and orders to return. He ſaid further, that if his opinion had not been over-ruled, he might very probably have paſſed the enemy in the night, and then a few only of the heavieſt ſailers could have fallen into their hands. Yet, he added, that he did not ſuſpect he was over-ruled by the majority of voices in the council of war, from any bad deſign, or want of zeal in the commanders; but from their not giving credit to his ſuſpicion, that it was the whole French fleet in Lagos-bay; and for any ſquadron they were not afraid of them.

[s] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 687. The preſent ſtate of Europe, for 1695, p. 177. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 45. [t] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book iv. chap. xv. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1709. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 43. London Gazette, N°. 3178.

[u] Burchet's memoirs, p. 332. The preſent ſtate of Europe, for 1696, p. 168. London Gazette, N°. 3182. [w] London Gazette, N°. 3186, 3187.

There

There the fleet being reinforced to eighty-five ſail of the line, Sir George Rooke formed the glorious project of burning the whole French fleet, or forcing them to take ſhelter in the harbour of Breſt, while we bombarded all the adjacent coaſts; but, while he was meditating this great deſign, he unexpectedly received orders to return to London, and attend his duty at the board[x]; yet, ſo deſirous he was of being in action, and ſo thoroughly perſuaded of the poſſibility of the thing, that, upon his coming to town, he propoſed the matter to the duke of Shrewſbury, who approved it, but found it requiſite to lay his project before the privy council, where it was conſidered, till the ſeaſon for putting it in execution was intirely over, and then declared a very prudent, well-concerted meaſure, and another admiral blamed for not doing what he would willingly have done; but that the captains of the fleet were unanimouſly of opinion, that it was too late in the year to think of attempting an expedition of ſuch importance[y].

Admiral Ruſſel, in the ſpring of the year 1697, being declared earl of Orford, and placed at the head of the admiralty, with a kind of abſolute command, his preſence was thought ſo neceſſary there, that Sir George Rooke was appointed admiral and commander in chief of the fleet[z], which put to ſea in a very indifferent condition, being but half manned, and ſcarce half victualled, towards the latter end of June; as the French avoided fighting, Sir George found it impoſſible to do any thing very conſiderable; and yet this ſummer's expedition gained him no ſmall reputation, and that from an action, bold in itſelf, but withal ſtrictly juſt, and very beneficial to the nation. For as he was cruizing off the French coaſt, he met with a large fleet of Swediſh merchantmen, and having obliged them to bring to, and ſubmit to be ſearched, he found juſt grounds to believe, that

[x] London Gazette, N°. 3190.

[y] The reader will find this project of Sir George Rooke's, and a large account of that affair, by turning to the naval operations of the year in which it happened, in our former volume; and from thence he will eaſily collect, that Sir George Rooke was cautious only, when he wanted a proper ſtrength, and that no admiral was more active or vigorous than he, whenever ſuch a force was under his command.

[z] London Gazette, N°. 3288, 3295.

In the month of May, 1695, admiral Rooke commanded the ſquadron which convoyed the king to Holland [s]; and in the autumn of the ſame year, being then admiral of the white, he was alſo appointed admiral and commander in chief in the Mediterranean, having a fleet of ſeventy men of war and merchant-ſhips under his care; and, having very ſucceſsfully executed this commiſſion, he remained ſeveral months in the Mediterranean with a very ſmall force, where, nevertheleſs, he made a ſhift to preſerve our trade from the inſults of the enemy; and at length, receiving orders to return, he executed them with ſo much prudence, that he arrived ſafely on the Engliſh coaſt on the 22d of April, 1696, to the great joy and ſatisfaction of the nation in general, which was much alarmed, from an apprehenſion, that the French fleet at Toulon ſhould come up with him, to which he was much inferior in ſtrength [t].

Soon after his arrival, he took upon him the command of the fleet, had orders to proceed to the Soundings [u], and to lie in ſuch a ſtation, as he ſhould judge moſt proper for preventing the French fleet from getting into any port of France; but receiving intelligence, that the Toulon ſquadron was got ſafe into Breſt, and the largeſt ſhips in the fleet being very foul, he thought fit to return, agreeable to his inſtructions, and put into Torbay [w].

his feet; and, therefore, was at laſt allowed a chair. He ſaid, that when he parted from the grand fleet, he had a very briſk gale of wind, which drove him directly upon the enemy, and retarded the advice-boats that were ſent after him, with intelligence and orders to return. He ſaid further, that if his opinion had not been over-ruled, he might very probably have paſſed the enemy in the night, and then a few only of the heavieſt ſailers could have fallen into their hands. Yet, he added, that he did not ſuſpect he was over-ruled by the majority of voices in the council of war, from any bad deſign, or want of zeal in the commanders; but from their not giving credit to his ſuſpicion, that it was the whole French fleet in Lagos-bay; and for any ſquadron they were not afraid of them.

[s] Kennet's hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 687. The preſent ſtate of Europe, for 1695, p. 177. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 45. [t] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book iv. chap. xv. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1709. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 43. London Gazette, N°. 3178.

[u] Burchet's memoirs, p. 332. The preſent ſtate of Europe, for 1696, p. 168. London Gazette, N°. 3182. [w] London Gazette, N°. 3186, 3187.

There

There the fleet being reinforced to eighty-five ſail of the line, Sir George Rooke formed the glorious project of burning the whole French fleet, or forcing them to take ſhelter in the harbour of Breſt, while we bombarded all the adjacent coaſts; but, while he was meditating this great deſign, he unexpectedly received orders to return to London, and attend his duty at the board[x]; yet, ſo deſirous he was of being in action, and ſo thoroughly perſuaded of the poſſibility of the thing, that, upon his coming to town, he propoſed the matter to the duke of Shrewſbury, who approved it, but found it requiſite to lay his project before the privy council, where it was conſidered, till the ſeaſon for putting it in execution was intirely over, and then declared a very prudent, well-concerted meaſure, and another admiral blamed for not doing what he would willingly have done; but that the captains of the fleet were unanimouſly of opinion, that it was too late in the year to think of attempting an expedition of ſuch importance[y].

Admiral Ruſſel, in the ſpring of the year 1697, being declared earl of Orford, and placed at the head of the admiralty, with a kind of abſolute command, his preſence was thought ſo neceſſary there, that Sir George Rooke was appointed admiral and commander in chief of the fleet[z], which put to ſea in a very indifferent condition, being but half manned, and ſcarce half victualled, towards the latter end of June; as the French avoided fighting, Sir George found it impoſſible to do any thing very conſiderable; and yet this ſummer's expedition gained him no ſmall reputation, and that from an action, bold in itſelf, but withal ſtrictly juſt, and very beneficial to the nation. For as he was cruizing off the French coaſt, he met with a large fleet of Swediſh merchantmen, and having obliged them to bring to, and ſubmit to be ſearched, he found juſt grounds to believe, that

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[z] London Gazette, N°. 3288, 3295.

their cargoes belonged moſt of them to French merchants; upon which he ſent them, under the convoy of ſome frigates, into Plymouth. This made a great noiſe, the Swediſh miniſter interpoſed, and ſome of our ſtateſmen were inclined to diſapprove Sir George's conduct[a].

But as he was a man not apt to take raſh ſteps, and conſequently ſeldom in the wrong, he was not of a temper to be frightened from his duty, or to be brought to deſiſt from any

[a] We have the whole of this matter ſet in a clear light, in a ſmall quarto pamphlet of two ſheets, intitled, A ſhort account of the true ſtate of the caſe of the Swediſh merchant-fleet, lately brought up on their voyage from France, by admiral Rooke, and ſent into Plymouth.

The account given in this pamphlet, of the fraud, runs thus: "The Swede did "build a ſhip, of more or leſs tons, on his own account; whereupon he could "ſafely make oath before the magiſtrate, that the ſame ſhip was his own, and "did really belong to him, and was built at his proper coſts and charges; and "thereupon he obtained a paſs for the ſaid ſhip, as being a Swediſh ſhip, built "in Swedeland, and belonging to one of that king's ſubjects. This being done, "the Swede ſold and tranſported the very ſame ſhip to a Dutch, Lubeck, or "Hamburgh merchant; who, in conſideration of the other ſervice, did give him "one quarter, or eighth part, (as they could beſt agree upon) in the ſaid ſhip, "on condition, that the Swede ſhould always provide new paſſes as often as "there ſhould be occaſion for them; and that the ſaid ſhip ſhould always go under "the Swede's name, and by that means traffic unmoleſted to, and with France; "which practice the Swede flattered himſelf that he might ſecurely enough con"tinue, without acting thereby againſt his conſcience, or committing the leaſt "perjury by ſo doing; there being no occaſion, according to the cuſtom and laws "of that country, to make oath a-freſh for every other voyage, for getting of new "paſſes, becauſe the firſt oath ſuffices for good and all. So that, by this men"tal reſervation, the Swede could obtain as many paſſes as he pleaſed, and for "all that, his conſcience not concerned in the leaſt thereby. Nay, by the "proofs made againſt the ſaid Swediſh fleet, taken from their own hand-wri"tings, books, and letters, now under examination in the court of admiralty, "it does manifeſtly appear, that, to take off all ſuſpicion, and to obviate all "objections and dangers that might befal ſuch a ſhip, the foreign merchant or"dered the Swede to make a bill of ſale of the ſhip, in the Swede's own name, "though he had not the leaſt right to the ſaid ſhip, nor did any part therein "belong to him. Another artifice has alſo been uſed, the more eaſily to ob"tain the paſſes in Stockholm, *viz.* Some of thoſe foreign merchants ſent their "ſervants thither to be made burghers, *pro forma*; and by this means they "procured the paſſes, although ſuch ſervant had neither eſtate nor money for "himſelf, but was ſupplied by his maſter, who lived either in Holland, at Lu"beck, or at Hamburgh, or elſewhere, upon whoſe account this glorious trade was "carried on."

thing

thing he took to be right. Sir George therefore inſiſted, that the matter ſhould be brought to a fair trial, before the court of admiralty: where, upon the cleareſt evidence, it plainly appeared, that theſe Swediſh ſhips were freighted by French merchants, partly with French goods, but chiefly with Indian merchandize, which had been taken out of Engliſh and Dutch ſhips; and that the Swedes had no further concern therein, than as they received 2 *per cent.* by way of gratification, for lending their names, procuring paſſes, and taking other neceſſary precautions for ſcreening the French merchants effects; ſo that the whole of this rich fleet was adjudged to be good prize: and the clamour that had been raiſed againſt Sir George Rooke, was converted into general applauſe [b]!

He was again ordered to ſea, though it was very late in the year, and continued on the French coaſts till towards the month of October, making ſuch detachments as were neceſſary for ſecuring our own homeward-bound trade, and that of the Dutch; which he performed very ſucceſsfully, as the gazettes of that nation gratefully acknowledge; and the campaign and the war ending together, he gave the neceſſary orders for laying up the

b We may eaſily gueſs at the evidence upon which theſe ſhips were declared lawful prize, from the following letter of inſtruction, written by a French merchant, to John Conrad Doberik, dated July 26, 1696.

"I thank you, that you will help Martin Francen. I have bought a fly-boat "here, of 230 tons, for a good friend, and would gladly let her ſail under "your name, on condition that you ſhould have a certain profit for it; and aſ- "ſuring myſelf, that you will not refuſe me, ſeeing it can be done without pre- "judice to you. I have cauſed the bill of ſale to be made in your name, *viz.* "That I have bought the ſaid ſhip for your account and adventure. Now, I "would fain have a ſkipper come from Stockholm, who is a burgher there, and "I judge it to be neceſſary, 1ſt, That a notary's bill of ſale be ſent over. "2dly, That a declaration be made before a notary, and witneſſes, that the ſaid "ſhip doth belong to you. 3dly, That you write a letter to the magiſtrate of "Stockholm, to grant you to paſs; and 4thly, To write a letter to Mr. Con- "rad, to ſend ſuch a maſter with a paſs, with order to follow my direction "whilſt you are in Spain. When you come hither, we ſhall agree what you "ſhall have for each paſs that you ſhall ſend for here. The declaration before "a notary I ſhall ſend you to ſign, and the witneſſes who ſubſcribe ſhall be "Luke Williamſon, Marcus Begman, and the broker; they not knowing other- "wiſe, but that I bought the ſhip for your account; in this manner, no paſs "can be denied, and when once a paſs is taken out, one may always be had, "&c."

great

great ſhips, and then returned to town, where he was received with equal ſatisfaction by all parties, having as yet done little to diſoblige thoſe who afterwards perſecuted him with the utmoſt rancour.

This violent reſentment was chiefly owing to his conduct in parliament; for being next year elected member for Portſmouth[c], and voting moſtly with thoſe that were called Tories, great pains were taken to ruin him in the king's opinion; but, to the immortal honour of king William, when preſſed to remove Sir George Rooke from his ſeat at the admiralty-board, he anſwered plainly, I WILL NOT. "Sir George Rooke "(continued his majeſty,) ſerved me faithfully at ſea, and I will "never diſplace him, for acting as he thinks moſt for the ſer-"vice of his country in the houſe of commons." An anſwer truly worthy of a Britiſh prince, as it tends to preſerve the freedom of our conſtitution, and what is eſſential thereto, the liberty of parliament. The whole year 1699 was ſpent in peace, ſo that Sir George Rooke had leiſure to attend his duty in the houſe; which he did with very great conſtancy, and behaved there as he thought became him; but was very rarely a ſpeaker, though not at all deficient in that particular, as appeared, when he was heard at the bar, on the buſineſs of the Smyrna fleet in 1693. But in the ſpring of the year 1700, a war broke out in the north, which had like to have totally overturned the balance of power in that part of Europe, through a ſhameful confederacy, formed againſt Charles XII. of Sweden, then in a manner a child, which moved king William to ſend a fleet thither to his aſſiſtance; which was undoubtedly the wiſeſt foreign meaſure in that whole reign; and, as it was well concerted, ſo it was very prudently and happily executed; for Sir George Rooke, who was entruſted with the command of the combined fleet of the maritime powers, did their buſineſs effectually, by ſuccouring the Swedes, without oppreſſing the Danes; as I have ſhewn in its proper place, and have remarked, that the king of Sweden, upon this occaſion, gave a noble inſtance of his early genius, by

[c] The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1709, p. 389. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 62. Parliamentary regiſter, p. 197.

penetrating

penetrating Sir George Rooke's orders, from the conſideration of his conduct [d].

Sir George Rooke was elected in the new parliament of 1701, for the town of Portſmouth; which was not then conſidered in that light in which navy boroughs have ſince ſtood; if it had, they would have obliged the court in their members. Biſhop Burnet tells us, that though the miniſtry had a clear majority, in whatever related to the king's buſineſs, yet the activity of the angry ſide was ſuch, that they had a majority in chuſing the ſpeaker, and in determining controverted elections [e]. The truth of the matter was, the miniſtry perſuaded the king to abet the intereſt of Sir Thomas Littleton, againſt Robert Harley, Eſq; afterwards the famous earl of Oxford; and with this view his majeſty ſpoke to Sir George Rooke, Sir Charles Hedges, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, in favour of Sir Thomas; which however had not the deſired effect, ſince they voted for Mr. Harley, who was accordingly placed in the chair. I mention this, to ſhew the ſteadineſs of Sir George Rooke, and to prove, that he was a man who acted upon principle, and was not governed in his political conduct either by hopes or fears [f].

Yet Sir George was for the war againſt France, and for carrying it on vigorouſly; and, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter, he was uniform in his conduct, though he had the misfortune to be cenſured for want of vigour, merely becauſe he ſhewed too ſtrong an inclination that way. I do not ſay this from any liking I have to the maintaining paradoxes, or playing with words; but becauſe I take it to be the fair truth, and that I could not expreſs it otherwiſe, without doing his memory injuſtice [g].

[d] Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 63. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1709, p. 389. See vol. iii. p. 253, 256. [e] Parliamentary regiſter, p. 197. Hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 295.

[f] It was certainly wrong in the king to interfere in this matter at all, becauſe he ran too great a riſk, in caſe of a diſappointment; and experience will always ſhew, that in the end ſuch princes are ſafeſt, and moſt happy, as ſuffer the machine of government to roll on, according to its natural conſtruction, without tampering at all; which ſerves only to ſpoil it, and expoſe them extremely.

[g] The reader, if he conſults Burnet's hiſtory, and compares it with Oldmixon's, will be convinced of the truth of what I ſay.

Upon

Upon the acceſſion of queen Anne, in 1702, Sir George was conſtituted vice-admiral, and lieutenant of the admiralty of England, as alſo lieutenant of the fleets and ſeas of this kingdom[h]; and, upon the declaration of war againſt France, it was reſolved, that Sir George Rooke ſhould command the grand fleet ſent againſt Cadiz, his grace the duke of Ormond having the command in chief of the land forces[i]. I ſhall not enter into the hiſtory of that expedition, becauſe I have already given the beſt account of it that was in my power[k]: I ſhall only ſay here, that when it appeared to be a thing very difficult, if not impracticable, for the land-forces to make themſelves maſters of the place, Sir George Rooke propoſed bombarding it; which occaſioned a long repreſentation from the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, ſetting forth, that ſuch a proceeding would entirely alienate the affection of the Spaniards from the houſe of Auſtria; and as Sir George could not but diſcern the inconſiſtency of this method with the manifeſto which had been publiſhed in the duke of Ormond's name and his own, he was prevailed upon to deſiſt; and when he had done this, he judged it beſt to return home both with the fleet and army; the land and ſea-officers unanimouſly concurring, in that reſpect, with him in opinion; excepting only the duke of Ormond, and baron Sparr, who proteſted againſt it. Upon this opinion, for returning home, the charge was founded againſt him, for want of vigour, whereas nothing can be more clear, than that Sir George inclined to act more vigorouſly than his inſtructions would permit; and therefore when he ſaw that propoſal rejected, and that nothing could be done abroad, thought it the wiſeſt way to come home. Of this he was certainly the beſt judge, ſince he had been often in thoſe parts before, and knew very well, if once the Spaniards took a reſolution, fair words would not go far towards making them alter it[l].

h London Gazette, N°. 3810. i The duke of Ormond had been appointed commander in chief of the land-forces, in the month preceding. London Gazette, N°. 3803. k See vol. iii. p. 9. l Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. x. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 289. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 330. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1702. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 68—100. Boyer's life of queen Anne.

On

On the 19th of September, 1702, the fleet ſailed[m], and had for ſeveral days a fair but very gentle wind; and, in their paſſage home, the admiral on the 6th of October received an account from captain Hardy, that the galleons, under the eſcort of a ſtrong French ſquadron, were got into the harbour of Vigo; upon which Sir George reſolved to attack them; and, having declared this reſolution the next day in a council of flag-officers, they concurred with him, and it was unanimouſly reſolved to put it in execution; accordingly the fleet ſailed for Vigo, and on the 11th of October came before the harbour of Rodondello, where the French commodore, to do him juſtice, had neglected nothing that was neceſſary for putting the place into the beſt poſture of defence poſſible, which, however, did not ſignify much; for a detachment of fifteen Engliſh and ten Dutch men of war of the line of battle, and all the fire-ſhips, were ordered in, the frigates and bomb-veſſels were to follow the rear of the detachment, and the great ſhips were to move after them, while the army was to land near Rodondello. The whole ſervice was performed under Sir George's directions with admirable conduct and bravery, all the ſhips deſtroyed or taken, prodigious damage done to the enemy, and immenſe wealth acquired by the allies. Afterwards the duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rooke, though he was much indiſpoſed with the gout, congratulated each other on this glorious ſucceſs, and then continued their voyage home, arriving ſafely in the Downs on the 7th of November; and the admiral ſoon after came up to London[n].

While the fleet and army were thus employed abroad, her majeſty had thought fit, from the advice of her miniſters, to call a new parliament at home, to meet on the 20th of October; of which parliament Sir George was, in his abſence, choſen a member for Portſmouth; and, as ſoon as he came to take his ſeat in the houſe, the ſpeaker was directed, in the name of the com-

[m] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 625. London Gazette, N°. 3850, 3858.

[n] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 332. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 292. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 625. Annals of queen Anne, vol. viii. p. 363, 364. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 101. London Gazette, N°. 3858, 3860.

mons of England, to return him thanks; which he did in the following terms[o]:

"SIR GEORGE ROOKE,

"You are now returned to this houſe after a moſt glorious "expedition: her majeſty began her reign with a declaration, "that her heart was truly Engliſh; and Heaven hath made her "triumph over the enemies of England: for this thanks hath "been returned in a moſt ſolemn manner to almighty God. "There remains yet a debt of gratitude to thoſe who have been "the inſtruments of ſo wonderful a victory, (the duke of Or-"mond and yourſelf, who had the command of the ſea and land "forces). In former times admirals and generals have had ſuc-"ceſs againſt France and Spain ſeparately, but this action at "Vigo hath been a victory over them confederated together; "you have not only ſpoiled the enemy, but enriched your own "country; common victories bring terrors to the conquered; "but you brought deſtruction upon them, and additional "ſtrength to England.

"France hath endeavoured to ſupport its ambition by the "riches of India; your ſucceſs, Sir, hath only left them the "burden of Spain, and ſtripped them of the aſſiſtance of it. "The wealth of Spain and ſhips of France are by this victory "brought over to our juſter cauſe. This is an action ſo glorious "in the performance, and ſo extenſive in its conſequence, that, "as all times will preſerve the memory of it, ſo every day will "inform us of the benefit.

"No doubt, Sir, but in France you are written, in remark-"able characters, in the black liſt of thoſe who have taken "French gold; and it is juſtice done to the duke of Ormond, "and your merit, that ſhould ſtand recorded in the regiſters of "this houſe, as the ſole inſtrument of this glorious victory; "therefore this houſe came to the following reſolution:

"Reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, That the thanks of this "houſe be given to the duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rooke, "for the great and ſignal ſervice performed by them, for the "nation, at ſea and land; which thanks I now return you."

[o] The complete hiſtory of Europe for the year 1702, p. 448. Chandler's debates, vol. iii. p. 244. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 116.

To

To this Sir George Rooke anſwered:

"Mr. SPEAKER,

"I am now under great difficulty how to expreſs myſelf on "this very great occaſion: I think myſelf very happy, that, in "zeal and duty to yourſelf, it hath been my good fortune to be "the inſtrument of that which may deſerve your notice, and "much more the return of your thanks.

"I am extremely ſenſible of this great honour, and ſhall take "all the care I can to preſerve it to my grave, and convey it to "my poſterity, without ſpot or blemiſh, by a conſtant affection, "and zealous perſeverance in the queen's and your ſervice. Sir, "no man hath the command of fortune, but every man hath "virtue at his will; and though I may not always be ſucceſsful "in your ſervice, as upon this expedition, yet I may preſume to "aſſure, I ſhall never be more faulty.

"I muſt repeat my inability to expreſs myſelf upon this occa-"ſion; but, as I have a due ſenſe of the honour this houſe hath "been pleaſed to do me, I ſhall always retain a due and grate-"ful memory of it. And, though my duty and allegiance are "ſtrong obligations upon me to do my beſt in the ſervice of my "country, I ſhall always take this as a particular tie upon me "to do right and juſtice to your ſervice upon all occaſions."

But, notwithſtanding the queen's having celebrated this action by a day of thankſgiving [p], that her example had been imitated by the States-General [q], this thanks of the houſe of commons, and the queen's giving a ſeat to Sir George Rooke in the privy-council [r], it was reſolved to inquire into his conduct in the houſe of lords, the reaſon of which is very candidly given by biſhop Burnet [s]; he tells us, that the duke of Ormond was extremely angry with Sir George Rooke, had complained loudly of his behaviour at Cadiz, upon his return home; and though he was afterwards ſoftened, that is, in the biſhop's opinion, by being made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and ſo willing to drop his complaint, yet he had ſpoken of the matter to ſo many lords, that it

[p] London Gazette, N°. 3859, 3862. [q] London Gazette, N°. 3866.
[r] London Gazette, N°. 5864. [s] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 341.

was impoſſible to avoid an inquiry, though he might not then deſire it.

A committee was accordingly appointed by the houſe of lords to examine into the whole affair; and they did it very effectually, not only by conſidering the inſtructions and other papers relating to the Cadiz expedition, but by ſending for Sir George Rooke, and the principal ſea and land officers, all of whom were very ſtrictly examined. In his defence the biſhop admits, that Sir George arraigned his inſtructions very freely, and took very little care of a miniſtry, which, according to this prelate's account, took ſo much care of him.

The truth of the matter was, Sir George ſet the whole affair in its proper light. He ſhewed that, throughout the whole expedition, the enemy had great advantages: for, if it was conſidered on the peaceable ſide, they had a king of Spain, called to the ſucceſſion by the will of the laſt king, and acknowledged by the beſt part of the nation; whereas the allies had not then ſet up any other king, but invited the Spaniards, in general terms, to ſupport the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, which was very inconſiſtent with the temper and genius of a nation always diſtinguiſhed for their loyalty: that, on the ſide of war, the inſtructions ſeemed to contradict themſelves; for, whereas they were impowered to uſe hoſtilities, the declaration promiſed peace and protection[t]; that, conſequently, whoever executed theſe inſtructions, would be liable either to a charge of ſhewing too much pity and concern for thoſe people, or of not acting vigorouſly in the ſupport of the common cauſe; and Sir George obſerved, that, by endeavouring to avoid giving grounds for either, he had drawn upon himſelf both theſe charges.

For, whereas he inclined to gentle methods when they firſt came before the place, the conſtruction given to this was, that he intended only to amuſe and make a ſhew, but that, finding this indulgence had no effect, and that, after the outrages committed at Port St. Maries, there was nothing to be hoped for from the Spaniards, he propoſed bombarding the place; which muſt have ſucceeded, but that the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt

[t] See the declaration publiſhed by the duke of Ormond at his firſt coming on the Spaniſh coaſt, dated the 21ſt of Aug. N. S. in the London Gazette, N°. 3843. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1702, p. 316.

proteſted

proteſted againſt this, as an action that would alienate the people entirely from the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria; he then thought that, as fair means would do nothing, and force was not to be tried, the only meaſure left was to return home. The committee made their report, and the houſe paſſed a vote, which fully juſtified Sir George Rooke's conduct, the duke thinking it proper to be abſent upon that occaſion [u].

In the year 1703 Sir George Rooke was again at ſea, but waited ſo long for the Dutch, that the ſcheme, which was a very good one, and entirely of his own projecting, became impracticable; and as he was reſtrained from ſailing, when he deſired, by orders from the lord high-admiral, ſo he had orders for ſailing, when he thought the proper time was paſt; which, however, he obeyed, and continued for about a month upon the French coaſts; and, having greatly alarmed them, returned back with the fleet, having done leſs, indeed, than he could have wiſhed, but not leſs than might have been expected from a fleet in ſuch a condition as his was, ſailing ſo late in the year [w]. His enemies indeed ſaid then, as they ſaid often, that he intended to do nothing; which can ſcarce be believed, ſince he was extremely ill when he took the command upon him; growing worſe, deſired to reſign it [x]; but afterwards, finding himſelf better, put to ſea [y]. This certainly looked as if he had the expedition much at heart; for, though ſome men trifle with the affairs of their country, yet certainly no man, who had common ſenſe, ever played the fool with his own health and ſafety [z].

[u] The moſt natural account of the duke's behaviour is, that when he ſaw the unreaſonableneſs of his own heat, and the juſtice of the admiral's ſentiments, clearly made out, he was aſhamed of the trouble he had given the houſe, and, as a man of honour, retired, that his preſence might not put any of his friends under difficulties. It muſt be likewiſe obſerved, that the houſe of lords was not at all diſpoſed to favour Rooke's party, but rather the contrary, as appears by the whole proceedings of that ſeſſion; ſo that nothing can be more partial than to aſcribe this vote to partiality.

[w] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. ch. 13. The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1703. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 119. London Gazette, N°. 3906, 3907, 3911. [x] London Gazette, N°. 3912. [y] London Gazette, N°. 3914. [z] London Gazette, N°. 3917, 3923. See vol. iii. p. 38, 39.

On

On his return Sir George had a ſevere fit of the gout, which obliged him to go down to Bath[a]; and then it was given out, that he did this becauſe he was laid aſide. But the contrary very ſpeedily appeared; party-meaſures were not yet ſo ſtrongly ſupported as to produce any event like this, and therefore, upon his coming to town again, Sir George was as well received at court as ever, ſtood in the ſame light with his royal highneſs the lord high-admiral, and was ſoon after employed in a ſtation worthy of his character, and of the high poſts he had already filled[b].

A reſolution having been taken by the Britiſh miniſtry to ſend over king Charles III. of Spain on board our fleet, in the ſpring of the year 1704, choice was made of Sir George Rooke to command the ſhips of war employed for that purpoſe; and he ſhewed himſelf extremely active and vigilant in this ſervice[c]. He was at Portſmouth in the beginning of the month of February, where he did every thing that could be expected from him to haſten the expedition; but finding that the Dutch were backward in ſending the ſhips that were to have joined the fleet, and that the king was extremely eager to be gone, he very generouſly made a propoſal for the furtherance of that deſign; which ſhews him to have been as hearty towards the common cauſe as any admiral then living; for he offered to proceed with his Catholic majeſty, without waiting for the Dutch, if he could have aſſurance given him, that he ſhould have proper aſſiſtance ſent after him to Liſbon; and this aſſurance, upon which he inſiſted, was nothing more than putting Sir Cloudeſley Shovel at the head of that reinforcement.

[a] Sir George returned to St. Helen's on the 22d of June with the fleet. London Gazette, N°. 3925. Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 645.

[b] I have already given a full account of this matter, and therefore it is unneceſſary to detain the reader long upon it here. I cannot, however, help intimating, that there ſeems to have been ſome ſecret at the bottom of this undertaking, with which, hitherto, the world is not thoroughly acquainted, and therefore cannot ſo perfectly judge of the admiral's conduct; it may be, poſterity will obtain, from memoirs not hitherto publiſhed, an exact detail of the management of the war in Spain, which would bring many ſingular paſſages to light.

[c] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 354. Oldmixon. Boyer's life of queen Anne.

This

This propoſition was accepted, and Sir George ſailed on the 12th of February [d], from St. Helen's, and continued his voyage ſo happily to Liſbon, that he arrived there ſafely on the 25th; the king of Spain expreſſing the higheſt ſatisfaction in reſpect to the admiral, and the zeal and diligence he had ſhewn in his ſervice [e]. That this proceeded entirely from ſentiments of public ſpirit, and not from any views of ingratiating himſelf with that monarch, or any other foreign prince, is evident from Sir George's refuſing to gratify the kings of Spain and Portugal, in a point of ceremony which he thought injurious to the honour of the Britiſh flag, of which we have given a large account in the former part of this volume; and yet neither of the kings took this at all amiſs, but treated him with the ſame regard and eſteem as before [f].

When the expedition againſt Barcelona was firſt ſet on foot, Sir George Rooke immediately concurred to the utmoſt of his power, and the fleet arrived ſafely before that city in the beginning of May; the troops on board were, with great difficulty, made up two thouſand men, by volunteers from the fleet; and yet, with this handful of forces, the place might poſſibly have been taken, if the partizans of the houſe of Auſtria, inſtead of holding private conſultations, had ventured upon ſome vigorous reſolution, and executed it immediately [g]; but they met ſo often, and to ſo little purpoſe, that king Philip's viceroy diſcovered the deſign, and arreſted the perſons who were at the head of it; which fruſtrated the whole affair, and engaged even the

[d] Burchet's naval hiſtory, book v. chap. xvi. Lond. Gaz. N°. 3993.

[e] That prince preſented Sir George Rooke with a ſword, the hilt of which was ſet with diamonds; a buckle for a hatband, adorned in like manner, and alſo a button and loop. He gave captain Wiſhart his picture ſet with diamonds, and two hundred guineas. One hundred guineas to Sir George Rooke's ſecretary, and various other preſents to the reſt of the officers.

[f] See vol. iii. p. 59.

[g] Here ſomething might have been done, if there had been a ſufficient number of land forces; for the people were enough inclined to revolt, if they had not been deterred by their fears. My Spaniſh author paints this finely; the malecontents, ſays he, durſt not join ſo ſmall a body of troops, and ſo *(permanecio ſiempre firme la provincia)* the province remained loyal, with the beſt will in the world to have acted otherwiſe.

gallant

gallant and enterprizing prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, to deſire the admiral to re-embark the troops, which he accordingly did [h].

The attempt on Barcelona having thus miſcarried, the admiral, though not joined by the reinforcement from England, chaced the Breſt ſquadron into Toulon; and having afterwards paſſed through the Streights-mouth, joined Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with the fleet under his command, off Lagos; and continued cruizing for about a month, in expectation of orders from home, or from the court of Spain. On the 17th of July, being in the road of Tetuan, a council of war was called, in which ſeveral ſchemes were examined, but were all found to be impracticable; at laſt, Sir George Rooke propoſed the attacking of Gibraltar, which was agreed to, and immediately put in execution; for, the fleet arriving there on the 21ſt of the ſame month, the troops, which were but eighteen hundred men, were landed the ſame day; the admiral gave the ſignal for cannonading the place on the 22d, and, by the glorious courage of the Engliſh ſeamen, the place was taken on the 24th, as the reader will ſee by Sir George Rooke's own account [i], which

[h] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 670, 675, 676. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 388. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1704, p. 283. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 123. London Gazette, N°. 4018, 4035.

[i] This is to be found in the London Gazette, N°. 4045, and whoever conſiders the conſequence of this action, and compares it with the modeſty of Sir George Rooke's expreſſions, will need no other character of the man.

" The 17th of July, the fleet being then about ſeven leagues to the eaſtward " of Tetuan, a council of war was held on board the Royal Catherine, where- " in it was reſolved to make a ſudden attempt upon Gibraltar; and accord- " ingly the fleet ſailed thither, and the 21ſt got into that bay; and, at three " o'clock in the afternoon, the marines, Engliſh and Dutch, to the number " of 1800, with the prince of Heſſe at the head of them, were put on ſhore " on the neck of land to the northward of the town, to cut off any commu- " nication with the country. His highneſs having poſted his men there, ſent " a ſummons to the governor to ſurrender the place, for the ſervice of his " Catholic majeſty; which he rejected with great obſtinacy; the admiral, on " the 22d in the morning, gave orders that the ſhips which had been appoint- " ed to cannonade the town, under the command of rear-admiral Byng, and " rear-admiral Vanderduſſen, as alſo thoſe which were to batter the ſouth " mole head, commanded by captain Hicks of the Yarmouth, ſhould range " themſelves accordingly; but the wind blowing contrary, they could not " poſſibly

which we have placed at the bottom of the page. After this remarkable ſervice, the Dutch admiral thought of nothing but returning home, and actually detached ſix men of war to Liſbon; ſo little appearance was there of any engagement.

But,

" poſſibly get into their places, till the day was ſpent. In the mean time, to " amuſe the enemy, captain Whitaker was ſent with ſome boats, who burnt a " French privateer of twelve guns at the mole. The 23d, ſoon after break of " day, the ſhips being all placed, the admiral gave the ſignal for beginning " the cannonade: which was performed with very great fury, above 15,000 " ſhot being made in five or ſix hours time againſt the town, inſomuch that " the enemy were ſoon beat from their guns, eſpecially at the ſouth mole-" head: whereupon the admiral, conſidering that by gaining the fortification " they ſhould of conſequence reduce the town, ordered captain Whitaker, " with all the boats, armed, to endeavour to poſſeſs himſelf of it; which was " performed with great expedition. But captain Hicks, and captain Jumper, " who lay next the mole, had puſhed aſhore with their pinnaces, and ſome " other boats, before the reſt could come up; whereupon the enemy ſprung a " mine, that blew up the fortifications upon the mole, killed two lieutenants, " and about forty men, and wounded about ſixty. However, our men kept " poſſeſſion of the great platform which they had made themſelves maſters of, " and captain Whitaker landed with the reſt of the ſeamen which had been " ordered upon this ſervice; they advanced, and took a redoubt, or ſmall " baſtion, half way between the mole and the town, and poſſeſſed themſelves " of many of the enemy's cannon. The admiral then ſent a letter to the go-" vernor, and at the ſame time a meſſage to the prince of Heſſe to ſend to him a " peremptory ſummons; which his highneſs did accordingly; and on the 24th " in the morning, the governor deſiring to capitulate, hoſtages were exchanged, " and the capitulation being concluded, the prince marched into the town in the " evening, and took poſſeſſion of the land and north-mole gates, and the out-works. " The articles are in ſubſtance as follow:

I. That the garriſon, officers and ſoldiers, may depart, with their neceſſary arms and baggage, and the officers and other gentlemen of the town may alſo carry their horſes with them; they may likewiſe have what boats they ſhall have occaſion for.

II. That they may take out of the garriſon three pieces of braſs cannon, of different weight, with twelve charges of powder and ball.

III. That they may take proviſions of bread, wine, and fleſh, for ſix days march.

IV. That none of the officers baggage be ſearched, although it be carried out in cheſts or trunks. That the garriſon depart in three days; and ſuch of their neceſſaries as they cannot carry out with conveniency, may remain in the garriſon, and be afterwards ſent for; and that they ſhall have the liberty to make uſe of ſome carts.

But, on the 9th of Auguſt, the French fleet, under the command of the count de Thoulouſe, was firſt ſeen at ſea, and appeared to be by much the ſtrongeſt that had been equipped during this whole war; the Engliſh admiral, however, reſolved to do all that lay in his power to force an engagement. I have already given a fair account [k] of the battle which followed off Malaga, and alſo the relation publiſhed by the French court; but I purpoſely reſerved Sir George Rooke's own account, as publiſhed by authority, for this place, to which, indeed, it properly belongs. It was dated from on board the Royal Katherine, off Cape St. Vincent, Auguſt 27, O. S. 1704, and addreſſed to his royal highneſs prince George of Denmark [l]. It runs thus:

"On the 9th inſtant, returning from watering our ſhips on "the coaſt of Barbary, to Gibraltar, with little wind eaſterly, "our ſcouts to the windward made the ſignals of ſeeing the "enemy's fleet; which, according to the account they gave, "conſiſted of ſixty-ſix ſail, and were about ten leagues to "windward of us. A council of flag-officers was called, "wherein it was determined to lie to the eaſtward of Gibral-"tar, to receive and engage them. But perceiving that night, "by the report of their ſignal guns, that they wrought from

V. That ſuch inhabitants, and ſoldiers, and officers of the town, as are willing to remain there, ſhall have the ſame privileges they enjoyed in the time of Charles II. and their religion and tribunals ſhall remain untouched, upon condition that they take an oath of fidelity to king Charles III. as their lawful king and maſter.

VI. That they ſhall diſcover all their magazines of powder, and other ammunition, or proviſions and arms, that may be in the city.

VII. That all the French, and ſubjects of the French king, are excluded from any part of theſe capitulations, and all their effects ſhall remain at our diſpoſal, and their perſons priſoners of war.

"The town is extremely ſtrong, and had an hundred guns mounted, all "facing the ſea, and the two narrow paſſes to the land, and was well ſupplied "with ammunition. The officers, who have viewed the fortifications, affirm, "there never was ſuch an attack as the ſeamen made; for that fifty men might "have defended thoſe works againſt thouſands. Ever ſince our coming to the bay, "great numbers of Spaniards have appeared on the hills; but none of them have "thought fit to advance towards us."

[k] See vol. iii. p. 67.

[l] See the Lond. Gaz. N°. 4054.

"us,

" us, we followed them in the morning, with all the ſail we
" could make.

" On the 11th, we forced one of the enemy's ſhips aſhore,
" near Fuengorolo; the crew quitted her, ſet her on fire, and
" ſhe blew up immediately. We continued ſtill purſuing them;
" and the 12th, not hearing any of their guns all night, nor
" ſeeing any of their ſcouts in the morning, our admiral had a
" jealouſy they might make a double, and, by the help of
" their gallies, ſlip between us and the ſhore to the weſtward:
" ſo that a council of war was called, wherein it was reſolved,
" That, in caſe we did not ſee the enemy before night, we
" ſhould make the beſt of our way to Gibraltar; but ſtanding
" in to the ſhore about noon, we diſcovered the enemy's fleet
" and gallies to the weſtward, near Cape Malaga, going very
" large. We immediately made all the ſail we could, and con-
" tinued the chace all night.

" On Sunday the 13th, in the morning, we were within
" three leagues of the enemy, who brought to, with their
" heads to the ſouthward, the wind being eaſterly, formed
" their line and lay to to receive us. Their line conſiſted
" of fifty-two ſhips, and twenty-four gallies; they were very
" ſtrong in the centre, and weaker in the van and rear, to ſup-
" ply which, moſt of the gallies were divided into thoſe quar-
" ters. In the center was monſieur de Thouloufe, with the
" white ſquadron; in the van the white and blue, and in the
" rear the blue; each admiral had his vice and rear-admirals:
" our line conſiſted of fifty-three ſhips, the admiral, and rear-
" admirals Byng and Dilkes, being in the center; Sir Cloudeſ-
" ley Shovel and Sir John Leake led the van, and the Dutch
" the rear.

" The admiral ordered the Swallow and Panther, with the
" Lark and Newport, and two fire-ſhips, to lie to the wind-
" ward of us, that, in caſe the enemy's van ſhould puſh through
" our line with their gallies and fire-ſhips, they might give
" them ſome diverſion.

" We bore down upon the enemy in order of battle, a little
" after ten o'clock, when being about half gun-ſhot from them,
" they ſet all their ſails at once, and ſeemed to intend to ſtretch
" a-head and weather us, ſo that our admiral, after firing a

" chace-gun at the French admiral, to ſtay for him, of which " he took no notice, put the ſignal out, and began the battle, " which fell very heavy on the Royal Katherine, St. George, " and the Shrewſbury. About two in the afternoon, the ene- " my's van gave way to ours, and the battle ended with the " day, when the enemy went away, by the help of their gal- " lies, to the leeward. In the night the wind ſhifted to the " northward, and in the morning to the weſtward, which gave " the enemy the wind of us. We lay by all day, within three " leagues one of another, repairing our defects; and at night " they filled and ſtood to the northward.

" On the 15th, in the morning, the enemy was got four or " five leagues to the weſtward of us; but a little before noon " we had a breeze of wind eaſterly, with which we bore down " on them till four o'clock in the afternoon: it being too late " to engage, we brought to, and lay by with our heads to the " northward all night.

" On the 16th, in the morning, the wind being ſtill eaſterly, " hazy weather, and having no ſight of the enemy or their " ſcouts, we filled and bore away to the weſtward, ſuppoſing " they would have gone away for Cadiz; but being adviſed " from Gibraltar, and the coaſt of Barbary, that they did not " paſs the Streights, we concluded they had been ſo ſeverely " treated as to oblige them to return to Toulon.

" The admiral ſays, he muſt do the officers the juſtice to ſay, " that every man in the line did his duty, without giving the " leaſt umbrage for cenſure or reflection, and that he never " obſerved the true Engliſh ſpirit ſo apparent and prevalent in " our ſeamen as on this occaſion.

" This battle is ſo much the more glorious to her majeſty's " arms, becauſe the enemy had a ſuperiority of ſix hundred " great guns, and likewiſe the advantage of cleaner ſhips, be- " ing lately come out of port, not to mention the great uſe of " their gallies, in towing on or off their great ſhips, and in " ſupplying them with freſh men, as often as they had any kil- " led or diſabled. But all theſe diſadvantages were ſurmounted " by the bravery and good conduct of our officers, and the un- " daunted courage of our ſeamen."

On

On the return of Sir George Rooke to Portſmouth, and coming up from thence to Windſor, where the court then reſided, he was extremely well received by the queen, and his royal highneſs the lord high-admiral [m]. But, unluckily for him, the battle off Malaga was, ſome way or other, compared to that of Blenheim, fought the ſame year; which made the matter of fact a point of party-debate, and in the addreſſes ſent up from all parts of her majeſty's dominions, the Whigs took all imaginable care to magnify the duke of Marlborough's ſucceſs, without ſaying a word of the victory at ſea; whereas the Tories were equally zealous in their compliments upon both [n]; and, to ſay the truth, both of theſe battles were deciſive; that of Blenheim put an end to the influence of France in the empire, as that off Malaga extinguiſhed the French power at ſea.

Amongſt theſe addreſſes, the following was the moſt remarkable; it was preſented by Sir Richard Vyvyan, bart. and James Buller, Eſq; knights of the ſhire for the county of Cornwall, attended by the repreſentatives of boroughs in that county, and the principal gentry, introduced by the lord Granville, lord-warden of the ſtannaries: the addreſs itſelf being penned by a relation of his, whoſe writings will always do honour to the Engliſh language [o].

"To the QUEEN's moſt excellent majeſty:

"Permit, madam, the landlords, bounders, adventurers, "and whole body of the tinners of Cornwall, with hearts full "of all dutiful acknowledgments, to approach your majeſty, "who want words to expreſs their gratitude, their joy, their "admiration, for the wonderful ſucceſs of your majeſty's arms, "under the conduct of his grace the duke of Marlborough.

"Never was ſucceſs greater in all its circumſtances, a deſign "more ſecretly carried on, ſo effectually ſupported from home,

[m] London Gazette, N°. 4058. [n] Biſhop Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 391. Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 154. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 340, 341. Life of Sir George Rooke, p. 135.
[o] Lond. Gaz. N°. 4074.

"ſo

" ſo vigorouſly executed abroad, on which no leſs than the li-
" berty of Europe depended; a cauſe worthy the beſt of prin-
" ces, a victory worthy the greateſt of generals, which will
" tranſmit to all future ages your majeſty's name truly great;
" great for deliverance, not for oppreſſion.

" But it is not enough that your majeſty triumphs at land;
" to complete your glory, your forces at ſea have likewiſe done
" wonders. A fleet ſo much inferior, in ſo ill a condition, by
" being ſo long out, in ſuch want of ammunition, by taking
" Gibraltar without gallies, which were of ſo great ſervice to
" the enemy: all theſe diſadvantages conſidered, nothing cer-
" tainly could equal the conduct of your admiral, the bravery
" of your officers, the courage of your ſeamen during the en-
" gagement, but their conduct, their bravery, and their cou-
" rage after it, whereby they perfected a victory, which other-
" wiſe, in human probability, muſt have ended in an overthrow;
" an action as great in itſelf as happy in its conſequences.

" May your majeſty never want ſuch commanders by ſea and
" land, ſuch adminiſtration in the management of the public
" treaſure, which ſo much contributes to the ſucceſs of armies
" and of fleets.

" May your majeſty never want (what ſure you never can)
" the hearts, the hands, the purſes, of all your people. Had
" not we (madam) of this county inherited the loyalty of our
" anceſtors, (which your majeſty has been pleaſed ſo graciouſly
" to remember), ſuch obligations muſt have engaged the utmoſt
" reſpect; and ſuch all of us will ever pay to your ſacred per-
" ſon and government, as with one voice we daily pray, LONG
" LIVE QUEEN ANNE, to whom many nations owe their
" preſervation."

This, and ſome other addreſſes of the like nature, alarmed the miniſtry extremely; and they took ſo much pains to hinder Sir George Rooke from receiving the compliments uſual upon ſuch ſucceſſes, that it became viſible he muſt either give way or a change very ſpeedily happen in the adminiſtration. Yet even the weight of the miniſtry could not prevent the houſe of commons from complimenting the queen, expreſsly upon the advantages obtained at ſea under the conduct of our admiral; but the houſe of lords, who were under a more immediate influence at

that

that time, was entirely ſilent; the commons, however, as if they intended to puſh this matter as far as it would go, preſented another addreſs on the 2d of November, in which they deſired her majeſty to beſtow a bounty upon the ſeamen and land-forces, who had behaved themſelves ſo gallantly in the late actions at ſea and land [p].

This determined the point, and Sir George Rooke perceiving that, as he roſe in credit with his country, he loſt his intereſt in thoſe at the helm, reſolved to retire from public buſineſs, and prevent the affairs of the nation from receiving any diſturbance upon his account. Thus, immediately after he had rendered ſuch important ſervices to his country, as the taking the fortreſs of Gibraltar, and beating the whole naval force of France in the battle off Malaga, (the laſt engagement which, during this war, happened between theſe two nations at ſea), he was conſtrained to quit his command; and as the Tories had before driven the earl of Orford from his poſt, immediately after the glorious victory at La Hogue, ſo the Whigs returned them the compliment, by making uſe of their aſcendency to the like good purpoſe, with regard to Sir George Rooke: ſuch is the effect of party-ſpirit in general! ſuch the heat with which it proceeds! ſuch its dangerous and deſtructive effects, with reſpect to the welfare of the ſtate [q]!

After this ſtrange return for the ſervices he had done his country, Sir George Rooke paſſed the remainder of his days as a private gentleman, and for the moſt part at his ſeat in Kent. His zeal for the church, and his ſtrict adherence to the Tories, made him the darling of one ſet of people, and expoſed him no leſs to the averſion of another; which is the reaſon that an hiſtorian finds it difficult to obtain his true character, from the writings of thoſe who flouriſhed in the ſame period of time. For my part, I have ſtudied his actions, and his behaviour, and from thence have collected what I have delivered of him, without favour or prejudice: he was certainly an officer of great merit, if either conduct or courage could entitle him to that

[p] See Chandler's debates, vol. iii. p. 393, 394. Annals of queen Anne, vol. iv. p. 152, 153. Oldmixon, and other writers. [q] Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1709. Annals of queen Anne, Life of queen Anne, Memoirs of Sir George Rooke, *&c.*

character.

character. The former appeared in his behaviour on the Iriſh ſtation, in his wiſe and prudent management, when he preſerved ſo great a part of the Smyrna fleet, and particularly in the taking of Gibraltar, which was a project conceived and executed in leſs than a week. Of his courage he gave abundant teſtimonies; but eſpecially in burning the French ſhips at La Hogue, and in the battle off Malaga, where he behaved with all the reſolution of a Britiſh admiral; and as he was firſt in command, was firſt alſo in danger.

In party-matters, he was, perhaps, too warm and eager, for all men have their failings, even the greateſt and beſt; but in action he was perfectly cool and temperate, gave his orders with the utmoſt ſerenity, and as he was careful in marking the conduct of his principal officers, ſo his candour and juſtice were always conſpicuous in the accounts he gave of them to his ſuperiors; he there knew no party, no private conſiderations, but commended merit wherever it appeared. He had a fortitude of mind that enabled him to behave with dignity upon all occaſions, in the day of examination as well as in the day of battle; and though he was more than once called to the bar of the houſe of commons, yet he always eſcaped cenſure; as he likewiſe did before the lords; not by ſhifting the fault upon others, or meanly complying with the temper of the times, but by maintaining ſteadily what he thought right, and ſpeaking his ſentiments with that freedom which becomes an Engliſhman, whenever his conduct in his country's ſervice is brought in queſtion. In a word, he was equally ſuperior to popular clamour, and popular applauſe; but, above all, he had a noble contempt for foreign intereſts, when incompatible with our own, and knew not what it was to ſeek the favour of the great, but by performing ſuch actions as deſerved it.

In his private life he was a good huſband and a kind maſter, lived hoſpitably towards his neighbours, and left behind him a moderate fortune: ſo moderate, that when he came to make his will, it ſurprized thoſe that were preſent; but Sir George aſſigned the reaſon in few words. "I do not leave much," ſaid he, "but what I leave was honeſtly gotten, it never coſt a ſailor a "tear, or the nation a farthing." As to this laſt article, I cannot but take notice, that, even after he was laid aſide, a privy

ſeal

ſeal was offered him for paſſing his accounts, but he refuſed it, and made them up in the ordinary way, and with all the exactneſs imaginable.

The gout, which had for many years greatly afflicted him, brought him at laſt to his grave, on the 24th of January 1708-9, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. Sir George was thrice married; firſt, to Mrs. Mary Howe, the daughter of Sir Thomas Howe of Cold Berwick, in the county of Wilts, baronet: next, to Mrs. Mary Lutterel, daughter of colonel Francis Lutterel of Dunſter-caſtle, in Somerſetſhire, who died in child-bed of her firſt child, in the month of July, 1702; and, laſtly, to Mrs. Katherine Knatchbull, daughter to Sir Thomas Knatchbull of Merſhem-hatch, in the county of Kent, baronet; by which wives he left only one ſon, born of the ſecond, George Rooke, Eſq; the ſole heir of his fortune[r].

But his executors took care to ſecure his memory, by erecting a beautiful monument in the cathedral church of Canterbury, with an excellent character of the deceaſed inſcribed thereon, and which, as well for the beauty of the ſtyle as the exact ſettling of facts and dates, it may not be amiſs to exhibit at the cloſe of this life; the rather becauſe it is among the ſmall number of inſcriptions which ſeem to be, in ſome meaſure, equal to the worth of the eminent perſons whoſe praiſes they record. The executors of Sir George Rooke were William Broadnax, and Samuel Miller, Eſqrs.

I. M. S.
Georgii Rooke Militis,
Gulielmi Rooke, Militis filii,
Angliæ Vice-Admiralli
Oh quantum eſt hiſtoriæ in iſto nomine!
At quantillum hic titulis potis eſt enarrare!
Profugientibus ex Acie Gallis Anno MDCXCII.
Ipſe apertâ Cymbulâ.
Immiſtus tormentorum globis,
Imbribuſque glandium

[r] The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1709, p. 396. Annals of queen Anne, vol. viii. p. 364. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 641.

(Tot Gallis teſtibus credite poſteri)
Ultrices primus flammas aptans,
Naves Bellicas XIII. juxta La Hogue combuſſit
Compoſitis dehinc inter Suevum et Danum
Summo conſilio, et juſtitiâ diſcordiis;
Et pacato ſeptentrione, ad Meridiem ſe convertit,
Iterumque exuſtâ aut captâ ad Vigonem
Tota Præſidiatrice hoſtium Claſſe,
Atque onerariis immenſæ molis argento fœtis
In Patriam feliciter adductis,
Opimam prædam, fide integerrimâ
In Ærarium publicum deportavit.
Gibraltariam copiis navalibus
Paucioribus horis cepit
Quam poſtea menſibus irrito conatu
Juſtus obſidebat exercitus.
Et eâdem fere impreſſione
Inſtructiſſimam Gallorem claſſem
Inferior multò viribus,
Conſilio et fortitudine longè ſuperior,
Non denuo in aciem prodituram, profligavit.
Sic { Carolo III. ad ſolium / Hiſpaniis ad Libertatem / Europæ ad Pacem } viam aperuit.
His atque aliis exantlatis laboribus
Heroi Chriſtiano,
Ob egregiam in Eccleſiam pietatem
Ob fidem Gulielmo magno,
Et ANNÆ OPTIMÆ
Sanctiſſimè ſemper præſtitam;
Ob Nomen Britannicum per terrarum Orbem
Amplificatum & decoratum;
Non titulos ſuperbos
Non opes invidioſas,
Nec inanes vulgi plauſus;
Sed optimæ mentis conſcientiam,
Bonorum amorem omnium,
Otium in paternis ſedibus
Et mortem in Chriſto conceſſit Deus.

Obiit XXIV. die Januar. Anno Ætat. ſuæ LVIII. Chriſti MDCCVIII.

MEMOIRS of GEORGE CHURCHILL, Eſq; Admiral of the White, one of the Lord High-admiral's Council, Groom of the Bed-chamber to Prince GEORGE of Denmark, &c.

AS there are ſome who ſeem born to eaſy fortunes, and to a ſafe and quiet paſſage through the world; ſo there are others unlucky enough to be continually expoſed to envy, though not excluded from honours. This ariſes from different cauſes, but chiefly from the want of popular talents, of which many are deprived by nature, and not a few neglect the uſe. I cannot ſay whether the firſt was the misfortune, or the ſecond the fault, of the gentleman whoſe life I am at preſent to conſider; but certain it is, that few men were more expoſed to envy than he; eſpecially if we remember, that he roſe no higher in his profeſſion than might ſeem the juſt reward of his ſervices. But, however he might be perſecuted by this ſpirit in his life-time, there ſeems to be not the leaſt reaſon that the effects of popular diſlike ſhould attend his memory; and, therefore, it ſhall be my buſineſs to give as clear and candid an account of his actions as I can; and this without any bias either from favour or prejudice.

He was the ſecond ſon (his grace the duke of Marlborough being the eldeſt) of Sir Winſton Churchill, knt. clerk of the board of green-cloth, and of a worthy family in Dorſetſhire[s]. He was born in the year 1652, ſome ſay in February, 1653[t], and entered early into the ſea-ſervice, where he always behaved with great courage and reputation, and this added to the intereſt of his family, procured him the command of a man of war before he was quite thirty, which was a thing very unuſual in thoſe days. In the reign of king James II. he was

[s] See the inſcription upon his monument. Antiquities of the abbey of Weſtminſter, vol. ii. p. 19, 20.

[t] Lediard's life of John, duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 7.

made captain of the Newcaſtle [u], a fourth rate; and ſoon after the revolution he had a third rate given him. In the famous battle of La Hogue he commanded the St. Andrew, a ſecond rate, in which he performed as good ſervice as any officer in the fleet, according to all the accounts that were publiſhed of that engagement [w]; and yet, very ſoon after, he quitted the ſervice, for which ſeveral reaſons were aſſigned; but the true one is ſaid to have been the promotion of colonel Aylmer to the rank of rear-admiral, who being a younger officer, Mr. Churchill could not think of ſerving under him, but retired, and lived privately for ſome years [x].

I ſhall not take upon me to cenſure this part of his conduct; though I muſt ſay, that I think it would be a very difficult taſk to juſtify it; ſince every man is bound to ſerve his country, whether he be rewarded or not; and, therefore, every reſignation of this ſort is uſually attributed to a narrow and ſelfiſh ſpirit, though it is not impoſſible it may ſpring from a nobler principle; however, it is better certainly for an officer to avoid all thoſe ſteps in his conduct that are liable to ſuch ſiniſter interpretations.

In the year 1699, he had an opportunity of coming again into buſineſs; for the current then bore ſo hard on the earl of Orford, who was at the head of the admiralty, that he found it neceſſary to reſign [y]; upon which a new commiſſion iſſued, and another before the cloſe of the year, in which admiral George Churchill was, amongſt others, included, and in which he continued near two years; and then king William was pleaſed to declare Thomas, earl of Pembroke, lord high-admiral [z], which threw him out again, though but for a very ſhort time; ſince, upon the acceſſion of queen Anne, and the promotion of her conſort, prince George of Denmark, to be lord high-admiral, he was appointed one of his council [a], and was reſtored to his rank in the navy [b], which was chiefly owing to the

[u] Pepys's memoirs of the royal navy of England, p. 166. [w] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 466. [x] The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1710, p. 25. [y] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 237. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 193. Life of king William, p. 526. [z] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 313.
[a] London Gazette, N°. 3812. [b] Lond. Gaz. N°. 3810.

high

high degree of favour in which he ſtood with his royal highneſs; who, among many other virtues which adorned his character, was for none more remarkable than for ſteadily ſupporting ſuch as he had once honoured with his friendſhip.

His being made admiral of the blue, had the ſame effect upon admiral Aylmer, as it is confidently ſaid the promotion of that gentleman had a few years before upon Mr. Churchill; for he immediately quitted the ſervice, and remained for ſeveral years unemployed. But, whatever ſatisfaction Mr. Churchill might receive from this victory over his rival, it is very certain that he could not be ſaid to enjoy much pleaſure in the poſt to which he was raiſed; for, during the ſix years he ſat at that board, as his royal highneſs's council was continually attacked, ſo Mr. Churchill, in particular, had a double portion of that ſpite and reſentment devolved upon him, with which our great loſſes at ſea inſpired many of our merchants; and this was very probably increaſed by the warmth of the admiral's temper, who had a very free way of ſpeaking, and took, perhaps, too great liberties with men of ſuch importance [c].

For, as the naval power of Great Britain ariſes abſolutely from her extenſive trade, and the number of ſhips employed therein, it is very certain that there is a great reſpect due to thoſe who carry on that trade, and are thereby ſo very inſtrumental to the wealth, proſperity, and grandeur of this nation, which are all founded upon its commerce. However, Mr. Churchill maintained himſelf, by his intereſt with prince George, not only againſt the clamours of the many, and the intrigues of the few, but againſt ſeveral addreſſes and repreſentations of the houſe of lords, which were particularly calculated for his removal.

His royal highneſs deceaſing on the 28th of October, 1708, the commiſſion which impowered his council to act, naturally determined; and thenceforward admiral Churchill led a private life, at a pleaſant houſe he had in Windſor-Park, where he conſtructed the fineſt aviary that was ever ſeen in Britain, which he had collected with great care, and at a vaſt expence. This collection of birds, at his deceaſe, he left to his two intimate

[c] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. Boyer, and all our writers.

friends

friends and patrons, James, duke of Ormond, and Arthur, earl of Torrington [d]. He was never married, but dying in very good circumſtances, he left the beſt part of his fortune to his natural ſon. He deceaſed on the 8th of May, 1710, in the 58th year of his age, and was buried, with great funeral ſolemnity, in the ſouth iſle of Weſtminſter-Abbey [e], where a beautiful monument has been erected to his memory, with the following elegant Latin inſcription; which I inſert as one of the moſt curious pieces of its kind that is any where to be met with; and as it contains a very full character of him, I need not add any thing further upon that ſubject.

P. S. E.
GEORGIUS CHURCHILL,
Winſtonii equitis aurati ex agro Dorceſtrienſi
Filius natu ſecundus;
Invictiſſimi Ducis Marlburii
Frater non indignus
A primâ juventute militiæ nomen dedit
Et ſub regibus Carolo et Jacobo
Terra mariq;
Multâ cum laude meruit.
Sereniſſimo Principi Georgii de Dania
Per viginti plus annos à cubiculis
Fide, obſequio, moribus
Gratum ſe reddidit et charum.
Regnante Gulielmo
Quo die claſſis Gallica ab Anglis
Ad oras Neuſtriæ fugata et combuſta eſt
(Die ſemper memorabili)
Eo animi vigore et fortidunine pugnavit,
Quo Ducem Anglum decuit
Mox ab eodem rege,
Æquiſſimo meritorum judice,
Unus è commiſſariis admiralliæ conſtitutus

d The complete hiſt. of Europe, for 1710, p. 26. e Lediard's life of the duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 8. Annals of queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 416. Le Neve's monumenta Anglicana, p. 189.

Res

Res maritimas, quarum erat peritiſſimus,
Curavit diu et ornavit
Sub fœliciſſimo demum Annæ imperio
Inſtaurato iterum bello contra Gallos,
Infeſtiſſimos hoſtes Britanni nominis
Ex admirallis unus
Et celſiſſimo Principi Daniæ
Magnæ totius Britanniæ admirallo
Factus è conſiliis
Curarum omnium et laborum particeps
Domino ſuo
Fœliciſſimam navabat operam,
Donec fractæ gallorum vires
Toto mari ceſſerant
Inde principis optimi lateri adhærens
Ad extremum uſq; diem
Omnia grati piiq; animi officia
Perſolvit:
Laboribus tandem et morbis confectus,
Inter amplexus & lachrymas
Amicorum, clientum, et ſervorum,
Quos humanus, officioſus, liberalis,
Grates devinctos & fideles habuit,
Pius, tranquillus, animoſus, cælebs
Obijt viii. Maij.
Ætat. LVIII.
MDCCX.

MEMOIRS of SIR DAVID MITCHELL, KNT. Vice-admiral of the Red, one of the Lords-commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and of the Council to Prince GEORGE of Denmark, *&c.*

AMONG other reaſons, of which there are many, for preſerving, as far as poſſible, the memoirs of deſerving perſons deceaſed, who have roſe to that degree of eminence by the ſervices they have rendered to their country, this is not the leaſt

leaſt conſiderable, *viz.* to engage others to proceed as they have done, and to deſerve like honours from a like conduct. It is certainly the higheſt encouragement to behave well, to ſee that in preceding times men have aſcended thereby to the higheſt honours of which their profeſſions were capable; and this without the countenance of great relations, or the aſſiſtance of any other friends than thoſe procured to them by the diſplay of their own deſert. But, if this be a thing of conſequence in every ſituation of life, it is much more ſo in reſpect to naval affairs; for as there are none of the ſubjects of Great Britain more uſeful, or who reflect more honour upon their country, than ſuch as are employed in the navy, ſo there is nothing that contributes ſo highly to the ſupport of that generous ſpirit, and invincible courage, by which they have been always diſtinguiſhed, as the thoughts of their being able to riſe in their own profeſſion, by mere dint of merit, and without borrowing any help from thoſe kinds of arts, to which, from their education and manner of living, they muſt be neceſſarily ſtrangers. This it was that chiefly induced me to preſerve ſuch fragments as I could collect in relation to the life of Sir David Mitchell, who was promoted without envy, lived with univerſal reputation, and died with the character of an experienced ſeaman, and a worthy honeſt gentleman.

He was deſcended from a very reputable family in Scotland, though of ſmall fortune; and at the age of ſixteen, was put out apprentice to the maſter of a trading veſſel who lived at Leith[f]; with him Mr. Mitchell continued ſeven years, and afterwards ſerved as a mate on board ſeveral other ſhips, eſpecially in northern voyages; by which he not only acquired great experience as a ſeaman, but alſo attained the knowledge of moſt modern languages; which, with his ſuperior ſkill in the mathematics, and other genteel accompliſhments, recommended him to the favour of his officers, after he had been preſſed to ſea in the Dutch wars. At the revolution he was made a captain, and being remarkable for his thorough acquaintance with maritime affairs, and known to be firmly attached to that government, he was

[f] Boyer's life of queen Anne, p. 53. The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1710, p. 30.

very

very ſoon diſtinguiſhed and promoted; ſo that in April 1693, he commanded the ſquadron that convoyed the king to Holland[g], and having, by this means, an opportunity of converſing freely and frequently with his majeſty, became much in his favour, that prince, the 8th of February preceding, having made him rear-admiral of the blue[h]; and not long after, appointed him one of the grooms of his bed-chamber. In 1694, Sir David Mitchell, being then a knight, and rear-admiral of the red, ſailed with admiral Ruſſel into the Mediterranean; and on the admiral's return home, he was appointed to command in chief a ſquadron left in thoſe ſeas; in the execution of which commiſſion he behaved himſelf with great reputation[i]; and, in 1696, ſerved under Sir George Rooke, with whom he lived in great friendſhip[k], notwithſtanding he owed his riſe and fortunes, in ſome meaſure, to the kindneſs of admiral Ruſſel, in proceſs of time earl of Orford.

I have already taken notice, in the former volume, that he brought over, and carried back, his Czariſh majeſty, Peter the Great, emperor of Ruſſia, who was ſo extremely pleaſed with the company of Sir David Mitchell, (from whom, he often profeſſed, he learned more of maritime affairs than from any other perſon whatever), that he offered him the higheſt preferments in Muſcovy, if he would have accompanied him thither; but his propoſal was not agreeable either to Sir David's circumſtances or inclinations; for having, on the death of Sir Fleetwood Sheppard, been appointed gentleman-uſher of the black rod[l], and having alſo his pay as a vice-admiral, he had no reaſon to quit the ſervice of his native country, even to oblige ſo great a prince.

In his paſſage from Holland, his Czariſh majeſty aſked admiral Mitchell, who gave ſatisfactory anſwers to all his maritime queſtions, the manner in uſe in the Britiſh navy, of correcting ſailors who deſerved puniſhment; when the admiral mentioning keel-hawling, among many others, that prince deſired it might be explained to him, not by words, but by experiment; which

g London Gazette, N°. 2858. h London Gazette, N°. 2843.
i Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 519. k The complete hiſtory of Europe for 1710, p. 30. l Annals of queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 418.

the admiral excuſed, as not having then an offender who deſerved it. The Czar replied, "Take one of my men," but Sir David informed him, that all on board his ſhip were under the protection of the laws of England, and he was accountable for every man there, according to thoſe laws, upon which that monarch perſiſted no farther in his requeſt [m]. The king likewiſe directed admiral Mitchell to wait on the Czar to Portſmouth, and put the fleet out to ſea which lay at Spithead, on purpoſe to entertain him with a mock engagement, which he had ſeen alſo in Holland, but not ſo much to his ſatisfaction, it affording his imperial majeſty ſo great pleaſure, that he declared he thought an Engliſh admiral a much happier man than a Czar of Muſcovy [n].

His ſkill and conduct as a ſeaman, and his perfect acquaintance with every branch of naval affairs, rendered him extremely uſeful, as his polite behaviour made him agreeable to every adminiſtration. Upon the acceſſion of queen Anne, Sir David Mitchell was appointed one of the council [o] to prince George of Denmark, as lord high-admiral, in which honourable office he continued till the year before the prince's death, when he was laid aſide; but upon another change of affairs he was ſent over to Holland, with a commiſſion of great importance, which was to expoſtulate with their High Mightineſſes, about the deficiencies of their quotas during the continuance of the war, which commiſſion he diſcharged with great honour [p]. This was the laſt public act of his life; for, ſoon after his return to England, he deceaſed, at his ſeat called Popes, in Hertfordſhire, on the firſt of June, 1710, with as fair a reputation as any man of his rank and character could acquire, and lies buried in the pariſh-church of Hatfield in the county before-mentioned [q].

We have now finiſhed, not only the naval hiſtory, but the naval memoirs of this reign, by annexing the beſt accounts we

[m] Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 167. [n] The hiſtory of the life of Peter I. emperor of Ruſſia, by John Motley, Eſq; edit. 1740, 12mo. vol. i. p. 78. [o] London Gazette, N°. 3812. [p] See the inſcription on his monument. London Gazette, N°. 4089, 4095. [q] The complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1710. Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 675. Le Neve's monumenta Anglicana, p. 188, 208.

could

could collect of thoſe great men who ſerved their country under the happy auſpice of this illuſtrious princeſs; the few things that remain to be ſaid, are of a miſcellaneous nature, and are brought in here, becauſe they relate to naval affairs, and ſo are connected with our hiſtory more than with any other, and are at the ſame time of too great importance to be ſuffered to ſleep in oblivion, while it is in our power to ſave them.

Of all the reigns ſince the conqueſt, it may be truly ſaid, that the Britiſh conſtitution never appeared with greater luſtre, than under that of the queen; by which I mean, that the prerogative, or influence of the crown, was never leſs exerted than by queen Anne and her miniſters.

Thus immediately after the peace of Utrecht, in order to ſhew the care and concern that was had for the trade of the nation, the commiſſioners appointed for taking and ſtating the public accounts, directed Dr. Charles D'Avenant, director-general of the exports and imports, to lay before them diſtinct annual accounts of the importations and exportations of all commodities into and out of this kingdom, which he accordingly did, with his own remarks and reflections; a thing of very great importance to the ſtate, and a precedent worthy of imitation; becauſe, without ſuch authentic grounds, it is ſimply impoſſible that any probable conjecture ſhould be made as to the growth or decay of our commerce in general, or how far it is, or is not, affected by the encouragement or diſcouragement of particular branches; which, however, are points of great importance to every government, and without a competent knowledge of which, no miniſtry can ever make a figure, or any parliament be able to decide with certainty, as to thoſe points which are of greateſt conſequence to their conſtituents[r].

At the cloſe of that work Dr. D'Avenant enters largely into the advantages that might be made by a trade carried on directly

[r] This report conſiſts of two parts, both printed in 1712, 8vo. and ſhew many received opinions, in regard to the general commerce, not to have been founded in facts, but rather in conjectures, and ſometimes influenced by party prejudices. The matters mentioned in the text, are to be met with in the firſt report, p. 74, 75, 76, 77.

into the South-ſeas, and that in terms which ſhew plainly, the commerce of this company was not, even in a commercial ſenſe, ſo viſionary a thing as the enemies of the lord high-treaſurer Oxford, its patron, pretended; for he there ſays plainly, that this company might extend the trade of the nation by vending its commodities and manufactures in unknown countries, and gives his reaſons why he ſo thought. I muſt confeſs, that I never underſtood the ſcope of this great man's reaſoning upon that ſubject till I read a book lately publiſhed by Mr. Dobbs, wherein he has ſhewn, with great public-ſpirit, how this may be done, either by diſcovering a north-weſt paſſage into thoſe ſeas, and fixing colonies in the countries beyond California, or by proſecuting thoſe diſcoveries that have been already made by the Dutch, and ſome of our own navigators, in reſpect to the Terra Auſtralis, through the Straits of Magellan, either of which would open to us a new commerce, infinitely more advantageous than that of Spain to her Indies, becauſe theſe new-diſcovered countries are ſo ſituated, as that their inhabitants muſt ſtand in want of our goods, at the ſame time that they ſtand poſſeſſed of gold, ſilver, ſpices, and other rich commodities, which muſt come to us in return; and therefore Dr. D'Avenant had great reaſon to ſuggeſt, that the new South-ſea might prove as beneficial to Britain as her old Eaſt India company. This very diſcourſe of his, being addreſſed to the commiſſioners for taking and ſtating accounts, is the cleareſt demonſtration, that, when the South-ſea company was erected, there was a proſpect of theſe advantages, and that, with a view to theſe, the powers of the company were rendered ſo extenſive, and their capital made ſo large[s].

If this has not hitherto been done, ſtill however it may be done, ſince the ſame powers remain veſted in the company by their charter; and it is the more reaſonable, that ſomething of this ſort ſhould be attempted, becauſe the Aſſiento contract is now given up. Beſides, if we are able to ſettle any new colonies in that part of the globe, we ſhould be able to trade with the Spaniards without an Aſſiento, and ſecure to ourſelves ſuch a pro-

[s] An account of the countries adjoining to Hudſon's bay in the north weſt part of America, &c. by Arthur Dobbs, Eſq; London, 1744. 4to, p. 166—169.

portion

portion of commerce as might perhaps equal all that we now poſſeſs. But, if it ſhould be found, that, notwithſtanding theſe extenſive powers, the company is either not inclined, or diſabled to carry on ſuch a new trade, then I humbly think it will be high time for the legiſlature to transfer thoſe powers to ſome other body-corporate, that may be able and willing to exert them, and this with ſuch clauſes of emendation or reſtriction, as the experience we have ſince had of the management of public companies ſhall ſuggeſt to be either neceſſary or expedient [t].

In the ſame report by Dr. D'Avenant there are ſeveral other curious remarks on almoſt all the branches of our commerce; and if ſuch a general ſtate of trade as this were to be laid before the parliament, once at leaſt in every reign, we ſhould then be able to judge both of the efficacy of the laws already made, and of the uſefulneſs and expediency of new ones. But it is now time to return from this digreſſion, into which I was led by the deſire of preſerving a hint which ſeems ſo very capable of improvement, to the laſt acts of the queen's government and life, with which I ſhall conclude this chapter.

The treaty of Utrecht, which put an end to our diſputes abroad, proved the cauſe of high debates and great diſtractions at home. The people grew uneaſy, the miniſtry divided, and the heats and violence of party roſe to ſuch a height, that her majeſty found herſelf ſo embarraſſed, as not to be able either to depend upon thoſe in power, or venture to turn them out. The uneaſineſs of mind, that ſuch a perplexed ſituation of affairs occaſioned, had a very bad effect upon her health, which had been in a declining condition from the time of prince George's death; and this weakneſs of her's ſerved to increaſe thoſe diſorders in her government, which were ſo grievous to herſelf, and ſo detrimental to her ſubjects: for her miniſters, forgetting their duty to her and their regard for their country, conſulted only their ambition and their private views; ſo that, whenever they

[t] The rectitude of granting and continuing an excluſive trade to any company has been warmly diſputed; but ſure the impropriety of continuing excluſive powers to a company, that carries on no commerce, will not admit of any diſpute at all.

met

met in council, they ſtudied rather to croſs each other's propoſals, than to ſettle or purſue any regular plan; and to ſuch a monſtrous extravagance theſe jealouſies roſe at laſt, that it is believed a quarrel between two of her principal miniſters, in her preſence, proved, in ſome meaſure, the cauſe of her death [u].

For being at Kenſington, to which ſhe had removed from Windſor, ſhe was ſeized on the 29th of July with a drowſineſs and ſinking of her ſpirits, and the next day, about ſeven in the morning, was ſtruck with an apoplexy, and from that time continued in a dying condition. About three in the afternoon ſhe was ſenſible, and, at the requeſt of the privy-council, declared the duke of Shrewſbury lord high-treaſurer of Great Britain, though he was already lord-chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This was the laſt act of her adminiſtration; for the council now took upon themſelves the direction of public affairs, appointing the earl of Berkley to hoiſt his flag on board the fleet, and ſending general Whitham to take the command in Scotland, and likewiſe diſpatched orders for the immediate embarkation of ſeven Britiſh battalions from Flanders. In the mean time the queen continued in the hands of her phyſicians and domeſtics, ſome of whom flattered themſelves with falſe hopes to the laſt; but, the bliſters not riſing, her majeſty about ſeven in the morning, on the firſt of Auguſt, 1714, breathed her laſt [w]. The following character I have taken from a hiſtory of her reign in MS. which now, in all probability, will never be printed:

ANNE STUART, daughter to James II. king of England, &c. was born at St. James's, February 6, 1664-5, at 39 minutes paſt eleven at night. She was tenderly and carefully educated; and, having from nature the moſt valuable gifts, ſhe became a very accompliſhed princeſs. She was moderately tall, and well-proportioned, her complexion and ſhape excellent, till her conſtitution was impaired by grief and ſickneſs. She appeared to beſt advantage ſpeaking; for ſhe had a clear harmonious voice, great good ſenſe, and a very happy elocution. Her piety was unaffect-

[u] Memoirs of the four laſt years of the reign of queen Anne, p. 315, 316.

[w] Lamberti, tome viii. p. 657, 658. where there is a very curious and circumſtantial account of her majeſty's behaviour in her laſt moments.

ed;

ed; her humility ſincere; her good-nature very conſpicuous, but would have been more ſo, had it not been inherent in her family. As a wife, ſhe was the pattern of conjugal fidelity, without any affectation of fondneſs. Her tenderneſs, as a mother, to her children, was regulated by the rules of reaſon and religion; but her indulgence, as the mother of her ſubjects, knew no bounds. It was her only foible, that the uprightneſs of her own intentions left her without ſuſpicion. Her affection for her people was ſo apparent, that it was never doubted, and ſo firmly rooted, as to be diſcernable in her laſt words. With a juſt ſenſe of her own high dignity, ſhe had a true concern for the rights of her ſubjects, and a ſtrong paſſion for the glory of the nation; ſhe loved public-ſpirit, and encouraged it; and, though ſhe was naturally magnificent and generous, yet ſhe was frugal in her private expences, not to hoard, but to beſtow on the neceſſities of the ſtate. She gave her tenths to the clergy, which will remain a laſting monument of her zeal for the church. The many good laws, and the numerous happy events which fell out in her reign, will ever preſerve her memory in eſteem with thoſe who wiſh well to the ſtate. In a word, ſhe was bleſſed with all the endowments that could make a woman admired, and exerted all the virtues neceſſary to make a monarch beloved. At her death her loſs was thought irretrievable, and few who remember her have altered their opinions. It would be improper to ſay more, and ingratitude to have ſaid leſs.

Her majeſty had iſſue by the prince of Denmark, 1. A daughter, that was ſtill-born the 12th of May, 1684; 2. Lady Mary, a ſecond daughter, born the 2d of June, 1685, and died in February, 1690; 3. Anne Sophia, who was born the 12th of May, 1686, and died the February following; 4. William, duke of Glouceſter, born the 24th of July, 1689, who lived to be eleven years of age; 5. The lady Mary, born October 1690, who lived no longer than to be baptized; 6. George, another ſon, who died alſo ſoon after he was born.

ABSTRACT of the ROYAL NAVY, as it ſtood at the Death of the QUEEN.

Rates.	Number.	Guns.	Men.
I.	7	714	5312
II.	13	1170	7194
III.	39	2890	16,089
IV.	66	3490	16,058
V.	32	1190	4160
VI.	25	500	1047
	182	9954	49,860
Fire-ſhips, &c. about	50		

LIVES

LIVES

OF THE

ADMIRALS:

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAP. XXII.

Containing the Naval Hiſtory of GREAT BRITAIN, from the acceſſion of king George I. to the time of his demiſe.

WE are now to enter on a new period of time; and a great change in our government, brought about by a ſtatute made in the twelfth year of king William III. for limiting the ſucceſſion of the crown; by which, after the death of the queen, then princeſs Anne, without iſſue, it was to paſs to the moſt illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, as the next Proteſtant heirs: for the princeſs Sophia, electreſs-dowager of Hanover, was daughter to the queen of Bohemia, who, before her marriage with the elector Palatine, was ſtiled the princeſs Eliſabeth of Great Britain, daughter to James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England [x]; in whom united all the hereditary claims to the imperial crown of theſe realms.

[x] Stat. 12 Will. III. cap. 2. ſect. 1.

But the princeſs Sophia dying a very little while before the queen, GEORGE-LEWIS, elector of Hanover, her ſon, became heir of this crown on the demiſe of queen Anne, and was accordingly called to the ſucceſſion, in the manner directed by another ſtatute paſſed in the fourth year of her majeſty's reign [y].

For, by that law, the adminiſtration of the government, immediately on the queen's death, devolved on ſeven perſons named in the act, in conjunction with as many as the ſucceſſor ſhould think fit to appoint, in the manner directed by that law [z].

The ſeven juſtices fixed by the ſtatute were, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. Thomas Tenniſon; the lord high-chancellor, Simon, lord Harcourt; the lord-preſident of the council, John, duke of Buckinghamſhire; the lord high-treaſurer, Charles, duke of Shrewſbury; the lord privy-ſeal, William, earl of Dartmouth; firſt lord-commiſſioner of the admiralty, Thomas, earl of Strafford; and lord chief-juſtice of the King's-Bench, Sir Thomas Parker. The lords juſtices appointed by the ſucceſſor were, the lord archbiſhop of York, Sir William Dawes; the dukes of Shrewſbury, Somerſet, Bolton, Devonſhire, Kent, Argyle, Montroſe, and Roxborough; the earls of Pembroke, Angleſea, Carliſle, Nottingham, Abingdon, Scarborough, and Orford; the lord viſcount Townſhend; and the lords Halifax and Cowper [a].

Theſe lords juſtices, the ſame day the queen died, iſſued a proclamation, declaring the acceſſion of king George I. and commanding him to be proclaimed through all parts of the kingdom; which was done accordingly. On the next day they ſent the earl of Dorſet to his majeſty, to invite him over; and on the 3d of Auguſt the lord high-chancellor, in the name of

[y] See Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 431—434.

[z] It may not be amiſs to remark, that the electorate was created in 1692, in favour of duke Erneſt Auguſtus of Hanover, his majeſty's father, who, in 1698, was ſucceeded by this monarch in that quality, his mother the princeſs Sophia, being ſtyled electreſs-dowager, who deceaſed at the age of eighty four, June 8, 1714, N. S.

[a] Lamberti, tom. viii. p. 659, where there are various remarkable particulars.

the

the lords juſtices, opened the ſeſſion of parliament by a ſpeech[b]. On the 17th of the ſame month, the earl of Berkley ſailed with a ſquadron of ſixteen men of war, and ſix yachts, for Holland, in order to attend his majeſty, where he was joined by eight ſhips of the States-General, under rear-admiral Coperen; and, to ſecure the coaſts and the channel, admiral Wager was ſent down to Portſmouth, and Sir Thomas Hardy to Plymouth, to equip ſuch ſhips as were fit for ſervice[c].

His majeſty arriving from Holland on the 18th of September, and making his public entry on the 20th, took the reins of government into his own hands; and very ſoon made ſome conſiderable alterations in the ſeveral boards; particularly in that of the admiralty, which was clean ſwept; for, inſtead of Thomas, earl of Strafford, Sir John Leake, Sir William Drake, John Aiſlabie, Eſq; Sir James Wiſhart, and Dr. John Clarke, who were there on the demiſe of the late queen, his majeſty appointed Edward, earl of Orford, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, Eſq; Sir John Jennings, Sir Charles Turner, Abraham Stanyan, and George Baillie, Eſqrs[d]. In the month of November, Matthew Aylmer, Eſq; was declared admiral and commander in chief of his majeſty's fleet; and, ſoon after, Sir Charles Wager, rear-admiral of the red, was ſent to relieve Sir James Wiſhart in the Mediterranean[e].

[b] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 563, 564. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 393, 394. Annals of king George, vol. i. p. 34, 36.

[c] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 866.

[d] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 576. Annals of king George, vol. i. p. 237. Hiſtorical regiſter, vol. ii. p. 12, in the appendix.

[e] In order to render the ſubſequent hiſtory more clear, it will be requiſite to give the reader a ſhort ſtate of the commands in the navy, at the acceſſion of king George I.

Sir John Leake, Knight, rear-admiral of Great Britain.
Matthew Aylmer, Eſq; admiral and commander in chief of his majeſty's fleet.
Sir James Wiſhart, Knight, admiral of the white ſquadron.
Sir John Norris, Knight, admiral of the blue.
James, earl of Berkley, vice-admiral of the red.
Sir Edward Whitaker, Knight, vice-admiral of the white.
John Baker, Eſq; vice-admiral of the blue.
Sir Charles Wager, Knight, rear-admiral of the red.
Sir Hovenden Walker, rear-admiral of the white.
Sir Thomas Hardy, Knight, rear-admiral of the blue.

The ſubject of this work obliges me only to take notice of ſuch acts of the new government as relate to naval affairs; and therefore, after obſerving that a new parliament was ſummoned, and met at Weſtminſter, March the 17th, the next thing that occurs is, that, on the 1ſt of April, 1715, they came to a reſolution to allow ten thouſand ſeamen, at four pounds a-month; and, on the 9th of May following, granted 35,574 l. 3 s. 6 d. for the half-pay of ſea-officers; 197,896 l. 17 s. 6 d. for the ordinary of the navy; and 237,277 l. for the extraordinary repairs of the navy, and rebuilding of ſhips. Theſe large ſums were thought neceſſary, becauſe, at this juncture, the fleet of Great Britain was very much decayed; and it was foreſeen, that, notwithſtanding the peace ſo lately concluded, new diſputes were likely to ariſe, which might require freſh armaments[f].

Amongſt theſe diſputes, the moſt ſerious was that in which we were engaged with Sweden. This had begun before the queen's death, and was occaſioned by the Swediſh privateers taking many of our ſhips, which, with their cargoes, were confiſcated, under a pretence that we aſſiſted and ſupplied the Czar and his ſubjects with ſhips, arms, ammunition, *&c.* contrary, as was ſuggeſted, to our treaties with the crown of Sweden. Mr. Jackſon, her majeſty's miniſter at Stockholm, had preſented ſeveral memorials upon this ſubject, without receiving any ſatisfactory anſwer; and therefore it was now thought expedient to make uſe of more effectual means, *viz.* ſending a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war into the Baltic, the rather becauſe their high mightineſſes the States-General, labouring under the ſame inconveniencies, found themſelves obliged, after all pacific methods had been tried in vain, to have recourſe to the ſame meaſures, in order to protect the commerce of their ſubjects[g].

This once reſolved, a ſquadron of twenty ſail was appointed for this ſervice, and the command given to Sir John Norris, who was then admiral of the blue, and who had Sir Thomas Hardy, rear-admiral of the ſame ſquadron, to aſſiſt him[h]. The admiral hoiſted his flag on board the Cumberland, a third rate,

[f] Annals of king George, vol. i. p. 415. Hiſtorical regiſter, vol. i. p. 142.

[g] Lamberti, tom. viii. p. 815, where the matter is treated at large.

[h] When the commerce of Britain ſuffers, a Britiſh fleet is the quickeſt and moſt effectual remedy that can be applied.

having

having ten ſhips of the line in his diviſion. Sir Thomas Hardy was in the Norfolk, a third rate alſo, and had in his diviſion eight ſhips of the line, the Mermaid frigate of thirty-two guns, and the Drake ſloop, which carried ſixteen. This fleet ſailed from the Nore on the 18th of May [i], and arrived in the Sound on the 10th of June [k] following; where finding the Dutch ſquadron, a conference was held on board the Cumberland on the 14th, in which it was reſolved, that the combined ſquadron ſhould proceed together, with the Engliſh and Dutch merchantmen under their convoy, for their reſpective ports; which they performed accordingly by the cloſe of the month [l].

One of the firſt things Sir John Norris did, was, to diſpatch an expreſs to the court of Stockholm, in order to be ſatisfied whether the Swedes were reſolved to go on in their practice of ſeizing and confiſcating our ſhips; or whether, before it was too late, they would conſent to enter into a negociation for determining the diſputes which had ariſen between the two nations. The anſwer he received was ſo looſe and uncertain, that he reſolved to proceed according to his inſtructions. After Sir John's departure from Copenhagen, there arrived, under the convoy of two Britiſh men of war, forty-ſix merchant ſhips, that were not ready to ſail from England with Sir John Norris. Theſe ſhips remained till the Daniſh fleet was ready to ſail, in order to take the advantage of their convoy. About the middle of the month of Auguſt, the Daniſh fleet, conſiſting of twenty ſhips of the line, with the Ruſſian ſquadron, reſolved to ſail up the Baltic with the Engliſh and Dutch [m].

As the Czar of Muſcovy was at this time at Copenhagen, and deſigned to command his own ſhips, ſeveral conſultations were held to regulate the command of the ſeveral ſquadrons of different nations then in that road, which together were called the confederate fleet. It was at laſt reſolved to give the chief com-

[i] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 595. Annals of king George, vol. i. p. 429. Salmon's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 48.

[k] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. lxi. p. 40.

[l] Theſe admirals were ſent to protect our trade, and they paid due regard to their inſtructions.

[m] Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 423. Annals of king George, vol. iii. p. 105.

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The ſubject of this work obliges me only to take notice of ſuch acts of the new government as relate to naval affairs; and therefore, after obſerving that a new parliament was ſummoned, and met at Weſtminſter, March the 17th, the next thing that occurs is, that, on the 1ſt of April, 1715, they came to a reſolution to allow ten thouſand ſeamen, at four pounds a-month; and, on the 9th of May following, granted 35,574 l. 3 s. 6 d. for the half-pay of ſea-officers; 197,896 l. 17 s. 6 d. for the ordinary of the navy; and 237,277 l. for the extraordinary repairs of the navy, and rebuilding of ſhips. Theſe large ſums were thought neceſſary, becauſe, at this juncture, the fleet of Great Britain was very much decayed; and it was foreſeen, that, notwithſtanding the peace ſo lately concluded, new diſputes were likely to ariſe, which might require freſh armaments[f].

Amongſt theſe diſputes, the moſt ſerious was that in which we were engaged with Sweden. This had begun before the queen's death, and was occaſioned by the Swediſh privateers taking many of our ſhips, which, with their cargoes, were confiſcated, under a pretence that we aſſiſted and ſupplied the Czar and his ſubjects with ſhips, arms, ammunition, *&c.* contrary, as was ſuggeſted, to our treaties with the crown of Sweden. Mr. Jackſon, her majeſty's miniſter at Stockholm, had preſented ſeveral memorials upon this ſubject, without receiving any ſatisfactory anſwer; and therefore it was now thought expedient to make uſe of more effectual means, *viz.* ſending a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war into the Baltic, the rather becauſe their high mightineſſes the States-General, labouring under the ſame inconveniencies, found themſelves obliged, after all pacific methods had been tried in vain, to have recourſe to the ſame meaſures, in order to protect the commerce of their ſubjects[g].

This once reſolved, a ſquadron of twenty ſail was appointed for this ſervice, and the command given to Sir John Norris, who was then admiral of the blue, and who had Sir Thomas Hardy, rear-admiral of the ſame ſquadron, to aſſiſt him[h]. The admiral hoiſted his flag on board the Cumberland, a third rate,

[f] Annals of king George, vol. i. p. 415. Hiſtorical regiſter, vol. i. p. 142.

[g] Lamberti, tom. viii. p. 815, where the matter is treated at large.

[h] When the commerce of Britain ſuffers, a Britiſh fleet is the quickeſt and moſt effectual remedy that can be applied.

having

having ten ſhips of the line in his diviſion. Sir Thomas Hardy was in the Norfolk, a third rate alſo, and had in his diviſion eight ſhips of the line, the Mermaid frigate of thirty-two guns, and the Drake ſloop, which carried ſixteen. This fleet ſailed from the Nore on the 18th of May [i], and arrived in the Sound on the 10th of June [k] following; where finding the Dutch ſquadron, a conference was held on board the Cumberland on the 14th, in which it was reſolved, that the combined ſquadron ſhould proceed together, with the Engliſh and Dutch merchantmen under their convoy, for their reſpective ports; which they performed accordingly by the cloſe of the month [l].

One of the firſt things Sir John Norris did, was, to diſpatch an expreſs to the court of Stockholm, in order to be ſatisfied whether the Swedes were reſolved to go on in their practice of ſeizing and confiſcating our ſhips; or whether, before it was too late, they would conſent to enter into a negociation for determining the diſputes which had ariſen between the two nations. The anſwer he received was ſo looſe and uncertain, that he reſolved to proceed according to his inſtructions. After Sir John's departure from Copenhagen, there arrived, under the convoy of two Britiſh men of war, forty-ſix merchant ſhips, that were not ready to ſail from England with Sir John Norris. Theſe ſhips remained till the Daniſh fleet was ready to ſail, in order to take the advantage of their convoy. About the middle of the month of Auguſt, the Daniſh fleet, conſiſting of twenty ſhips of the line, with the Ruſſian ſquadron, reſolved to ſail up the Baltic with the Engliſh and Dutch [m].

As the Czar of Muſcovy was at this time at Copenhagen, and deſigned to command his own ſhips, ſeveral conſultations were held to regulate the command of the ſeveral ſquadrons of different nations then in that road, which together were called the confederate fleet. It was at laſt reſolved to give the chief com-

[i] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 595. Annals of king George, vol. i. p. 429. Salmon's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 48.

[k] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. lxi. p. 40.

[l] Theſe admirals were ſent to protect our trade, and they paid due regard to their inſtructions.

[m] Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 423. Annals of king George, vol. iii. p. 105.

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mand of it to the Czar of Muſcovy, but ſo, that Sir John Norris ſhould command the vanguard of the united fleet, the Czar the body of the line of battle, the Daniſh admiral count Gueldenlew the rear, and that the Dutch commodore, with his ſquadron and five Britiſh men of war, ſhould proceed with the trade of both nations for their reſpective harbours in the Baltic. According to this reſolution, the 16th the Czar hoiſted his imperial flag, as admiral, on board one of his fineſt ſhips, and was thereupon immediately ſaluted by Sir John Norris with a diſcharge of his cannon, which was followed by the Daniſh and Dutch; and, theſe compliments being paid, his Czarian majeſty gave the ſignal for ſailing; the 18th they came to an anchor in the Kieger-Bucht, from whence they ſailed towards Bornholm, where, being informed that the Swediſh fleet was returned to Carlſcroon [n], the Britiſh and Dutch merchant ſhips, with their convoys, ſeparated, and proceeded on their reſpective voyages, and the Czar, with his ſquadron, ſailed for the coaſt of Mecklenburg [o].

The Swedes had at this time a very numerous fleet, and in pretty good condition; but they were too wiſe to hazard it againſt ſuch an unequal force as that of the confederates, and therefore withdrew it into one of their own ports, till they could receive the king's abſolute orders. On the 28th of October Sir John Norris, with the Britiſh ſquadron under his command, and the Daniſh men of war commanded by count Gueldenlew, arrived at Bornholm, on which day the two cruizers, which Sir John Norris had ſent to Carlſcroon, returned to him with an account, that they had ſeen the Swediſh fleet, with two flags and ſeven broad pendants, in Carlſcroon, and all the ſhips they could diſcover lay rigged, as alſo that they had three cruizers under ſail off the port. That night Sir John Norris ſent theſe two cruizers, being the beſt ſailers of his ſquadron, to Dantzick, to haſten the trade down the Baltic, and, if they found the ſix Britiſh men of war and all the merchantmen had joined there, to order the commodore not to loſe a moment that could be made uſe of for ſailing, but to proceed. Theſe cruizers arrived at Dantzick on

[n] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 869. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxi. p. 261. Gordon's life of Peter the Great, vol. ii. p. 77. [o] Lamberti, tome ix. p. 620. where the political motives of this meaſure are copiouſly diſcuſſed.

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the 30th, where they joined the Britiſh men of war, and the trade, which on the 31ſt all ſailed from Dantzick [p].

On the 9th of November the Britiſh men of war, with the trade, joined Sir John Norris's ſquadron at Bornholm, (having ſailed from the fleet off Dantzick on the 4th of this month), and the next day came all with him into the road of Copenhagen. On the 12th arrived the Dutch trade with their convoy, which had been obliged to ſtay after ours at Dantzick for proviſions. A few days after, Sir John ſailed from the road of Copenhagen; and, notwithſtanding his fleet, as well as the merchantmen under his convoy, were ſurpriſed by a violent ſtorm, which diſperſed them, and in which the Auguſt of ſixty guns, and the Garland of twenty-four, were unfortunately loſt; yet the reſt, with all the trade, ſafely arrived at the Trow on the 29th of November in the morning. Sir John Norris left ſeven ſhips of war, under the command of commodore Cleeland, in the Baltic, to act in conjunction with the Danes, and for the farther ſecurity of the Britiſh trade, if neceſſary [q]. Thus I have proſecuted the hiſtory of this Baltic expedition, from the ſailing to the return of the fleet, that the reader might the better apprehend it: and now I ought to recur to the proceedings of our fleets in the channel, but that it ſeems requiſite to clear up ſome points relating to this Baltic expedition, which have of late been the ſubject of high diſputes.

The great point in queſtion as to this Swediſh expedition is, whether it took riſe from our own concerns, or from thoſe of the electorate of Hanover. On the one hand it is very certain that the Swediſh privateers took our ſhips as well as thoſe of other nations, and that, in fitting our fleet for thoſe ſeas, we did no more than the Dutch. On the arrival of Sir John Norris in the Baltic, our miniſter preſented a memorial, in which he ſet forth the particular damages ſuſtained by our merchants, amounting to 69,024 l. 2s. 9 d. for which he demanded ſatisfaction, and at the ſame time inſiſted on the repeal of an edict, which his Swediſh majeſty had lately publiſhed, and by which the com-

[p] Voltaire, hiſtoire de Charles XII. roi de Suede, liv. vii. where theſe diſputes are treated very ſuperficially. [q] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 870. Annals of king George, vol. iii. p. 107. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxi. p. 616, 617.

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merce of the Baltic was wholly prohibited to the Engliſh. This memorial was preſented June 15, 1715, and in it the nature of Sir John Norris's commiſſion was explained; ſo that, thus far, all this quarrel ſeems to ariſe from his majeſty's care of the Britiſh commerce[r].

But, as elector of Hanover, he had alſo ſome diſputes with his majeſty of Sweden, of quite a different nature; for having purchaſed from the crown of Denmark the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the crown of Sweden, he found himſelf obliged, in quality of elector, to concur with the firſt-mentioned power in declaring war againſt Sweden; and, even before this was done, ſome Engliſh ſhips joined the Daniſh fleet, in order to diſtreſs the Swedes. Of this the Swediſh miniſter here complained by a memorial delivered to lord Townſhend, then ſecretary of ſtate, dated October 3, 1715. His Swediſh majeſty alſo, in anſwer to the Hanoverian declaration of war, publiſhed ſome very ſevere reflections, in which he aſſerts, that the honour of the Britiſh flag had been proſtituted to ſerve the intereſts of another ſtate, and in order to create an intercourſe between the king's regal and electoral dominions[s]. Thus far I have given the evidence on both ſides, and leave the whole to the determination of the reader, with this obſervation only, that the Dutch, though no leſs injured, no leſs concerned in their trade than we, did not, however, think it neceſſary to come to ſuch extremities.

While this ſquadron was employed in the Baltic, the rebellion was extinguiſhed in Scotland, but with ſo little aſſiſtance from our naval force, that it ſcarce deſerves to be mentioned. It is true, Sir George Byng was ſent to hoiſt his flag in the Downs in the middle of ſummer, and continued there as long as the ſeaſon would permit[t]; but no enemy appeared, and Sir John Jennings was ſent to Edinburgh, from whence he went on board the Oxford in the Frith, and hoiſted his flag as commander in

[r] Lamberti, tome ix. p. 251. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 423. Hiſtorical regiſter for the year 1716, p. 525. [s] Lamberti, tome ix. p. 301. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1716, p. 15. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. Oldmixon, vol. ii. and other writers. [t] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 867. Annals of king George, vol. ii. p. 3. Salmon's chronological hiſtorian, vol ii. p. 50.

chief

chief of the ſquadron then upon the coaſts, which would have been highly ſerviceable in caſe the pretender's adherents had either had any naval force, or had been ſuccoured from beyond the ſeas: but there was nothing of this kind. The rebellion broke out under the influence and direction of the earl of Mar, who was ſoon joined by the clans; and, the duke of Argyll being ſent down againſt him, it quickly appeared how ill their meaſures had been taken. His grace had indeed but a ſmall number of regular troops under his command; but his intereſt was ſo extenſive, that he not only engaged many powerful families to declare for king George, but, which perhaps was the greater ſervice of the two, engaged many more to remain quiet, who otherwiſe had joined the rebels. The buſineſs was decided by the battle of Sheriff-muir, near Dunblain, fought November 13, 1715[u], the ſame day that general Foſter, and the Engliſh who were in arms, ſurrendered at Preſton. Yet, after this, the chevalier de St. George ventured over into Scotland in a very poor veſſel, where ſoon finding his affairs deſperate, and his perſon in the utmoſt danger, he contrived to make his eſcape from the north with the utmoſt ſecrecy, which he effected by going on board a clean-tallowed French ſnow, which ſailed out of the harbour of Montroſe[w], February the third, in ſight of ſome Engliſh men of war, but kept ſo cloſe along ſhore, that they ſoon found it was impoſſible to follow her.

Theſe were the principal tranſactions of this year, at the cloſe of which things were ſtill in ſuch confuſion, that the parliament thought fit to grant very large ſupplies for the enſuing year, *viz.* 10,000 ſeamen at the rate of 4 l. *per* month, the ſums of 233,849 l. 19 s. 6 d. for the ordinary of the navy, and 23,623 l. for the extraordinary repairs of the navy[x]. We have already taken notice of what paſſed under Sir John Norris in the Baltic, and have therefore only to obſerve, that this year ſome of the piratical republics in Barbary having broke the peace, admiral

[u] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 621. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 459. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1716, p. 108, 109. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lix. p. 671. [w] Annals of king George, vol. ii. p. 230. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1716, p. 115. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lx. p. 353. [x] Tindal. Oldmixon. Annals of king George, vol. ii. p. 212.

Baker, who had the command of the Engliſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean, received orders to bring them to reaſon, which he did without any great difficulty. But the Salee rovers ſtill did a great deal of miſchief, and it was the more difficult to ſuppreſs them, becauſe their ſhips were ſo ſmall, and drew ſo little water, that our men of war were very ſeldom able to come near enough to exchange ſhot with them. At laſt captain Delgarno, one of the moſt active officers in the navy, in his majeſty's ſhip the Hind of twenty guns only, came up with one of their beſt men of war of twenty-four guns, and, after an obſtinate engagement of two hours and a half, obliged her to ſtrike; but ſhe had not been in his poſſeſſion above a quarter of an hour before ſhe ſunk, and all her crew, except thirty-eight hands, periſhed: this, with the loſs of another veſſel of eight guns, and two more of ſixteen guns each, which were forced on ſhore by his majeſty's ſhip the Bridgewater, delivered, in a great meaſure, the Engliſh commerce in the Mediterranean from the interruptions given by theſe pirates [y].

In the month of July his majeſty went over to Holland, eſcorted by an Engliſh ſquadron, and from thence continued his journey by land to Hanover, where the diſturbances in the north made his preſence at that time particularly neceſſary, and where he continued the reſt of the year 1716, at the cloſe of which admiral Aylmer ſailed with his ſquadron for Holland to eſcort him home [z]. In the mean time the government was employed in extinguiſhing the remains of the rebellion here and in Scotland, and providing, in the beſt manner they could, againſt the revival of ſuch diſturbances, of which they had the greater hopes from the conduct which the regent of France purſued, who ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to live upon good terms with Great Britain, as was indeed his intereſt [a]. But it very ſoon appeared, that, notwithſtanding the chevalier's adherents had loſt their hopes with reſpect to ſuccours from France, they had ſtill another power willing and ready to aſſiſt them.

y Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 868, 869. z Hiſtorical regiſter for 1716, p. 355. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxii. p. 221. a Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 505. Annals of king George, vol. iii. p. 109.

Upon

Upon his majeſty's return a dangerous conſpiracy was ſaid to be diſcovered, in which many were engaged at home and abroad, and for defeating of which it was thought neceſſary to ſecure the perſon and papers of count Gyllenbourg [b], then his Swediſh majeſty's ambaſſador at this court, and who at the time of his death was prime miniſter of that kingdom; a fact which ſtruck the foreign miniſters here with the utmoſt ſurpriſe, from which, however, they quickly recovered themſelves, when they were informed, that it was not for any act of his miniſtry, but for his being concerned in the management of a plot againſt the government [c]. About the ſame time the famous baron Goertz [d] was, at his Britannic majeſty's requeſt, arreſted in Holland, where he acted as miniſter from the king of Sweden. In order to ſatisfy the world, the letters and papers relating to the invaſion, which it was ſaid his Swediſh majeſty intended to have made in Scotland, were rendered public [e], and the parliament ſoon after ſhewed the warmeſt reſentment at the inſolence of this attempt.

It was indeed amazing, that a prince, already overwhelmed by ſo many and ſo powerful enemies, ſhould think of adding to their number by practices of this kind: but whoever conſiders the genius and ſpirit of the late Charles XII. will eaſily conceive, that it was natural enough for him to embrace any expedient, how dangerous ſoever, which ſeemed to promiſe the diſſolving that confederacy by which he was diſtreſſed. But his deſign was not only rendered abortive by this unexpected diſcovery, which put it abſolutely out of his power to carry it into execution; but it likewiſe brought upon him new difficulties, in conſequence of his Britannic majeſty's reſentment of ſuch behaviour, which preſently diſcovered itſelf by the vigorous reſolutions taken here: for, on the 21ſt of February, it was reſolved in the houſe of commons, "That a bill be brought in to authoriſe his majeſty "to prohibit commerce with Sweden, during ſuch a time as his "majeſty ſhall think it neceſſary, for the ſafety and peace of his

[b] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 630. Salmon's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 69. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxii. p. 224.
[c] See Mr. Secretary Stanhope's letter to the foreign miniſters, then reſiding in England, in the hiſtorical regiſter for the year 1717, p. 67. [d] Annals of king George, vol. iii. p. 141. [e] Hiſtorical regiſter for 1717, p. 71. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxii. p. 341.

" kingdom;" which afterwards paſſed both houſes, and had the royal aſſent; and, on the 2d of March, a proclamation was publiſhed for this purpoſe [f].

As it was foreſeen that this affair muſt neceſſarily occaſion the ſending another ſquadron to the Baltic, the neceſſary ſupplies were very early granted, *viz.* 10,000 ſeamen for the ſervice of the year 1717; 226,799 l. 5s. 3 d. for the ordinary of the navy, and 20,761 l. for the extraordinary repairs, and for the furniſhing ſuch ſea-ſtores as might be neceſſary [g]. Immediately after, orders were iſſued for forming a grand ſquadron, conſiſting of twenty-one ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, for the Baltic, the command of which was given to Sir George Byng, who was to have had two admirals under him, with an additional force; but, before thoſe ſhips were ready, the miniſtry altered their deſign, and Sir George, in obedience to freſh orders, ſailed on the 30th of March for Copenhagen [h].

Whatever neceſſity there might be for theſe vigorous meaſures, yet it is certain, that this neceſſity did not ſo fully appear to many who were hitherto ſuppoſed as penetrating politicians as any in this kingdom; and therefore an oppoſition was created where it was leaſt expected, I mean by ſome who had the honour to be in the king's councils, which, however did not hinder them from expreſſing their ſentiments with a Britiſh freedom. Their arguments, however, had ſo little weight, that, as ſoon as Sir George Byng was ſailed, ſome of the great miniſters prevailed upon his majeſty to ſend, on the 3d of April, 1717, a meſſage to the houſe of commons to this effect: " That, being deſirous to " ſecure his kingdoms againſt the preſent dangers with which " they were threatened from Sweden, he hoped they would " enable him to make good ſuch engagements as might eaſe his " people of all future charge and apprehenſions upon this ac- " count [i]." This occaſioned warm debates in the houſe, it being ſaid, that the demanding a ſupply, without communicating the particular uſes to which it was to be appropriated, was un-

[f] Chandler's debates, vol. vi. p. 109. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1717, p. 170.
[g] Annals of K. George, vol. iii. p. 152. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1717, p. 123. [h] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 636. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1717, p. 73. Columna roſtrata, p. 300.
[i] Chandler's debates, vol. vi. p. 115.

parliamentary;

parliamentary; and even Mr. Walpole, afterwards created earl of Orford, and Mr. Speaker, appear to be againſt it. However, it was at length carried in the committee, by 164 to 149, "That it was the opinion of the committee, that a ſum not exceeding two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds be granted to his majeſty, to concert ſuch meaſures with foreign princes and ſtates as may prevent any charge and apprehenſion from the deſigns of Sweden for the future." When the queſtion for agreeing with the committee was put in the houſe, it was carried but by four voices, *viz.* yeas 153, noes 149[k].

The next morning Mr. Secretary Stanhope let the lord Townſhend know, that his majeſty had no farther occaſion for his ſervice, as lord-lieutenant of Ireland: whereupon Mr. Walpole, who was then firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, Mr. Methuen ſecretary of ſtate, and Mr. Pulteney ſecretary at war, laid down their employments[l]. A few days after, Edward, (Ruſſel) earl of Orford, reſigned his office of firſt lord of the admiralty; upon which his majeſty thought proper to change that board, and accordingly, James, earl of Berkley, Matthew Aylmer, Eſq; Sir George Byng, James Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Eſqrs. were made lords commiſſioners of the admiralty[m].

It was neceſſary to take notice of theſe domeſtic proceedings, before we followed Sir George Byng with his fleet into the Baltic; where ſo little was performed, that it is not eaſy to give the reader any tolerable ſatisfaction about it. On the 11th of April, Sir George arrived in the road of Copenhagen; the next day he had an audience of the king of Denmark, and aſſiſted at ſeveral conferences, which were held in the ſucceeding week, in order to ſettle the operations by ſea, and the command of the confederate fleet, in caſe it ſhould be thought requiſite for the ſeveral ſquadrons to join[n]. Sir George next detached five ſhips of the line to cruize in the Categat, between Gottenburgh and the point of Schagen, to cover the trade from the Swediſh pri-

[k] Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 521. Annals of king George, vol. iii. p. 162. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1717, p. 153. [l] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 639. [m] Annals of king George, vol. iii. p. 169. Salmon's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 71. [n] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 871. Annals of king George, vol. iii. p. 317. Mercure hiſtorique & politique, tom. lxii. p. 507.

vateers,

vateers. The Daniſh cruizers being likewiſe employed for the ſame purpoſe, the paſſage was ſo effectually ſecured, that no ſhips could paſs out of that port. Sir George himſelf waited only for a fair wind to ſail with the reſt of the Britiſh ſquadron into the Baltic, where the Swedes, however, had by this time abſolutely laid aſide whatever deſigns were formed, either to our prejudice or againſt the general peace of Europe.

On the 7th of May, however, our admiral ſailed from Copenhagen, having under his convoy a great number of merchant ſhips, bound for ſeveral parts of the Baltic, and in the Kiogerbucht was joined by the Daniſh fleet, commanded by vice-admiral Gabel: they ſailed together towards Carlſcroon; but were obliged by contrary winds to return. As no enemy appeared, and the ſeaſon of the year began to advance, Sir George Byng thought of coming home with the fleet; and accordingly, on the 2d of November, paſt the Sound [o] with nine Engliſh men of war, three frigates, and three veſſels of ſmall burden, leaving behind him ſix men of war, to act in conjunction with the Daniſh fleet; and on the 15th of the ſame month arrived ſafe at the mouth of the Thames; there leaving his ſquadron, he came up to London, where he was graciouſly received by his majeſty. So that here ended the naval expedition for this year, and with it, in a great meaſure, all the apprehenſions the nation was under from the Swedes [p].

In

[o] Ledlard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 872. Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 63. Mercure hiſtorique & politique, tom. lxiii. p. 689.

[p] To quiet the minds of the people, and prevent their running into a notion that the fitting out this fleet was not really intended for the honour and ſervice of Great Britain, the following account was publiſhed in the Gazette.

Admiralty-office, June 28.

"Captain Leſtock of the Panther, who commands the ſhips appointed by Sir "George Byng to cruize off Gottenburgh, gives an account by his letter, dated "the 13th of laſt month, that on the 27th of April he ſailed out of Marde in "Norway, and three days after took a Swediſh privateer-dogger of ſix guns "and ſeventy-two men, commanded by one St. Leger, the perſon who ſome "time ſince ſeized one of our packet-boats. That the ſame afternoon he re-"took a Dutch hoy, which had been taken the day before by a Swediſh ſhip of "ten guns; and on the 1ſt of May, in the afternoon, he met and took the "privateer into whoſe hands the hoy had fallen; all which prizes were carried "in to Arundel; and that, the 9th at night, the Straſford retook a Dutch fly-"boat. By another letter from captain Leſtock, dated the 26th of May, he

"gave

In the mean time his majeſty had thought fit to appoint Sir John Norris envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Czar of Muſcovy [q]; and, as if things began to be ſo diſpoſed as to admit of a peace in the north, a reſolution was taken to diſcharge count Gyllenbourg, which was thus brought about. His royal highneſs the duke of Orleans ordered the French miniſter here [r] to acquaint the king, that his royal highneſs was perfectly well informed as to the king of Sweden's diſpoſition, and that he was thoroughly ſatisfied, that his Swediſh majeſty had not, or ever had, any intention to diſturb the tranquillity of his Britannic majeſty's dominions; that if, therefore, his miniſters had entered into any practices of that kind, it was entirely without his knowledge; and that, upon their return to Sweden, he would cauſe a ſtrict inquiry to be made into their conduct, in order to puniſh them, if they ſhould be proved guilty [s]. Upon this propoſition from the regent of France, it was agreed, that count Gyllenbourg ſhould be exchanged againſt Mr. Jackſon, the Engliſh miniſter at Stockholm, and that baron Goertz ſhould be releaſed from his confinement in Holland, which was accordingly performed. Yet the ſtorm did not entirely blow over; but the Swediſh quarrel ſtill proved a ſource of new expence to the Britiſh nation [t].

The miniſtry, to ſhew that their thoughts were not wholly taken up by theſe diſputes in the north, framed at this time a very juſt and laudable deſign of ſuppreſſing the pirates in the Weſt Indies, who, ſince the cloſe of the late war, were become very numerous and highly inſolent. And to give the public a juſt idea of their care in this reſpect, they cauſed an order of

"gave an account, that his majeſty's ſhip the Severn had taken a pirate, and re-
"taken a Dutch fly-boat; that the Chatham had taken two Swediſh privateers;
"and that, on the 15th of the ſaid month of May, our ſhips took a Swediſh bri-
"gantine of eight guns and twenty-ſix men."

[q] Hiſtorical regiſter for 1717, p. 29. [r] Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 540. Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 649. Annals of king George, vol. iii. p. 320. [s] Voltaire hiſtoire de Charles XII. roi de Suede, lib. viii. where he ſays, they were releaſed without his Swediſh majeſty's deigning to give the king of Britain the ſmalleſt ſatisfaction. Yet he acknowledges the principal point the Czar carried, while in France, was engaging the duke regent to intereſt himſelf in this affair. [t] Hiſtorical regiſter for 1717, p. 35. Mercure hiſtorique & politique, tom. lxiii. p. 356.

council,

council, dated the 15th of September, 1717, to be publiſhed, to the effect following, *viz.* "That complaint having been "made to his majeſty by great numbers of merchants, maſters "of ſhips, and others, as well as by the ſeveral governors of "his majeſty's iſlands and plantations in the Weſt Indies, that "the pirates are grown ſo numerous, that they infeſt not only "the ſeas of Jamaica, but even thoſe of the northern continent "of America; and that unleſs ſome effectual means be uſed, "the whole trade from Great Britain in thoſe parts will not on-"ly be obſtructed, but be in imminent danger of being loſt; his "majeſty has, upon mature deliberation in council, been gra-"ciouſly pleaſed, in the firſt place, to order a proper force to "be employed for ſuppreſſing the ſaid piracies; and, that no-"thing may be wanting for the more effectual putting an end to "the ſaid piracies, his majeſty had alſo been graciouſly pleaſed "to iſſue a proclamation, dated the 5th inſtant. And, whereas "it hath alſo been repreſented to his majeſty, that the houſe of "lords had addreſſed her late majeſty on this account, particu-"larly with reſpect to the Bahama-iſlands; but that there were "not any means uſed, in compliance with that addreſs, for ſe-"curing the ſaid Bahama-iſlands; and that, at this time, the "pirates have a lodgment with a battery on Harbour-iſland, one "of the Bahamas, as alſo, that the uſual retreat, and general re-"ceptacle for pirates, is at Providence, the principal of thoſe "iſlands; his majeſty has been farther pleaſed to give directions "for diſlodging thoſe pirates, who have taken ſhelter in the "ſaid iſlands, as well as for ſecuring thoſe iſlands, and making "ſettlements, and a fortification there, for the ſafety and bene-"fit of the trade and navigation of thoſe ſeas for the future[u]."

By a proclamation, dated the fifth of September, 1717[w], his majeſty promiſed his pardon to any Engliſh Weſt India pirates, who ſhould ſurrender themſelves on or before the 5th of September following, for all piracies committed before the 5th of January preceding: and, after the ſaid 5th of September any of his majeſty's officers by ſea or land, who ſhould take a pirate, upon his conviction, to have for a captain, a hundred pounds;

[u] Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 327. Oldmixon, vol. ii. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. [w] Hiſtorical regiſter for 1717, p. 37. Salmon's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 77.

for

for any other officer, from a lieutenant down to a gunner, forty pounds; for an inferior officer, thirty pounds; and for every private man, twenty pounds. Laſtly, any pirate delivering up a captain, or commander, on or before the 6th of September following, (ſo as he ſhould be convicted), was to have two hundred pounds reward, to be paid at the treaſury. We ſhall, in treating of the events of next year, give a large account of the good effects which this proclamation produced, by giving an immediate check to the inſolency of theſe ſort of people, and opening a way to their total ſuppreſſion. But it is now time to return to affairs of greater importance, and to ſay ſomewhat of the politics of the Britiſh miniſtry at this juncture; the rather, becauſe all the naval tranſactions which follow, depend entirely upon them.

The troubles of the north ſtill ſubſiſting, we could not ſuddenly extricate ourſelves from the ſhare we had taken in them; though it was viſibly ſuch a one, as had put our commerce under great difficulties abroad, and perplexed us not a little at home. The merchants complained of the bad effects which the prohibition of trade with Sweden had produced; aſſerting that, inſtead of thirty thouſands pounds a-year, which the balance of that trade conſtantly brought us, we now loſt ninety thouſand pounds a-year, by purchaſing Swediſh commodities from other people, particularly from the Dutch, who raiſed the price of Swediſh iron four pounds a ton; which was thought the harder, becauſe, in the original quarrel, the Dutch were as deep as ourſelves, and now, by an unaccountable turn, they were in poſſeſſion of the whole Swediſh trade; and we, after all our armaments, were intirely excluded [x].

This was the effect of the Swediſh war abroad; but here at home, things were in a worſe ſituation; for ſeveral of the leading patriots who had reſigned their places, upon that change of meaſures which produced the Swediſh war, inſiſted warmly, both within doors, and without, that it was now carried on, not only without regard, but in direct oppoſition, and with manifeſt diſadvantage to the intereſt of Great Britain. In proof of

[x] Chandler's debates, vol. vi. p. 178. Hiſtorical regiſter, for 1718, p. 141. Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 113.

this, they alledged not only the memorials preſented from time to time by the Swediſh miniſters, but thoſe alſo delivered of late by the miniſter from the Czar; which concurred in affirming, that all our meaſures in the north were governed by the German intereſt[y]. I do not take upon me to determine whether theſe gentlemen were in the right, or in the wrong. I only relate matters of fact as I find them: and relate them, becauſe my hiſtory would not be intelligible without them.

The miniſtry, however, did not change their ſentiments, but perſiſted ſtill in their reſolution, to bring the king of Sweden to ſuch terms as they thought reaſonable by force. This was a method, which, of all princes, Charles XII. could leaſt bear; and therefore inſtead of thinking of a peace upon ſuch terms, he turned his thoughts intirely on the means of carrying on the war; and, though his affairs were in a very low and diſtreſſed condition, yet his heroic ſpirit, joined to the indefatigable pains he took, put them at laſt into ſuch a poſture, that, if he had not been ſnatched away by a ſudden death, it is highly probable he would have reſtored them, at leaſt on the ſide of Germany[z].

But this was not the only affair of conſequence that employed the thoughts of the adminiſtration. We were then in cloſe confederacy with the emperor and France, and, in conjunction with theſe powers, had undertaken to ſettle the affairs of Europe on a better foundation than the treaty of Utrecht left them. With this view, the triple alliance was concluded on the 4th January, 1717[a]; and, that not anſwering the end expected from it, we next entered (as will be ſhewn) into the famous quadruple alliance[b], which was intended to remedy all theſe defects, and to fix the general tranquillity for ever. Yet, by unforeſeen accidents, to which human policy will be always liable, this al-

y Lamberti, tom. x. p. 40—51, where the reader may find the ſeveral memorials, and anſwers to them. z Voltaire hiſtoire de Charles XII. roi de Suede, liv viii. p. 328, 329. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. lxvi. p. 37. Oldmixon's hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 628. a Corps univerſel diplomatique, tom. viii. part I. p. 484. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 508. Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. ii. p. 660. Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 139. b Corps univerſel diplomatique, tom. viii. part I. p. 531. Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 156. Hiſtorical regiſter, for 1718, p. 321.

liance

liance proved the cauſe of an immediate war between us and Spain, and in its conſequences was the ſource of all the troubles that diſturbed Europe, from the time of its concluſion to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

By this quadruple treaty (the terms of which were already fixed, though it was not executed for ſome months afterwards) the contracting powers undertook to ſatisfy the emperor and the king of Spain: in order to which, his imperial majeſty was to have Sicily given him; and the reverſion of all the Italian dominions, which the queen of Spain pretended was to be ſecured to her poſterity. The crown of Spain was highly diſpleaſed with the proviſion made for its intereſt; and though the emperor ſeemed to be very well contented at this juncture; yet, as ſoon as Spain was compelled to accept what was now offered her, he alſo grew diſpleaſed with this partition, and we were many years unable to keep them both in any temper, or preſerve ourſelves from being involved in their quarrels, as the reader, in the courſe of this work, will be ſufficiently informed. Theſe Spaniſh diſputes were another ground of oppoſition, which afforded room for the then patriots to complain, that we were more attentive to the intereſt of the emperor, than careful of the commerce of Great Britain. In ſpite of this clamour, the miniſtry concerted with the emperor and France, the proper means for executing the project which gave birth to this treaty, by taking the iſland of Sicily from the duke of Savoy, who was now poſſeſſed of it, with the title of king, and giving it to his imperial majeſty; to which the firſt-mentioned prince was obliged to ſubmit, becauſe he ſaw plainly, that if he did not conſent to yield this kingdom to the emperor, he ſhould either have it taken from him by force, or loſe it to the Spaniards, from whom Sardinia was, by our plan, to be taken and beſtowed on the duke of Savoy, in exchange for Sicily[c].

In this critical ſituation things were, when the parliament met on the 21ſt of November, 1717; and, on the 2d of December following, they granted, as the cuſtom had been of late years, 10,000 ſeamen for the year 1718, and 224,837 l. 14 s. 11 d.

[c] Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 562. Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 660. Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 188, 189.

for the ordinary of the navy. But, as this would by no means anſwer the deſigns that had been formed by the adminiſtration, the king was prevailed upon to ſend a meſſage to the houſe of commons on the 17th of March, conceived in the following terms[d]:

"GEORGE REX.

"His majeſty being at preſent engaged in ſeveral negociations, of the utmoſt concern to the welfare of theſe kingdoms, and the tranquillity of Europe; and having lately received information from abroad, which makes him judge that it will give weight to his endeavours, if a naval force be employed where it ſhall be neceſſary, does think fit to acquaint this houſe therewith; not doubting, but that in caſe he ſhould be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the ſea-ſervice, the houſe will at their next meeting provide for ſuch exceeding."

This meſſage was brought to the houſe by Mr. Boſcawen, and an addreſs, promiſing to make good ſuch exceedings as were mentioned, if they ſhould be found neceſſary, was moved for by Sir William Strickland, and agreed to, without a diviſion; which was extremely agreeable to the court[e]. The next day the king thought fit to make ſome alterations at the navy-board; and, accordingly, James, earl of Berkley, Sir George Byng, Sir John Jennings, John Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Eſqrs. Sir John Norris, and Sir Charles Wager, were declared commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of England, Ireland, &c. the right honourable James, earl of Berkley, appointed vice-admiral, and Matthew Aylmer, Eſq; rear-admiral of Great Britain, who was ſoon after raiſed to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Ireland[f].

[d] Chandler's debates, vol. vi. p. 150, 180. [e] Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 111, 112. Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 658. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. ii. p. 561. [f] Hiſtorical regiſter for 1718, p. 11. Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 377. Salmon's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 80.

While

While theſe ſteps were taking, a great number of large ſhips were put into commiſſion, and ſuch other meaſures purſued, as rendered it evident, that the fleet now fitting out, would not prove a fleet of parade. The Spaniſh miniſter here, M. de Monteleone, who was a man of foreſight and intrigue, being alarmed at theſe appearances, repreſented in a memorial, dated the 18th of March, 1718, "That ſo powerful an armament, "in time of peace, could not but cauſe umbrage to the king "his maſter, and alter the good intelligence that reigned be-"tween the two crowns." The king anſwered, "That it was "not his intention to conceal the ſubject of that armament; "and that he deſigned ſoon to ſend admiral Byng, with a "powerful ſquadron, into the Mediterranean Sea, in order to "maintain the neutrality of Italy, againſt thoſe who ſhould "ſeek to diſturb it[g]." The reaſon aſſigned for acting with ſo much vigour, was the diſpoſitions made in Spain for attacking the iſland of Sicily, and the hardſhips that were put upon the Britiſh merchants. Cardinal Alberoni, who was then at the head of the Spaniſh affairs, defended himſelf, and the meaſures he had taken, with great ſpirit, endeavouring to make the world believe, that the Spaniſh expedition againſt the iſland of Sicily was not ſo much a matter of choice, as of neceſſity. I ſhould wrong that able miniſter extremely, if I ſhould endeavour to give his ſenſe in any other words than his own; and, therefore, I have preſerved his letter upon this ſubject[h]; which is

[g] Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 562. Oldmixon, vol. ii. Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 166. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxiv. p. 467.

[h] The letter referred to in the text was written by cardinal Alberoni to the marquis de Berretti Landi, his Catholic majeſty's ambaſſador to the States General, who communicated it to their high mightineſſes. The reader will eaſily perceive, that this letter falls a good deal later in point of time, than where I place it; but, as it contains the reaſons of the Sicilian expedition, I thought it came in beſt for my purpoſe here.

"I acquaint your excellency, that my lord Stanhope ſet out the 26th of "this month from the court at the Eſcurial for Madrid; whence he was to "proceed in his journey to Paris; having ſeen proofs ſufficient, during his ſtay "here, of the conſtancy and firmneſs with which the king rejected the project "of the prince's mediators, and the ſuſpenſion of arms laſt propoſed. He "learned

is ſo much the more curious, as no notice at all is taken of it, in ſome late accounts of this expedition.

" learned from their majeſties own mouths, in two long conferences, to " which he had the honour to be admitted, that they deteſted that project, as " unjuſt, prejudicial, and offenſive to their honour; I told him, that I did " not comprehend what motive could induce the confederated powers to admit " the duke of Savoy into their alliance; not only conſidering of what little uſe " he will be to them, but becauſe it is certain thoſe powers have no need of " the troops of Savoy, unleſs that prince will maintain them at his own ex- " pence, which will be very difficult to obtain.

" As for Sicily, I declared to my lord Stanhope, in the preſence of the mar- " quis de Nancre, that France and Great Britain had of themſelves, and none " elſe whatever, induced the king to recover that kingdom; for both theſe " courts had aſſured his majeſty, that the duke of Savoy was treating with the " arch-duke to give up to him that iſland, if he would accept of it; but that " he had refuſed it, conſidering it would be better for him to receive it by the " diſpoſition of the powers mediators, and with the conſent of Spain, becauſe " in that caſe he would have the advantage to obtain it by a more juſt and " more authentic title; beſides the aſſurance of keeping it by the favour of ſo " powerful a guaranty. I likewiſe ſhewed my lord Stanhope, that the arch- " duke being maſter of Sicily, all Italy will become ſlaves to the Germans, " and the powers of Europe not be able to ſet her at liberty. And, that the " Germans in the laſt war, with a ſmall body of troops, made head, and diſ- " puted the ground againſt two crowns, which had formidable armies in Lom- " bardy, were maſters of the country, and a great number of conſiderable " places. I alſo repreſented to him very clearly, that, to make war in Lom- " bardy was to make it in a labyrinth, and that it was the fatal burial place of " the French and Engliſh. That every year of the laſt war coſt France 18,000 " or 20,000 recruits, and above fifteen millions: that the duke of Vendoſme, " at the time things went proſperouſly, ſaid, that if the war in Italy laſted, " the two crowns muſt indiſpenſibly abandon that province, becauſe of the im- " menſe charge. That, according to the engagements now propoſed, the ſuc- " cours of Great Britain are far off, and impracticable, and that the reſt would " coſt a potoſi, enough to ruin a kingdom. That at preſent thoſe of France " are impoſſible, and would be generally oppoſed by the nation. That the " arch-duke would triumph with all theſe advantages, and England not reco- " ver the leaſt re-imburſement; when, on the contrary, ſhe might gain con- " ſiderably, by ſiding with Spain. In concluſion, I told lord Stanhope plainly, " that the propoſition of giving Sicily to the arch-duke was abſolutely fatal; " and that of ſettling bounds afterwards to his vaſt deſigns, a mere dream and " illuſion, ſince that prince, being poſſeſſed of Sicily, would have no farther " need either of France or England, for bringing immediately the reſt of Italy " under ſubjection; and no power would be in a condition to oppoſe it. This " is the ſubſtance of all the conferences my lord Stanhope had, and your ex- " cellency may make uſe of it as occaſion ſhall offer."

About

About the middle of the month of March, Sir George Byng was appointed admiral and commander in chief of the ſquadron intended for the Mediterranean; and, on the 24th of May following, he received his inſtructions, which were to this purpoſe. "That he ſhould, upon his arrival in the Mediterranean, acquaint the king of Spain, and likewiſe the viceroy "of Naples, and governor of Milan, he was ſent into that "ſea, in order to promote all meaſures that might beſt contribute to the compoſing the differences ariſen between the two "crowns, and for preventing any farther violation of the neutrality of Italy, which he was to ſee preſerved. That he "was to make inſtances to both parties to forbear all acts of "hoſtility, in order to the ſetting on foot, and concluding the "proper negociations of peace. But, in caſe the Spaniards "ſhould ſtill perſiſt to attack the emperor's territory in Italy, or "to land in any part of Italy for that purpoſe, or ſhould endeavour to make themſelves maſters of the iſland of Sicily, "which muſt be with a deſign to invade the kingdom of Naples, he was then, with all his power, to hinder and obſtruct "the ſame; but, if they were already landed, he was to endeavour amicably to diſſuade them from perſevering in ſuch "an attempt, and to offer them his aſſiſtance to withdraw their "troops, and put an end to all farther acts of hoſtility; but, "if his friendly endeavours ſhould prove ineffectual, he was "then to defend the territories attacked, by keeping company "with, or intercepting their ſhips, convoys, or (if neceſſary) "by oppoſing them openly." It is evident that theſe inſtructions were not of the cleareſt kind; but, it ſeems, they were explained to him before-hand, by the great men who had then the direction of all things, as appears by a letter which is ſtill preſerved, and which I have placed in the notes [i].

The

[i] The letter referred to in the text, is from Mr. Secretary Craggs, immediately before his embarkation; it is preſerved by the accurate hiſtorian of this expedition, in his appendix, p. 208, of his original edition; from whence I have tranſcribed it, as a full proof that Sir George acted according to the verbal explication of his written orders by the miniſters.

"SIR, Cockpit, May 27, O. S. 1718.

"I incloſe to you his majeſty's inſtructions, as well with relation to your "conduct in the Mediterranean, as to the treaty with the Moors.

"After

The admiral ſailed the 15th of June, 1718, from Spithead, with twenty ſhips of the line of battle, two fire-ſhips, two bomb-veſſels, an hoſpital-ſhip, and a ſtore-ſhip[k]. Being got into the ocean, he ſent the Rupert to Liſbon for intelligence; and arriving the 30th off Cape St. Vincent, he diſpatched the Superbe to Cadiz, with a gentleman, who carried a letter from him to colonel Stanhope, (the late earl of Harrington), the king's envoy at Madrid, wherein he deſired that miniſter to acquaint the king of Spain with his arrival in thoſe parts, in his way to the Mediterranean, and to lay before him the inſtructions he was to act under with his ſquadron; of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter.

The envoy ſhewed the letter to the cardinal Alberoni, who, upon reading it, told him with ſome warmth, "That his ma-"ſter would run all hazards, and even ſuffer himſelf to be "driven out of Spain, rather than recal his troops, or conſent "to any ſuſpenſion of arms;" adding, "That the Spaniards "were not to be frighted, and he was ſo well convinced of "their fleet's doing their duty, that if the admiral ſhould think "fit to attack them, he ſhould be in no pain for the ſucceſs." Mr. Stanhope having in his hand a liſt of the Britiſh ſquadron, deſired his eminence to peruſe it, and to compare its ſtrength with that of their own ſquadron; which the cardinal took and threw on the ground with much paſſion. Mr. Stanhope, with great temper, intreated him "To conſider the ſincere attention "the king, his maſter, had to the honour and intereſt of his "Catholic majeſty, which it was impoſſible for him to give "greater proofs of than he had done, by his unwearied en-

"After what paſſed yeſterday between my lord Sunderland, my lord Stan-"hope, you and me, when we were together at lord Stanhope's lodgings, "there remains nothing for me, but to wiſh you a good voyage, and ſucceſs in "your undertakings. I do it very heartily, and am, with great truth,

"SIR,

"Your moſt obedient,

"Humble ſervant,

"J. CRAGGS."

k Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 566. Columna roſtrata, p. 302. Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 152. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxv. p. 100, 101.

"deavours

" deavours through the whole courſe of the preſent negocia-
" tion, to procure the moſt advantageous conditions poſſible for
" Spain, in which he had ſucceeded even beyond what any un-
" prejudiced perſon could have hoped for; and that, though
" by the treaty of Utrecht for the neutrality of Italy, which
" was entered into at the requeſt of the king of Spain himſelf,
" as alſo by that of Weſtminſter, the 25th of May, 1716, his
" majeſty found himſelf obliged to defend the emperor's domi-
" nions when attacked, he had hitherto only acted as a media-
" tor, though, ever ſince the enterprize againſt Sardinia, by his
" treaties he became a party in the war, and for this year laſt
" paſt had been ſtrongly called upon by the emperor to com-
" ply with his engagements; and that, even now, when it was
" impoſſible for him to delay any longer the ſending his fleet
" into the Mediterranean, it plainly appeared by the admiral's
" inſtructions, which he communicated to his eminence, and
" by the orders he had himſelf received, that his majeſty had
" nothing more at heart, than that his fleet might be employed
" in promoting the intereſts of the king of Spain, and hoped
" his Catholic majeſty would not, by refuſing to recal his troops,
" or conſent to a ceſſation of arms, put it out of his power to
" give all the proofs of ſincere friendſhip he always deſigned
" to cultivate with his Catholic majeſty."

All that the cardinal could be brought to promiſe was, to lay the admiral's letter before the king[1], and to let the envoy know his reſolution upon it in two days: but it was nine before he could obtain and ſend it away; the cardinal probably hoping, that the admiral would delay taking vigorous meaſures in expectation of it, and perhaps put into ſome of the ports of Spain, and thereby give time for their fleet and forces to ſecure a good footing in Sicily. The anſwer was wrote under the admiral's letter in theſe words: " His Catholic majeſty
" has done me the honour to tell me, that the chevalier

[1] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 661. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, *ubi ſupra*. Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 189. See Mr. Secretary Craggs's letter to the marquis de Mohteleone, in the hiſtorical regiſter for 1718, p. 307.

" Byng may execute the orders which he has from the king his " maſter.

" The cardinal ALBERONI [m]."

Eſcurial, July 15, 1718.

Mr. Stanhope ſeeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehenſions to the Engliſh conſuls, and merchants ſettled in the Spaniſh ſea-ports, adviſing them to ſecure their effects againſt the dangers that might ariſe from a breach between the two crowns. This ſhewed plainly enough, that our miniſter was perfectly acquainted with the diſpoſition of the adminiſtration at home, who, notwithſtanding they ſteadily purſued theſe warlike meaſures, as conſtantly adhered to their firſt reſolution, of throwing the weight of this rupture, if poſſible, on the court of Spain [n]. With this view, lord Stanhope ſet out himſelf for Madrid, in order to make new propoſitions to his Catholic majeſty; which, if accepted, might prevent things from coming to extremities; in which negociation he actually laboured till very near the time that hoſtilities were begun; but to no purpoſe, for cardinal Alberoni was as much bent on executing his own ſcheme, as the Britiſh miniſtry could be with regard to theirs; and therefore rejected all the propoſals that were made him, with a firmneſs that was ſtiled inſolence by his enemies [o].

The admiral purſuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, it was the 8th of July before he made Cape Spartel, where the

[m] See the account of the expedition of the Britiſh fleet to Sicily, p. 8. As this is collected very fairly from original papers, I depend upon it as to facts; but have endeavoured to ſtate them with concurring evidence, in a manner more ſuitable to this hiſtory, in which I deſire to be conſidered in no other light than as a lover of truth, independent of complaiſance or party.

[n] M. de St. Philippe memoires pour ſervir a l'hiſtoire de l'Eſpagne, tome iii. p. 288, 289.

[o] Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 7. Lord Stanhope arrived at Madrid on the 12th of Auguſt, and on the 14th had a long conference with the cardinal at the Eſcurial, which gave him great hopes of ſucceſs; but, it ſeems, the news which that court received a few days after, from Sicily, ſo elevated the prime miniſter, that all proſpect of a pacification vaniſhed, which his lordſhip no ſooner perceived, than he left Spain as ſoon as poſſible, having his audience of leave on the 26th of the ſame month. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxv. p. 358.

Superbe

Superbe and Rupert rejoined him, and brought him advice of the mighty preparations the Spaniards had made at Barcelona, and of their fleet ſailing from thence the 18th of June to the eaſtward. In paſſing by Gibraltar, vice-admiral Cornwall came out of that port and joined him, with the Argyle and Charles galley. The ſquadron wanting water, and the wind continuing contrary, they anchored off Cape Malaga; where having compleated their watering in four days, they proceeded to Minorca, where the admiral was to land four regiments of foot, which he carried out from England, in order to relieve the ſoldiers there in the garriſon, who were to embark and ſerve on board the ſquadron. On the 23d of July he anchored with the ſquadron off Port Mahon: here he received advice, that the Spaniſh fleet had been ſeen the 30th of June, within forty leagues off Naples, ſteering S. E. upon which he diſpatched away expreſſes to the governor of Milan, and viceroy of Naples, to inform them of his arrival in the Mediterranean; and having ſhifted the garriſons of Minorca, he ſailed from thence the twenty-fifth of July, and arrived the firſt of Auguſt in the bay of Naples [p].

One need not wonder that the German government was extremely well pleaſed at the admiral's arrival, or that they paid him every honour in their power, ſince it is very certain, that his coming ſo luckily preſerved that kingdom for the houſe of Auſtria, which had otherwiſe, in all probability, ſhared the fate of Sicily; that the marquis de Lede had conquered almoſt as ſoon as he landed, or rather his landing gave people an opportunity of declaring for that power, which, though it had loſt its ſovereignty over them, had ſtill preſerved their affections [q].

[p] Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 567. Columna roſtrata, p. 302, 303. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxv. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 876.

[q] The imperial viceroy of Naples preſented Sir George with a ſword ſet with diamonds, and a very rich ſtaff of command; and to the admiral's ſon he made a preſent of a very fine ſword. After the conference the admiral was ſplendidly entertained at dinner, and then lodged in the palace of the duke de Matelona, which had been magnificently fitted up for his reception. The viceroy likewiſe ſent refreſhments to the fleet, conſiſting of a hundred oxen, three hundred ſheep, ſix hundred pounds of ſugar, ſeventy hogſheads of brandy, and ſeveral other things.

This news alarmed the viceroy of Naples, who had now no hopes but from the defence that might be made by the citadel of Meſſina; and from that he could have no great confidence, ſince it was garriſoned by the duke of Savoy's troops, who could not be ſuppoſed to intereſt themſelves much in preſerving a place which their maſter was to part with ſo ſoon. The viceroy, therefore, wiſely conſidered how he might make the beſt uſe of the Britiſh fleet and his own forces; upon which he came at laſt to this prudent reſolution, which was, to embark 2000 German foot under the command of general Wetzel, who were to take poſſeſſion of the citadel of Meſſina, and fort Salvador, in purſuance of an agreement with the duke of Savoy, who, finding that at all events he was to loſe the iſland, contrived to loſe it ſo, as that he might get ſomething for it. Theſe German forces were to be eſcorted by the Britiſh fleet, which ſailed for that purpoſe from Naples on the 6th of Auguſt, and arrived on the 9th in view of the Faro of Meſſina[r].

The Spaniſh army, after having taken the city laſt-mentioned, were now encamped before the citadel, which the troops, under the protection of Sir George Byng, were going to relieve. It was therefore highly likely that an action would enſue; and for this reaſon it was thought requiſite to put on ſtill a peaceable appearance, in order to throw the blame upon the Spaniards; which, however, was pretty difficult to do, ſince, with reſpect to the treaty of Utrecht, (the only treaty of which the Spaniards could take any notice), the Germans were as much invaders as they, and conſequently the eſcorting an invaſion ſeemed to be an odd way of conſerving a neutrality[s]. This ſtep, however, was neceſſary

[r] M. de St. Philippe memoires pour ſervir a l'hiſtoire de l'Eſpagne, tome iii. p. 295.

[s] As our miniſters, in conjunction with thoſe of the emperor and France, were at great pains to inſpire all Europe with the utmoſt horror for cardinal Alberoni, ſo that miniſter, than whom perhaps there never was an abler politician, thought fit, on his ſide, to publiſh ſeveral pieces, in order to ſhew, that the preſent diſpute was not between the Engliſh and Spaniſh nations, but between the Engliſh miniſtry, who would give law to the king of Spain, and the Spaniſh nation, that were determined not to receive it. Amongſt theſe the following manifeſto was thought the moſt remarkable, and will ſerve to give the reader a clear idea of the manner in which the court of Spain would have had this affair underſtood. It is a letter written by the cardinal to the M. de Beretti Landi; but the reader

neceſſary to be taken; and the admiral, who in point of good ſenſe and good breeding was as able a man as any in his time, did it with a very good grace.

He

reader will ſee by the cloſe of it, why I ſtyle it a manifeſto; in which light it was alſo conſidered by our court, as appears by ſecretary Craggs's letter to the Spaniſh miniſter, dated from Hampton-court, Sept. 4, 1718, in which he complains loudly of this proceeding, as if intended to excite the merchants to diſaffection towards the government.

" SIR,

" It is notorious every where, that the miniſtry of Great Britain, being pre-
" poſſeſſed by their paſſions and private views, have endeavoured, by all ima-
" ginable means, to infuſe into the Engliſh nation an entire diſtruſt and averſion
" for Spain, to engage the ſaid nation to purſue the maxims of that miniſtry,
" which are ſo prejudicial and contrary to the common good. It is known, that
" of late the government of England hath uſed their utmoſt endeavours to per-
" ſuade the nation, that the application and deſigns of Spain were to increaſe
" conſiderably her naval forces, to oppoſe the commerce which all nations in
" general carry on with the Indies, notwithſtanding the two laſt treaties; and
" the religious obſervation of his majeſty's royal word ought to convince
" the Engliſh of the artifice with which thoſe rumours are ſpread, and which are
" contrived only to excite diſtruſt and diſunion with the Spaniards; and every
" man of ſound judgment will reflect, that God has put the Indies into the
" power of that monarchy, to the end that all nations might partake of that ad-
" vantage: however, it is the king's will, that, for the greater proof of the ſin-
" cere deſire he has to maintain the public tranquillity, and for diſpelling re-
" ports ſo pernicious to the quiet of the ſubjects of Spain and England, your ex-
" cellency ſhould aſſure the Engliſh merchants that are in Holland, and all thoſe
" who are concerned in commerce, that his majeſty will never alter the eſtabliſh-
" ed laws, nor ever infringe the treaties which the Engliſh nation enjoy, with ſo
" great benefit, by his generoſity; and that the naval forces of Spain are to con-
" ſiſt only of a limited number, that may be ſufficient to ſecure her coaſts in the
" Mediterranean, and to defend and convoy her galleons. For a proof of what
" his majeſty orders me to ſay to your excellency, a new conjuncture juſt now
" offers itſelf, in which the king my maſter, to ſignalize his love of the Britiſh
" nation, paſſes by without reſentment the contents of the paper here ſubjoin-
" ed, which is a copy of that delivered by Mr. Stanhope, and by which an open
" rupture is declared, if the project be not accepted; and they offer to oblige
" the king to it by threats. On the contrary, his majeſty, inſtead of being pro-
" voked at ſuch a proceeding, has ordered, as an inſtance of the good faith with
" which he hath always acted, that the effects and merchandize of the Engliſh,
" which are in the flota that is newly arrived at Cadiz from the Indies, ſhall not
" be touched, nor any charge made in relation to them, it being the king's in-
" tention, that what belongs to each of the Engliſh merchants reſpectively ſhould
" be delivered to them. The reſolution is very different from the rumours
" which the Britiſh miniſtry ſpreads, and is an inconteſtible proof, that the king's

" will

He ſent for this purpoſe his firſt captain, who was captain Saunders, with a letter to the marquis de Lede, in which he acquainted him, "That the king his maſter, being engaged by "ſeveral treaties to preſerve the tranquillity of Italy, had ho-"noured him with the command of a ſquadron of ſhips, which "he had ſent into theſe ſeas, and that he came fully impowered "and inſtructed to promote ſuch meaſures as might beſt ac-"commodate all differences between the powers concerned; "that his majeſty was employing his utmoſt endeavours to bring "about a general pacification, and was not without hopes of "ſucceſs. He therefore propoſed to him to come to a ceſſation "of arms in Sicily for two months, in order to give time to the "ſeveral courts to conclude on ſuch reſolutions as might reſtore "a laſting peace:" but added, "That, if he was not ſo happy to "ſucceed in this offer of ſervice, nor to be inſtrumental in bring-"ing about ſo deſirable a work, he then hoped to merit his ex-"cellency's eſteem in the execution of the other part of his orders, "which were, to uſe all his force to prevent farther attempts to "diſturb the dominions his maſter ſtood engaged to defend."

The next morning the captain returned with the general's anſwer, "That it would be an inexpreſſible joy for his perſon to "contribute to ſo laudable an end as peace; but, as he had no "powers to treat, he could not of conſequence agree to any "ſuſpenſion of arms, even at the expence of what the courage "of his maſter's arms might be put to, but ſhould follow his "orders, which directed him to ſeize on Sicily for his maſter "the king of Spain: that he had a true ſenſe of his accompliſh-"ed expreſſions; but his maſter's forces would always be uni-"verſally eſteemed in ſacrificing themſelves for the preſervation "of their credit, in which caſes the ſucceſs did not always an-"ſwer the ideas that were formed for it[t]."

"will ever inclines him to promote the benefit of that nation. His majeſty or-"ders, that your excellency read this letter to all Engliſh merchants in general, "as alſo the contents of the paper hereunto annexed, and that you aſſure them, "that the king will firmly maintain the treaty, preferring the advantages of the "Britiſh nation to all other ſatisfaction, and hoping that, in return, men ſo wiſe, "ſo prudent, and ſo intelligent, will not let themſelves be drawn away by the "perſuaſions, and for the private ends of the Engliſh miniſtry, which are entire-"ly fatal to the peace of the two nations and of the two kingdoms.

"I am, &c."

[t] I take this literally from the hiſtory of the expedition before cited.

According

According to the beſt accounts the admiral could receive, he was led to conclude that the Spaniſh fleet was ſailed from Malta, in order to avoid him; and therefore, upon receiving the marquis's anſwer, he immediately weighed, with an intention to come with his ſquadron before Meſſina, in order to encourage and ſupport the garriſon in the citadel; but as he ſtood in about the point of the Faro, towards Meſſina, he ſaw two of the Spaniſh ſcouts in the Faro; and being informed at the ſame time, by a felucca that came off from the Calabrian ſhore, that they ſaw from the hills the Spaniſh fleet lying by, the admiral altered his deſign, and ſending away general Wetzel with the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of war, he ſtood through the Faro with his ſquadron, with all the ſail he could, after their ſcouts, imagining they would lead him to their fleet, which accordingly they did; for about noon he had a fair ſight of their whole fleet, lying by, and drawn into a line of battle, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven ſail of men of war, ſmall and great, beſides two fire-ſhips, four bomb-veſſels, ſeven gallies, and ſeveral ſhips laden with ſtores and proviſions, commanded by the admiral don Antonio de Caſteneta, and under him four rear-admirals, Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock; on the ſight of the Engliſh ſquadron they ſtood away large, but in good order of battle [u].

The admiral followed them all the reſt of that day and the ſucceeding night, with ſmall gales N. E. and ſometimes calm, with fair weather; the next morning early (the 11th) the Engliſh being got pretty near them [w], the marquis de Mari, rear-admiral,

[u] M. de St. Philippe memoires pour ſervir a l'hiſtoire de l'Eſpagne, tome iii. p. 297, 298, 299.

[w] It is evident from hence that our admiral had no intention to decline fighting; and the following letter from earl Stanhope, then ſecretary of ſtate, plainly proves it was not the intention of thoſe who ſent him that he ſhould decline fighting. It is a curious piece, and very well worthy of the reader's notice, as it tends to explain the great view of this expedition.

"*Bayonne, September* 2. 1718.

"Being arrived here laſt night, in ſix days from Madrid, I do, in purſuance "of the commands I have from his majeſty, take this firſt opportunity of ac- "quainting you, that nothing has paſſed at Madrid which ſhould divert you "from purſuing the inſtructions you have.

"If

admiral, with ſix Spaniſh men of war, and all the gallies, fire-ſhips, bomb-veſſels, and ſtore-ſhips, ſeparated from their main fleet, and ſtood in for the Sicilian ſhore; upon which the admiral detached captain Walton in the Canterbury, with five more ſhips after them; and the Argyle fired a ſhot to bring her to, but ſhe not minding it, the Argyle fired a ſecond, and the Canterbury, being ſomething nearer, fired a third; upon which the Spaniſh ſhip fired her ſtern-chace at the Canterbury, and then the engagement began [x].

The admiral purſuing the main body of the Spaniſh fleet, the Orford, captain Falkingham, and the Grafton, captain Haddock, came up firſt with them, about ten of the clock, at whom the Spaniards fired their ſtern-chace guns. The admiral ſent orders to thoſe two ſhips not to fire, unleſs the Spaniards repeated their firing, which, as ſoon as they did, the Orford attacked the Santa Roſa, of ſixty-four guns, and took her. The St. Carlos, of ſixty guns, ſtruck next, without much oppoſition, to the Kent, captain Matthews. The Grafton attacked warmly the Prince of Aſturias, of ſeventy guns, formerly called the Cumberland, in which was rear-admiral Chacon; but the Breda and Captain coming up, captain Haddock left that ſhip, much ſhattered, for them to take, and ſtretched a-head after another ſhip of ſixty guns, which had kept firing on his ſtarboard bow during his engagement with the Prince of Aſturias. About one

" If the news which I learn at Bayonne, that the citadel of Meſſina is taken, " be not true, or if, notwithſtanding the Spaniards have that port, their fleet, " by contrary winds, or any other accident, ſhould not have got into the har- " bour, and that you have an opportunity of attacking them, I am perſuaded " you will not let ſuch an occaſion ſlip; and I agree perfectly in opinion with " what is recommended to you by Mr. Secretary Craggs, that the firſt blow you " give, ſhould, if poſſible, be deciſive.

" The two great objects, which, I think, we ought to have in view, are, to " deſtroy their fleet, if poſſible, and to preſerve ſuch a footing in Sicily as may " enable us to land an army there."

[x] See the line of battle, inſerted at the end of this relation. It was undoubtedly an act of raſhneſs in cardinal Alberoni to give any fighting orders to the Spaniſh admiral, if he did give them. But from what is here ſaid, the contrary is the moſt probable; indeed, the reſolution of the Spaniſh admirals ſeems to prove, they were not guided by any orders; if ſo, we muſt conclude they acted from a principle of ſelf preſervation, and fought only becauſe they were forced to it.

o'clock

o'clock the Kent, and ſoon after the Superbe, captain Maſter, came up with, and engaged the Spaniſh admiral of ſeventy-four guns, who, with two ſhips more, fired on them, and made a running fight till about three; and then the Kent, bearing down under his ſtern, gave him her broadſide, and fell to leeward afterwards; the Superbe, putting forward to lay the admiral a-board, fell on his weather-quarter; upon which, the Spaniſh admiral ſhifting his helm, the Superbe ranged under his lee-quarter; on which he ſtruck to her. At the ſame time the Barfleur, in which was the admiral, being a-ſtern of the Spaniſh admiral, within ſhot, and inclining on his weather-quarter, rear-admiral Guevara and another ſixty-gun ſhip, which were to windward, bore down upon him, and gave him their broadſides, and then clapped upon a wind, ſtanding in for land. The admiral immediately tacked and ſtood after them until it was almoſt night, but it being little wind, and they hauling away out of his reach, he left purſuing them, and ſtood in to the fleet, which he joined two hours after night [y].

The Eſſex took the Juno of thirty-ſix guns, the Montague and Rupert took the Volante of forty-four guns, and rear-admiral Delaval, in the Dorſetſhire, took the Iſabella of ſixty guns. The action happened off Cape Paſſaro, at about ſix leagues diſtance from the ſhore [z]. The Engliſh received but little

[y] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 663. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 568. Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 12. Columna roſtrata, p. 303—305. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxv. p. 339.

[z] A LIST of the Britiſh fleet under the command of Sir George Byng, in the action off Cape Paſſaro in Sicily, in the year 1718.

Ships.	Captains.	Men.	Guns.
Barfleur,	Admiral Byng, 1 George Saunders, 2 Richard Leſtock,	730	90
Shrewſbury,	Vice-admiral Cornwall, John Balchen,	545	80
Dorſetſhire,	Rear-admiral Delaval, John Furger,	535	70
Burford,	Charles Vanbrugh,	440	70
Eſſex,	Richard Rowzier,	440	70
Grafton,	Nicholas Haddock,	440	70
Lenox,	Charles Strickland,	440	70
	Carried over	3570	520

little damage: the ſhip that ſuffered moſt was the Grafton, which being a good ſailer, her captain engaged ſeveral ſhips of the enemy, always purſuing the headmoſt, and leaving thoſe ſhips he had diſabled or damaged to be taken by thoſe that followed him. The admiral lay by ſome days at ſea to refit the rigging of his ſhips, and to repair the damages which the prizes had ſuſtained; and the 18th received a letter from captain Walton, who had been ſent in purſuit of the Spaniſh ſhips that eſcaped. The letter is ſingular enough in its kind to deſerve notice, and therefore the hiſtorian of this expedition has, with great judgment, preſerved it. Thus it runs:

"SIR,

"WE have taken and deſtroyed all the Spaniſh ſhips and "veſſels which were upon the coaſt, the number as *per* mar-"gin.

"I am, *&c.*

Canterbury, off Syracuſa,
Aug. 16, 1718.

"G. WALTON."

Theſe ſhips that captain Walton thruſt into his margin would have furniſhed matter for ſome pages in a French relation; for, from the account they referred to, it appeared, that he had taken four Spaniſh men of war, one of ſixty guns, com-

Ships.	Captains.	Men.	Guns.
	Brought over	3570	520
Breda,	Barrow Harris,	440	70
Orford,	Edward Falkingham,	440	70
Kent,	Thomas Matthews,	440	70
Royal Oak,	Thomas Kempthorne,	440	70
Captain,	Archibald Hamilton,	440	70
Canterbury,	George Walton,	365	60
Dreadnought,	William Haddock,	365	60
Rippon,	Chriſtopher Obrian,	365	60
Superbe,	Streynſham Maſter,	365	60
Rupert,	Arthur Field,	365	60
Dunkirk,	Francis Drake,	365	60
Montague,	Thomas Beverly,	365	60
Rocheſter,	Joſeph Winder,	280	50
Argyle,	Coningſby Norbury,	280	50
		8885	1400

manded

manded by rear-admiral Mari, one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns with a bomb-veſſel, and a ſhip laden with arms; and burnt four men of war, one of fifty-four guns, two of forty, and one of thirty guns, with a fire-ſhip and a bomb-veſſel[a]. Such is the account given of this famous action by our admiral: the Spaniards publiſhed likewiſe an account on their ſide, which was printed in Holland, and circulated with great induſtry throughout all Europe, in order to make ſuch impreſſions as might ſerve their purpoſe, and incline the world to believe, that their fleet had not been attacked and beaten fairly, but had been ſurpriſed and deſtroyed without that kind of notice which the laws of nature and nations require, to diſtinguiſh force of arms from piratical violence. It is but juſt in any cauſe to hear both parties, and the office of an hiſtorian obliges him to record whatever may give light to the events of that period he pretends to illuſtrate by his writings. For this reaſon I have thought it requiſite to give place here to the Spaniſh account without curtailing or diſguiſing it[b].

"On the 9th of Auguſt, in the morning, the Engliſh ſqua-
"dron was diſcovered near the tower of Faro, which lay by
"towards night, off Cape Della Metelle, over-againſt the ſaid
"tower. The Spaniſh ſquadron was then in the Streight, and
"ſome ſhips and frigates were ſent to other places; beſides the
"detachment commanded by admiral Guevara. And, as the

[a] This account is taken from the ſeveral letters written by the admiral, or publiſhed with his authority; and from hence it is viſible, that the entire deſtruction of the Spaniſh maritime power was the principal point in view, and, as ſuch, purſued with equal ſteadineſs and vigour; and, at the ſame time, abundance of pamphlets were publiſhed here, to ſhew the expediency of this meaſure, and the benefits that would reſult to Great Britain from this deſtruction of the naval power of Spain. The Spaniards, on the other hand, filled all the world with complaints of our inſincerity and ambition. Before the blow was ſtruck, ſaid they, the Engliſh pretended to be guardians of the neutrality of Italy, and to have armed only for the ſake of preſerving peace; but, now they have accompliſhed their ends, they avow them, and ſay plainly, that they were reſolved not to ſuffer Spain to revive her maritime power. In what chapter of the law of nations do we read of this right of prevention?

[b] There are many things in this relation more agreeable to the Spaniſh humour than to truth; but, however, by the compariſon of this with our admiral's account, many particulars come to be explained which otherwiſe might have been buried in obſcurity.

" intention of the Engliſh in coming ſo near was not known, " the admirals of the Spaniſh ſquadron reſolved to go out of " the Streight, to join together near Cape Spartivento, carry- " ing along with them the tranſports laden with proviſions, " that they might penetrate the better into the deſigns of the " Engliſh; the rather, becauſe the officer whom Sir George " Byng had ſent to the marquis de Lede was not yet returned. " The ſaid officer had orders to propoſe to the ſaid marquis a " ſuſpenſion of arms for two months; upon which the ſaid " marquis anſwered him, that he could not do it without or- " ders from court. Nevertheleſs, though it was believed that " the alternative was taken of ſending a courier to Madrid " with the ſaid propoſal, the Engliſh ſquadron took the oppor- " tunity of night to ſurpriſe the Spaniſh ſquadron, and to im- " prove thoſe advantages which were owing to diſſimulation.

" The ſaid Engliſh ſquadron, on the 10th in the morning, " advanced farther into the Faro, and was ſaluted by all the " Spaniſh ſhips and veſſels which were there; and it is to be " obſerved, that admiral Byng having convoyed ſome tranſ- " port-veſſels as far as Rixoles, with the arch-duke's troops, " the officer diſpatched to the marquis de Lede affirmed, that " it was not to commit any act of hoſtility, but only that the " ſaid tranſports might be ſecured from inſults under his pro- " tection.

" The Spaniſh ſquadron ſent two light frigates to get intel- " ligence of the Engliſh ſquadron; and though they ſaw the " Engliſh made all the ſail they could (their intention being " not known) to approach the Spaniſh ſquadron, whoſe admi- " ral knew not then whether the Engliſh came as friends or " enemies, yet the Spaniards, being two leagues from the Eng- " liſh, reſolved to retire towards Cape Paſſaro, but without " making much ſail, that it might not be thought they ſuſpect- " ed any hoſtilities. During this a calm happened, by which " the ſhips of both ſquadrons fell in one among another; and " the Spaniſh admiral, perceiving this accident, cauſed the ſhips " of the line to be towed, in order to ſeparate them from the " Engliſh, and join them in one body, without permitting the " gallies to begin any act of hoſtility; which they might have " done to their advantage during the calm. The weather

" changed

" changed when the marquis de Mari was near land, and by " conſequence ſeparated from the reſt, making the rear-guard, " with ſeveral frigates, and other tranſport-veſſels, which " made up his diviſion, and endeavoured, though in vain, to " join the main body of the Spaniſh ſquadron, while the Eng- " liſh held on their way, their diſſimulation, filling their ſails " to gain the wind, and cut off the ſaid diviſion of the ſaid " marquis de Mari; and having at laſt ſucceeded in it, they at- " tacked him with ſix ſhips, and obliged him to ſeparate from " the reſt of the ſquadron, and to make towards the coaſt, " where they ſtood it againſt ſeven ſhips of the line, as long as " the ſituation permitted; and being no longer able to reſiſt, " the marquis de Mari ſaved his men, by running his ſhips a- " ground, ſome of which were burnt by his own order, and " others taken by the enemy.

" Seventeen ſhips of the line, the remainder of the Engliſh " ſquadron, attacked the Royal St. Philip, the Prince of A- " ſturias, the St. Ferdinand, St. Charles, St. Iſabella, St. Pe- " dro, and the frigates St. Roſa, Pearl, Juno, and Volante, " which continued making towards Cape Paſſaro; and as they " retired in a line, becauſe of the inequality of their ſtrength, " the Engliſh attacked thoſe that compoſed the rear-guard, " with four or five ſhips, and took them; and this happened " ſucceſſively to the others, which, notwithſtanding all the ſail " they made, could not avoid being beaten; inſomuch, that " every Spaniſh ſhip being attacked ſeparately by five, ſix, or " ſeven of theirs, after a bloody and obſtinate fight, they made " themſelves maſters at laſt of the Royal St. Philip, the Prince " of Aſturias, the St. Charles, the St. Iſabella, St. Roſa, the " Volante, and the Juno.

" While the Royal St. Philip was engaged with the Engliſh, " the rear-admiral of the ſquadron, don Balthazer de Guevara, " returned from Malta with two ſhips of the line, and turning " his prow towards the St. Philip, paſſed by the Engliſh ſhips " which were a-breaſt of him, firing upon each of them, and " then attacked admiral Byng's ſhips, which followed the St. " Philip, and retired in the night, being very much damaged; " for after the engagement, he ſtayed three or four days fifty " leagues at ſea, not only to repair the Spaniſh ſhips, which he

had

" had taken, and were all ſhattered to pieces; but alſo to make " good the damages which himſelf had ſuffered; wherefore " he could not enter Syracuſa till the 16th or 17th of Auguſt, " and that with a great deal of difficulty.

" The particulars of the action are, that the whole diviſion " of the Engliſh admiral, which conſiſted of ſeven ſhips of the " line, and a fire-ſhip, having attacked the Royal St. Philip, " at two in the afternoon the fight began, by a ſhip of ſeventy " guns, and another of ſixty, from which he received two " broadſides; and advancing towards the Royal St. Philip, " don Antonio de Caſtaneta defended himſelf ſo well, that the " ſaid two ſhips retired, and two others, *viz.* one of eighty " guns, and the other of ſeventy, renewed the attack; and " the ſaid ſhip of eighty guns retired very much ſhattered, " without making into the line; but others making towards the " Spaniſh admiral, they fired upon him, while it was impoſſi- " ble for him to hurt them, and ſhot away all his rigging, " without leaving him one entire ſail, while two others, one " of thirty, and the other of ſixty guns, attacked the ſtar- " board of his ſhip, to oblige him to ſurrender; but defending " himſelf till the Engliſh admiral was reſolved to board him, " and carried a fire-ſhip to reduce him by the flames, which " the Spaniſh commander prevented; but after having loſt 200 " men, and maintained the fight till towards night, don Anto- " nio de Caſtaneta received a ſhot which pierced his left leg, " and wounded his right heel. Yet, nevertheleſs he continued " to defend himſelf till a cannon-bullet having cut a man in " two, the pieces of which fell upon him, and left him half " dead, he was forced to ſurrender.

" The Prince of Aſturias, commanded by don Fernando " Chacon, was at the ſame time attacked by three ſhips of " equal force, againſt which he defended himſelf valiantly, " avoiding being boarded, till, being wounded, and having loſt " moſt of his men, he was obliged to ſurrender his ſhip, " which was all ſhot through and through, after having ſhot " down the maſts of an Engliſh ſhip that retired out of the " fight.

" Captain don Antonio Gonſales, commander of the frigate " St. Roſa, defended himſelf above three hours againſt five

" Engliſh

" Engliſh ſhips, who did not take him till after they had
" broke all his ſails and maſts.

" The Volante, commanded by captain don Antonio Eſcu-
" dero, knight of the order of Malta, fought three hours and
" a half againſt three Engliſh ſhips; and having loſt his ſails,
" he put up others that were in ſtore, and was juſt going to
" board one of the three ſhips that attacked him; but his own
" being ſhot through and through by ſix cannon bullets, and
" the water coming in, he was obliged to ſurrender, becauſe
" the ſhip's crew forced him.

" The Juno was engaged alſo by three Engliſh ſhips; yet
" maintained the fight above three hours, not ſurrendering till
" after moſt of her men were killed, and the ſhip juſt falling
" in pieces.

" Captain don Gabriel Alderete, alſo defended the frigate
" called the Pearl, againſt three Engliſh ſhips for three hours;
" and after having ſhot down the maſts of one, which imme-
" diately retired, he was relieved by admiral don Balthazar de
" Guevara, and had the good fortune to eſcape to Malta.

" Captain don Andrea Reggio, knight of the order of Mal-
" ta, who was fartheſt advanced with the ſhip the Iſabella,
" was purſued all that night by ſeveral Engliſh ſhips; and, af-
" ter having defended himſelf for four hours, he ſurrendered
" the next day.

" The frigate called the Surprize, which was of the marquis
" de Mari's diviſion, and by conſequence farther advanced than
" the others, was attacked by three Engliſh ſhips, and main-
" tained a fight for three hours, till the captain don Michael
" de Sada, knight of the order of St. John, being wounded,
" moſt of her men killed, and all her rigging ſpoiled, ſhe was
" forced to ſurrender.

" The other light ſhips and frigates of the Spaniſh ſqua-
" dron, not already mentioned, retired to Malta and Sardi-
" nia; as did alſo the admiral don Balthazar de Guevara, with
" his two ſhips St. Lewis and St. John, after having been en-
" gaged with the Engliſh admiral, and having reſcued the fri-
" gate called the Pearl.

" It

" It muſt not be forgot, that the marines in every ſhip " ſignalized and diſtinguiſhed themſelves with a great deal of " valour, they being compoſed of the nobility of Spain.

" The ſeven gallies which were under the command of ad- " miral don Franciſco de Grimao, having done all that was " poſſible to join the Spaniſh ſhips, ſeeing that there was ſtill " a freſh gale of wind, retired to Palermo.

" Beſides the above-mentioned ſhips, which the Engliſh took " out of the main body of the Spaniſh ſquadron, they alſo " made themſelves maſters of the Royal, and of two frigates, " St. Iſidore, and the Eagle; thoſe that were burnt by the or- " der of the marquis de Mari, are two bomb-gallies, a fire- " ſhip, and the Eſperanca frigate, ſo that the ſhips which eſ- " caped out of the battle are the following: St. Lewis, St. " John, St. Ferdinand, and St. Peter; and the frigates Her- " mione, Pearl, Galera, Porcupine, Thouloufe, Lyon, Little " St. John, the Arrow, Little St. Ferdinand, a bomb-galley, " and a ſhip of Pintado.

" This is the account of the ſea-fight which was at the " height of Abola, or the Gulf of l'Ariga, in the canal of " Malta, between the Spaniſh and Engliſh ſquadrons, the laſt " of which, by ill faith, and the ſuperiority of their ſtrength, " had the advantage to beat the Spaniſh ſhips ſingly, one by " one; and it is to be believed, by the defence the Spaniards " made, that if they had acted jointly, the battle would have " ended more happily for them.

" Immediately after the fight, a captain of the Engliſh ſqua- " dron came, in the name of admiral Byng, to make a com- " pliment of excuſe to the marquis de Lede, giving him to un- " derſtand, that the Spaniards had been the aggreſſors, and " that this action ought not to be looked upon as a rupture; " becauſe the Engliſh did not take it as ſuch. To which it was " anſwered, that Spain on the contrary will reckon it a formal " rupture; and that they would do the Engliſh all the damages " and hoſtilities imaginable, by giving orders to begin with re- " priſals; and, in conſequence of this, ſeveral Spaniſh veſſels,

" and

" and Guevara's ſquadron, have already taken ſome Engliſh " ſhips[c]."

c A LIST of the SPANISH FLEET, in the action off Cape Paſſaro, in the year 1718, under the command of DON ANTONIO DE CASTANETA, including two ſhips which were amongſt thoſe that captain WALTON deſtroyed, on the coaſt of Cicily.

SHIPS.	CAPTAINS.	MEN.	GUNS.
St. Philip, the	Admiral Caſtaneta, taken	650	74
Prince of Aſturias	Rear-admiral Chacon, taken	550	70
The Royal	Rear-admiral Mari, taken	400	60
St. Lewis	Rear-admiral Guevara, eſcaped	400	60
St. Ferdinand	Rear-admiral Cammock, eſcaped, ſunk afterwards at Meſſina Mole	400	60
St. Carlos	Prince de Chalay, taken	400	60
Sancta Iſabella	Don Andrea Rezio, taken	400	60
Sancta Roſa	Don Antonio Gonſales, taken	400	60
St. John Baptiſt	Don Franciſco Gerrera, eſcaped	400	60
St. Peter	Don Antonio Arriſago, eſcaped, afterwards loſt in the gulf of Tarento	400	60
Pearl	Don Gabriel Alderete, eſcaped	300	50
———	———, burnt	300	50
St. Iſidore	Don Manuel villa Vicentia, taken	300	46
L'Eſperanza	Don Juan Delfino and Barlandi, burnt	300	46
Volante	Don Antonio Eſcudera, taken	300	44
———	———, burnt	300	44
Harmonia	Don Rodrigo de Torres, eſcaped, ſunk afterwards in Meſſina Mole	300	44
Porcupine	A Frenchman, eſcaped	250	44
Surprize	Don Michael de Sada, knight of Malta, taken	250	36
Juno	Don Pedro Moyana, taken	250	36
La Galera	Don Franciſco Alverera, eſcaped	200	30
La Caſtilla	Don Franciſco Lenio, knight of Malta, eſcaped	200	30
Count de Thouloufe	Don Joſeph Jocoua, eſcaped, taken in Meſſina Mole	200	30
Tyger	Don —— Covaigne, taken	240	26
Eagle	Don Lucas Maſnata, taken	240	24
St. Francis Areres	—— Jacob, a Scotſman, eſcaped	100	22
Little St. Ferdinand	———, eſcaped	150	20
Little St. John	Don Ignatio Valevale, eſcaped, taken afterwards	150	20
Arrow	Don Juan Papajena, eſcaped	100	18
		8830	1284

There is no queſtion to be made, but that both theſe relations retain ſome tincture of the paſſions and prejudices of thoſe who drew them up; and it is no leſs certain, that what was commonly reported at that time, of the bad behaviour of the Spaniards, and of their making but a weak defence, was indifferently founded. For the truth is, that their fleet, though ſtrong in appearance, was every way inferior to ours; their ſhips being old, their artillery none of the beſt, and their ſeamen moſt of them not to be depended upon[d]. Yet it is agreed on all hands, that their admirals defended themſelves gallantly; ſo that, upon the whole, their defeat may be charged upon their irreſolution at the beginning, and their not taking good advice when it was given them.

I mean that of rear-admiral Cammock, an Iriſh gentleman, who had ſerved long in our navy, and who was (to ſpeak impartially) a much better ſeaman than any who bore command in the Spaniſh fleet. He knew perfectly well the ſtrength of both parties, and ſaw plainly, that nothing could ſave the Spaniards but a wiſe diſpoſition; and therefore, in the laſt council of war held before the battle, he propoſed, that they ſhould remain at anchor in the road of Paradiſe, ranging their ſhips in a line of battle, with their broadſides to the ſea; which meaſure would certainly have given the Engliſh admiral infinite trouble to attack them; for the coaſt there is ſo bold, that their biggeſt ſhips could ride with a cable a-ſhore, and farther out the currents are ſo various and rapid, that it would be hardly practicable to get up to them, but impoſſible to anchor, or ly by them in order of battle. Beſides, they might have lain ſo near the ſhore, and could have received ſo great reinforcements of ſoldiers from the army to man and defend them, and the annoyance the Spaniards might have given, from the ſeveral batteries they could have planted along the ſhore, would have been ſuch, that the only way of attacking the ſhips ſeemed to be by boarding and grappling with them at once, to prevent being caſt off by the currents, which would have been an hazardous undertaking, wherein the Spa-

[d] M. de St. Philippe memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire de l'Eſpagne, tome iii. p. 297, where he ſays the ſame that I do, and blames their admiral Caſtaneta, for loſing three days, in which time he might have reached Malta, and thereby ſaved the whole Spaniſh fleet.

niards

wards would have had many advantages, and the Engliſh admiral have run the chance of deſtroying his fleet, or buying a victory, if he ſucceeded, very dear[e]. The Spaniſh admirals were too much perſuaded of their own ſtrength, and the courage of their ſeamen, or elſe they fooliſhly depended on their not being attacked by our fleet. Whatever the motive was, they ſlighted this ſalutary counſel, and were thereby undone.

As ſoon as admiral Byng had obtained a full account of the whole tranſaction, he diſpatched away his eldeſt ſon to England[f], who, arriving at Hampton-court in fifteen days from Naples, brought thither the agreeable confirmation of what public fame had before reported, and upon which the king had already written a letter to the admiral with his own hand[g]. Mr. Byng met with a moſt gracious reception from his majeſty, who made him

[e] This was the ſentiment of admiral Byng, and therefore we may conclude, he who gave the advice was a good ſeaman.

[f] London Gazette, N°. 6673.

[g] This circumſtance, as well as the ſtyle of the following letter, will ſufficiently demonſtrate how welcome the news was to his majeſty, and how much he approved Sir George Byng's conduct, and the ſyſtem on which it was founded.

" Monſ. le Chev. BYNG,

" Quoy que je n'ay pas encore receu de vos novelles en droit ture, j'ay ap-
" pris la victoire que la flotte a remportée ſous vos ordres, et je n'ay pas voulu
" vous differer le contentment que mon approbation de vôtre conduit vous pour-
" roit donner. Je vous en remercie, et je ſouhaite que vous en temoigniez ma
" ſatisfaction a tous les braves gens, qui ſe ſont diſtinguez dans cette occaſion.
" Le ſecretaire d'etat Craggs a ordre de vous informer plus au long de mes in-
" tentions mais j'ay voulu vous aſſurer moy même que je ſuis, monſieur le che-
" valier Byng

" A Hampton-court,
" ce 23 d'Aout, 1718.

" Votre bon amy,
" GEORGE R."

In Engliſh thus:

" Sir GEORGE BYNG,

" Although I have received no news from you directly, I am informed of the
" victory obtained by the fleet under your command, and would not therefore
" defer giving you that ſatisfaction which muſt reſult from my approbation of
" your conduct. I give you my thanks, and deſire you will teſtify my ſatisfaction
" to all the brave men who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion. Mr.
" ſecretary Craggs has orders to inform you more fully of my intentions; but I
" was willing myſelf to aſſure you, that I am

" Hampton-court,
" Aug. 23, 1718.

" Your good friend,
GEORGE R."

a handſome preſent, and ſent him back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, to negociate with the ſeveral princes and ſtates of Italy as there ſhould be occaſion, and with his royal grant, to the officers and ſeamen, of all prizes taken by them from the Spaniards [h].

The admiral in the mean time proſecuted his affairs with great diligence, procured the emperor's troops free acceſs into the fortreſſes that were ſtill held out in Sicily, ſailed afterward to Malta, and brought out the Sicilian gallies under the command of the marquis de Rivaroles, and a ſhip belonging to the Turkey company, which had been blocked up there by rear-admiral Cammock, with a few ſhips which he had ſaved after the late engagement, and then ſailed back again to Naples, where he arrived on the 2d of November, and ſoon after received a gracious letter from the emperor Charles VI. written with his own hand [i], accompanied

[h] The earl of Sunderland, then at the head of the Britiſh adminiſtration, had a very great opinion of Sir George Byng's talents, and thought they qualified him equally for command at ſea and for the functions of a miniſter on ſhore: a circumſtance of which he very ably availed himſelf, without intending to create a precedent.

[i] COPY of the EMPEROR's LETTER to the ADMIRAL, written by his own hand:

"Monſieur Amiral et Chevalier BYNG,

"J'ay recu avec beacoup de ſatisfaction et de joy, par le porteur de celle cy la "vôtre du 18me d'Aout. Quand de ſceus que vous eti-z nommê de ſa majeſtê "le roy vôtre maitre pour commandez ſa flotte dans la Mediterraneè, je conceus "d'abord toutes les bonnes eſperances. Le glorieux ſucceſs pourtant les a en "quelque maniere ſurpaſſe. Vous avez en cette occaſion donne des preuves d'une "valeur, conduite, et zele pour la commune cauſe tres ſingulier; la gloire que "vous en reſulte eſt bien grande, mais auſſi en rien moindre ma reconnoiſſance, "comme vous l'expliquera plus le compte de Hamilton. Comptez toûjours ſur "la continuation de ma reconnoiſſance, et de mon affection priant Dieu qu'il vous "ait en ſa ſainte garde.

"A Vienne, ce 22me
"Octobre, 1718. "CHARLES."

"Admiral Sir GEORGE BYNG,

"I have received with a great deal of joy and ſatisfaction, by the bearer of "this, yours of the 18th of Auguſt. As ſoon as I knew you was named by the "king your maſter to command his fleet in the Mediterranean, I conceived the "greateſt hopes imaginable from that very circumſtance. The glorious ſucceſs "you have had ſurpaſſes, however, my expectations. You have given, upon "this

companied with a picture of his imperial majeſty, ſe round with very large diamonds, as a mark of the grateful ſenſe he had of the ſignal ſervices rendered by his excellency to the houſe of Auſtria.

As for the prizes that had been taken, they were ſent to Port Mahon, where by ſome accident the Royal Philip took fire, and blew up, with moſt of the crew on board; but the admiral had been before ſet a-ſhore in Sicily, with ſome other priſoners of diſtinction, where he died ſoon after of his wounds[k].

The Spaniſh court, exceſſively provoked at this unexpected blow, which had in a manner totally deſtroyed the naval force they had been at ſo much pains to raiſe, were not ſlow in expreſſing their reſentments. On the 1ſt of September rear-admiral Guevara, with ſome ſhips under his command, entered the port of Cadiz, and made himſelf maſter of all the Engliſh ſhips that were there; and at the ſame time all the effects of the Engliſh merchants were ſeized in Malaga and other ports of Spain, which, as ſoon as it was known here, produced repriſals on our part[l]. But it is now time to leave the Mediterranean, and the affairs of Spain, in order to give an account of what paſſed in the northern ſeas.

A reſolution having been taken, as before obſerved, to ſend a ſtrong ſquadron to the Baltic, it was put under the command of Sir John Norris and rear-admiral Mighels, who, with ten ſail of the line of battle, left Sole-bay on the 1ſt of May, having eighteen merchant-ſhips under their convoy, and on the 14th arrived ſafely at Copenhagen, where the ſame day Sir John Norris had an audience of his Daniſh majeſty, by whom he was very graciouſly received; and, ſoon after, he ſailed, in conjunction with the Daniſh fleet, to the coaſt of Sweden, where the

" this occaſion, very ſingular proofs of your courage, conduct, and zeal for the " common cauſe: the glory you obtain from thence is indeed great, and yet my " gratitude falls nothing ſhort thereof, as count Hamilton will fully inform you. " You may always depend upon the continuance of my thankfulneſs and affection " towards you: may God have you always in his holy keeping.

" Vienna, October 22, " CHARLES."
" O. S. 1718.

[k] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 881. Annals of king George, vol. v. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. [l] Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 108.

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king found himſelf obliged to lay up his ſhips in his own harbours, and to take all poſſible precautions for their ſecurity [m]. That monarch, however, was far from being idle, notwithſtanding he was ſenſible of the great ſuperiority of his enemies, but endeavoured to provide, in the beſt manner he was able, for his own ſecurity, by making a peace with the Czar, and in the mean time turning his arms againſt the king of Denmark in Norway, which kingdom he entered with an army of thirty thouſand men, in two bodies, one commanded by general Arenfelt, and the other by himſelf in perſon [n].

He had all the ſucceſs in this expedition that he could wiſh, eſpecially the ſeaſon of the year conſidered; for it was in the depth of winter that he penetrated into that frozen country, where, at the ſiege of Frederickſhall, he was killed by a cannon bullet, about nine in the evening, on the 30th of November, 1718. The death of this enterpriſing monarch gave quite a new turn to the affairs in the north, and particularly freed us from all apprehenſions on that ſide. Before this extraordinary event happened, Sir John Norris was returned with the fleet under his command to England, where he ſafely arrived in the latter end of the month of October [o].

There remains only one tranſaction more of this year, which in a work of this kind requires to be mentioned; and it is the account we promiſed to give of the reduction of the pirates. Captain Wood Rogers, having been appointed governor of the Bahama Iſlands, ſailed for Providence, which was to be the ſeat of his government, on the 11th of April, and after a ſhort and eaſy paſſage, arriving there, he took poſſeſſion of the town of Naſſau, the fort belonging to it, and of the whole iſland, the people receiving him with all imaginable joy, and many of the pirates ſubmitting immediately [p]. He proceeded ſoon after in forming a council, and ſettling the civil government of thoſe

[m] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 660. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 873. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxiv. p. 624.

[n] Voltaire, hiſtoire de Charles XII. roi de Suede, liv. viii. Gen. Gordon's hiſtory of Peter the Great, vol. ii. p. 155. De la Mottraye's travels, vol. ii. chap. xiii. [o] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 874. [p] Annals of king George, vol. iv. p. 330. Salmon's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 86. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxiv. p. 579.

iſlands,

iſlands, appointing civil and military officers, raiſing militia, and taking every other ſtep neceſſary for procuring ſafety at home, and ſecurity from any thing that might be attempted from abroad, in which, by degrees, he ſucceeded. Some of the pirates, 'tis true, rejected at firſt all terms, and did a great deal of miſchief on the coaſt of Carolina; but when they ſaw that governor Rogers had thoroughly ſettled himſelf at Providence, and that the inhabitants of the Bahama Iſlands found themſelves obliged through intereſt to be honeſt, they began to doubt of their ſituation, and thought proper to go and beg that mercy which at firſt they refuſed; ſo that by the 1ſt of July, 1719, to which day the king's proclamation had been extended, there were not above three or four veſſels of thoſe pirates who continued their trade, and two of them being taken, and their crews executed, the reſt diſperſed out of fear, and became thereby leſs terrible [q].

Thus, in a ſhort time, and chiefly through the ſteady and prudent conduct of governor Rogers, this herd of villains was in ſome meaſure diſſolved, who for many years had frighted the Weſt Indies, and the northern colonies; coming at laſt to be ſo ſtrong, that few merchant-men were ſafe, and withal ſo cruel and barbarous, that ſlavery among the Turks was preferable to falling into their hands. It had been happy for us, if the management of the Spaniſh guarda coſtas had been committed to the care of ſome man of like ſpirit, who might have delivered the merchants from being plundered, without involving the nation in a war [r].

The parliament met on the 11th of November, and one of the firſt things they went upon, was the affair of Spain, which had indeed engroſſed all public converſation, from the time of the ſtroke given to their fleet in the Mediterranean, ſome looking upon that as one of the nobleſt exploits ſince the revolution; but others conſidered it in quite another light [s]; and when an addreſs was moved for to juſtify that meaſure, it was warmly

[q] This captain Woods Rogers made the tour of the globe, in the famous expedition from Briſtol, in the Duke and Du hefs.

[r] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 873, 874. Tindal. Oldmixon.

[s] Chandler's debates, vol. ii. p. 182, 183.

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oppoſed by the dukes of Buckingham, Devonſhire, and Argyle; the earls of Nottingham, Cowper, Orford, and Ilay; the lords North, Grey, and Harcourt, in the houſe of peers; and by Mr. Shippen, Mr. Freeman, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Horatio Walpole, Eſq; and Robert Walpole, Eſq; in the houſe of commons; but without effect[t]. On the 19th of the ſame month, the houſe of commons voted 13,500 ſeamen for the ſervice of the year 1719, at 4l. a month; and at the ſame time granted 187,638l. 17s. 6d. for the ordinary of the navy; and that we may range all the ſums given under the ſame head, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that, on the 19th of January, the houſe of commons granted 25,000l. for the half pay of ſea-officers[u].

On the 17th of December, 1718, a declaration of war in form was publiſhed againſt the crown of Spain[w]; as to the expediency of which, many bold things were ſaid in the houſe of commons, eſpecially with regard to the pretenſions, and the intentions of thoſe who made this war; for the miniſtry inſiſted ſtrongly, that it was made in favour of trade, and upon repeated complaints from the merchants. It was urged by a great ſpeaker, who is ſtill living, that the miniſters had ſhewn no great concern for the trade and intereſt of the nation, ſince it appeared by the anſwer of a ſecretary of ſtate to the marquis de Monteleon's letter, that they would have paſſed by the violations of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the terms of the quadruple alliance; and, that his majeſty did not ſeek to aggrandize himſelf by any new acquiſition, but was rather inclined to ſacrifice ſomething of his own, to procure the general quiet and tranquillity. That nobody could yet tell how far that ſacrifice was to extend; but certainly it was a very uncommon piece of condeſcenſion. Another member went yet farther, and made uſe of his favourite expreſſion, inſinuating, that this war ſeemed to be calculated for another meridian; but wrapped up the *inuendo* ſo dextrouſly, that no exception was taken to it. The miniſtry, however, continued the purſuit of their own ſcheme, in ſpite of oppoſition, and took ſuch vigor-

[t] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 668. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1718, p. 413. [u] Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 166. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1718, p. 423. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 578.

[w] Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 69.

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ous meaſures for obliging Spain to accept the terms aſſigned her by the quadruple alliance, that ſhe loſt all patience, and reſolved to attempt any thing that might either free her from this neceſſity, or ſerve to expreſs her reſentments againſt ſuch as endeavoured to impoſe it upon her, and with this view ſhe drew together a great number of tranſports at Cadiz and Corunna [x].

The late earl of Stair, who was then our miniſter at the court of France, diſpatched the firſt certain intelligence of the deſigns of Spain; which were, to have ſent a conſiderable body of troops, under the command of the late duke of Ormonde, into the weſt of England; upon this, the moſt effectual methods were taken here for defeating that ſcheme, A fleet was immediately ordered to be got ready to put to ſea; a proclamation iſſued for apprehending James Butler, late duke of Ormonde, with a promiſe of 5000 l. to the perſon that ſhould ſeize him; and an embargo was laid on all ſhipping [y]. Theſe precautions were attended with ſuch ſucceſs, and the fleet was fitted out with ſo much expedition, that on the 5th of April Sir John Norris ſailed from Spithead to the weſtward, with nine men of war; and on the 29th, the earl of Berkley ſailed from St. Helen's, with ſeven other men of war to join him, which he did the next day [z].

The government likewiſe took ſome other very ſalutary meaſures to oppoſe this intended invaſion of the Spaniards. The troops in the weſt of England, where it was conjectured they deſigned to land, were reinforced by ſeveral regiments quartered in other parts of the kingdom, and four battalions were ſent for over from Ireland, and were landed at Minehead and Briſtol, while at the ſame time the allies of his majeſty were deſired to get in readineſs the ſuccours, which by ſeveral treaties they ſtood engaged to furniſh in caſe of a rebellion, or, if the Britiſh

[x] Chandler's debates, vol. v. p. 190, 191. Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 235. [y] Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 583. Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 677. See the proclamation in the hiſtorical regiſter for 1719, p. 156. [z] M. de. St. Philippe memoires pour ſervir a l'hiſtoire de l'Eſpagne, vol. iii. p. 354, 355, 356. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 832. Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 233. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1719, p. 162, 163.

dominions ſhould be invaded by any foreign power. Accordingly, about the middle of April, two battalions of Switzers, in the ſervice of the States-General, arrived in the river Thames; and about the ſame time three battalions of Dutch troops, making together the full complement of men which Holland was obliged to furniſh, landed in the north of England. But by this time came certain advice, that the Spaniſh fleet deſigned for this expedition, conſiſting of five men of war, and about forty tranſports, having on board the late duke of Ormonde, and upwards of 5000 men, a great quantity of ammunition, ſpare arms, and one million of pieces of eight, which ſailed from Cadiz on the 23d of February, O. S. being on the 28th of that month about fifty leagues to the weſtward of cape Finiſterre, met with a violent ſtorm, which laſted forty-eight hours, and entirely diſperſed them [a]. Thus, this deſign of the Spaniards, whatever it was, became abortive.

What loſs they met with is uncertain; but ſeveral of their veſſels returned to the ports of Spain in a very ſhattered condition. A very ſmall part, however, of this embarkation, had ſomewhat a different fortune; for the earls of Marſhal and Seaforth, and the marquis of Tullibardin, with about four hundred men, moſt Spaniards, on board three frigates and five tranſports, landed in the ſhire of Roſs in Scotland, where they were joined by fifteen or ſixteen hundred Scots, and had inſtructions to wait the duke of Ormonde's orders, and the account of his being landed in England. But the whole deſign being quaſhed by the diſperſion of the Spaniſh fleet, the Highland troops were defeated at Glenſhiel, and the auxiliary Spaniards ſurrendered at diſcretion. They had met with a check before at Donan Caſtle, which was ſecured by his majeſty's ſhips, the Worceſter, Enterprize, and Flamborough, the caſtle being blown up, and the greateſt part of their ammunition taken or deſtroyed [b].

It may be proper, in this place, to take notice, that we acted now in ſuch cloſe conjunction with France, that the regent de-

[a] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 678. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 584. Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 259. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. lxvi. p. 474, 574. [b] Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 251. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, *ubi ſupra*. Salmon's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 89. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1719, p. 15.

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clared war againſt his couſin the king of Spain; and though marſhal Villars, and ſome other officers of great rank, refuſed, from a point of honour, to lead an army againſt a grandſon of France, yet marſhal Berwick, who, by the victory of Almanza, fixed that prince upon his throne, accepted the command of the army which was appointed to invade his territories, in order to force him to ſuch conditions as were thought requiſite for eſtabliſhing the general tranquillity of Europe. Many people here ſuſpected that this war would produce no great effects; but it proved quite otherwiſe; for the marquis de Silly advanced in the month of April as far as Port Paſſage, where he found ſix men of war juſt finiſhed, upon the ſtocks, all which, prompted thereto by colonel Stanhope, (afterwards earl of Harrington), he burned, together with timber, maſts, and naval ſtores, to the value of half a million ſterling; which was a greater real loſs to the Spaniards than that they ſuſtained by our beating their fleet. Soon after, the duke of Berwick beſieged Fontarabia, both which actions ſhewed, that the French were actually in earneſt [c].

While the Spaniards were pleaſing themſelves with chimerical notions of invaſions it was impoſſible to effect againſt us, our admiral in the Mediterranean was diſtreſſing them effectually; for, having early in the ſpring ſailed from Port Mahon to Naples, he there adjuſted every thing for the reduction of Sicily, in which he acted with ſuch zeal, and what he did was attended with ſo great ſucceſs, that not only the imperial army was tranſported into the iſland, and ſo well ſupplied with all things neceſſary from our fleet, (which at the ſame time attended and diſturbed all the motions of the enemy's army), that it may be truly ſaid, the ſucceſs of that expedition was as much owing to the Engliſh admiral, as to the German general; and that the Engliſh fleet did no leſs ſervice than the army. To enter into all the particulars of this Sicilian expedition, would take up much more room than I have to ſpare, and would, beſides, oblige me to digreſs from my proper ſubject, ſince the motions of a fleet attending a land army, for the ſervice of the emperor,

[c] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. lxvi. p. 535. Annals of king George, vol. v. p. 256. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1719, p. 186.

cannot be, ſtrictly ſpeaking, thought a part of the Britiſh naval hiſtory[d]; for which reaſons I ſhall ſpeak of it as conciſely as may be.

There is, however, one circumſtance that deſerves to be made known to poſterity, and which I will not therefore omit. The imperialiſts having taken the city of Meſſina, on the 8th of Auguſt, 1719, the admiral landed a body of Engliſh grenadiers, who very quickly made themſelves maſters of the tower of Faro, by which, having opened a free paſſage for the ſhips, he came to an anchor in Paradiſe road; and this being perceived by the officers of the Spaniſh men of war in the Mole, who began to deſpair of getting out to ſea, they unbent their ſails, and unrigged their ſhips, and reſolved to wait their fate, which they knew muſt be the ſame with that of the citadel; and this gave great ſatisfaction to the admiral, who now found himſelf at liberty to employ his ſhips in other ſervices, which had been for a long time employed in blocking up that port[e].

But, while all things were in this proſperous condition, a diſpute aroſe among the allies about the diſpoſition of the Spaniſh ſhips before-mentioned, which, upon taking the citadel, would of courſe fall into their hands. Signior Scrampi, general of the king of Sardinia's gallies, firſt ſtarted the queſtion, and claimed the two beſt of ſixty, and the other of ſixty-four guns, new ſhips, which had belonged to his maſter, and were ſeized by the Spaniards in the port of Palermo. He grounded his right on the convention made at Vienna the 29th of December, 1718, in which it was ſaid, "That as to the ſhips belonging to the "king of Sardinia, if they be taken in port, they ſhall be re-"ſtored him; but that this ſhall be referred to admiral Byng to "anſwer." To this the admiral replied, "That this convention

[d] The reader may inform himſelf fully as to all theſe circumſtances, by peruſing the ACCOUNT of the EXPEDITION to SICILY, which I have cited ſo often, and which is a very ample hiſtory of that memorable war, that embarraſſed us ſo much while it continued; and which has been buried in obſcurity ever ſince, except as to the promiſe it occaſioned about Gibraltar; of which we ſhall hear more than once, before we conclude this volume; and perhaps we may, ſome time or other, find the hiſtory of that promiſe no unuſeful piece of intelligence.

[e] M. de St. Philippe memoires pour ſervir a l'hiſtoire de l'Eſpagne, tom. iii. p. 411, 412, 413.

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" having been only a ground-work for another to be made at " Naples, he could be directed by none but that which had " been made in conſequence thereof, in April 1719, between " the viceroy of Naples, the marquis de Breille, miniſter of " Sardinia, and himſelf, in which no mention is made of " thoſe ſhips; and as for the reference to his opinion, he " did freely declare he could not think the king of Sardinia had " any ſhadow of title to them; that they had been taken by " the enemy, were now fitted out and armed at their expence, " and under their colours; that they would put out to ſea if he " did not hinder them, and attack all Engliſh ſhips they met " with, and, if ſtronger, take them; ſo that he could not con- " ſider them in any other light than as they were the ſhips of " an enemy." Count de Merci next put in his claim for the emperor, alledging, " That as thoſe ſhips would be found " within the port of a town taken by his maſter's arms, accord- " ing to the right of nations they belonged to him." The admiral replied, " That it was owing to his keeping two ſqua- " drons on purpoſe, and at a great hazard, to watch and ob- " ſerve thoſe ſhips, that they were now confined within the " port; which if he was to withdraw, they would ſtill be able " to go to ſea, and he ſhould have a chance of meeting with " and taking them[f]."

But reflecting afterwards with himſelf, that poſſibly the garriſon might capitulate for the ſafe return of thoſe ſhips into Spain, which he was determined never to ſuffer; that, on the other hand, the right of poſſeſſion might breed an inconvenient diſpute at that critical juncture among the princes concerned; and, if it ſhould be at length determined that they did not belong to England, it were better they belonged to nobody; he propoſed to count de Merci to erect a battery, and deſtroy them as they lay in the baſon; who urged, that he had no orders concerning thoſe ſhips, and muſt write to Vienna for inſtructions about it. The admiral replied with ſome warmth, that he

[f] Sir George Byng underſtood the ſpirit of his inſtructions, and, without being inquiſitive into the nature of our quarrel with Spain, reſolved to uſe his beſt endeavours to put it out of the Spaniards power to hurt us; and, in doing this, we ſhall ſee he could be peremptory, as well as complaiſant, to our allies.

could

could not want a power to deſtroy every thing that belonged to the enemy, and inſiſted on it with ſo much firmneſs, that the general, being concerned in intereſt not to carry matters to an open miſunderſtanding, cauſed a battery to be erected, notwithſtanding the proteſtations of Signior Scrampi, which, in a little time, ſunk and deſtroyed them, and thereby compleated the ruin of the naval power of Spain [g].

The imperial court had formed a deſign of making themſelves maſters again of Sardinia, out of which they had been driven, as is before obſerved, by the Spaniards; but our admiral judged it more for the ſervice of the houſe of Auſtria, that this army ſhould be immediately tranſported into Sicily. In order to effect this, and at the ſame time to procure artillery for carrying on the ſiege of the citadel of Meſſina, he went over to Naples, where, finding that the government was abſolutely unable to furniſh the military ſtores that were wanting, he very generouſly granted to his imperial majeſty the cannon out of the Britiſh prizes, and procured, upon his own credit, powder and other ammunition from Genoa; and ſoon after went thither himſelf, in order to haſten the embarkation of the troops, which was made ſooner than could have been expected, merely through the diligence of the admiral, and in ſpite of the delays affected by the then count, afterwards baſhaw Bonneval, who was appointed to command them [h].

After the citadel of Meſſina ſurrendered, Sir George Byng re-embarked a great part of the army, and landed them upon another part of the iſland, by which ſpeedy and unexpected conveyance they diſtreſſed the enemy to ſuch a degree, that the marquis de Lede, who commanded the Spaniſh forces in chief, propoſed to evacuate the iſland, to which the Germans were very well inclined; but our admiral proteſted againſt it, and declared, that the Spaniſh troops ſhould never be permitted to quit Sicily and return home, till a general peace was concluded. In

[g] Expedition to Sicily, p. 62. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 885. Columna roſtrata, p. 311.

[h] This man, whoſe turbulent diſpoſition led him firſt to fight againſt his country, was now out of humour in the German ſervice, and at length fled to the Turks. But Sir George knowing his own buſineſs perfectly, paſſed over punctilios in order to accompliſh it.

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this Sir George certainly acted as became a Britiſh admiral, and after having done ſo many ſervices for the imperialiſts, inſiſted on their doing what was juſt with reſpect to us, and holding the Spaniſh troops in the uneaſy ſituation they now were, till they gave ample ſatisfaction to the court of London, as well as to that of Vienna. It muſt, however, be conſidered, that, in the firſt place, the admiral had the detention of the Spaniards in his own hands, ſince the Germans could do nothing in that matter without him; and, on the other hand, our demands on the court of Spain were as much for the intereſt of the common cauſe as for our own, ſo that though the ſteadineſs of admiral Byng deſerved commendation, yet there ſeemed to be no great praiſes due to the German complaiſance [i].

The more effectually to humble Spain, and at the ſame time to convince the whole world that we could not only contrive but execute an invaſion, a ſecret deſign was formed for ſending a fleet and army to the coaſts of Spain, which was very ſucceſsfully performed; and, on the 21ſt of September, 1719, vice-admiral Mighels, with a ſtrong ſquadron of his majeſty's ſhips under his command, and the tranſports, having on board the forces commanded by the late lord viſcount Cobham, conſiſting of about 6000 men, ſailed from St. Helen's; and the firſt account we had of them is comprized in the following letter, which, indeed, contains the only good account that was ever publiſhed of this expedition; and therefore I preſume the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee it [k].

" His excellency the lord-viſcount Cobham, with the men of
" war commanded by vice-admiral Mighels, and the tranſports
" having the forces on board, arriving on the coaſt of Galicia,
" kept cruizing three days in the ſtation appointed for captain
" Johnſon to join them; but having no news of him, and the
" danger of lying on the coaſt at this ſeaſon of the year with
" tranſports, rendering it neceſſary to take ſome meaſures of act-

i This was eſteemed a mighty ſervice by one party in England, and treated with very great contempt by another.

k Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 884. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1719, p. 37. Columna roſtrata, p. 309. Mercure hiſtorique & politique, tom. lxvii. p. 456.

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" ing without him, and the wind offering fair for Vigo, his " lordſhip took the reſolution of going thither.

" On the 29th of September, O. S. they entered the harbour " of Vigo, and the grenadiers, being immediately landed about " three miles from the town, drew up on the beach; ſome pea- " ſants fired from the mountains at a great diſtance, but without " any execution. His lordſhip went a-ſhore with the grenadiers, " and the regiments followed as faſt as the boats could carry " them. That night, and the following day and night, the troops " lay upon their arms. In the mean while proviſions for four " days were brought a-ſhore, and guards were poſted in ſeveral " avenues to the diſtance of above a mile up the country.

" On the 1ſt of October his lordſhip moved, with the forces, " nearer the town, and encamped at a ſtrong poſt, with the left " to the ſea, near the village of Boas, and the right extended " towards the mountains. This motion of the army, and ſome " parties that were ordered to view the town and citadel, gave " the enemy ſome apprehenſions, that preparations were making " to attack them; whereupon they ſet fire to the carriages " of the cannon of the town, nailed thoſe cannon, and by " all their motions ſeemed to be determined to abandon the " town to the care of the magiſtrates and inhabitants, and to " retire with the regular troops into the citadel; whereupon the " lord Cobham ſent to ſummon the town to ſurrender, which " the magiſtrates made no difficulty of doing; and the ſame " night his lordſhip ordered brigadier Honywood, with eight " hundred men, to take poſt in the town, and Fort St. Seba- " ſtian, which the enemy had alſo abandoned.

" On the 3d a bomb-veſſel began to bombard the citadel, but " with little execution by reaſon of the great diſtance. That " evening the large mortars and the cohorn-mortars were landed " at the town; between forty and fifty of them, great and ſmall, " placed on a battery under cover of Fort St. Sebaſtian, began " in the night to play upon the citadel, and continued it four " days with great ſucceſs. The fourth day his lordſhip ordered " the battering cannon to be landed, and, with ſome others " found in the town, to be placed on the battery of Fort St. " Sebaſtian. At the ſame time his lordſhip ſent the governor " a ſummons to ſurrender, ſignifying, that, if he ſtaid till our

" battery

"battery of cannon was ready, he ſhould have no quarter. "Colonel Ligonier was ſent with this meſſage, but found the "governor Don Joſeph de los Cereos had the day before been "carried out of the caſtle wounded; the lieutenant-colonel, "who commanded in his abſence, deſired leave and time to ſend "to the marquis de Riſburg at Tuy for his directions; but, be-"ing told the hoſtilities ſhould be continued if they did not ſend "their capitulation without any delay, they ſoon complied [l]."

The capitulation conſiſted of ten articles, by which the garriſon were permitted to march out with the honours of war, and the place, with all its works, magazines, and whatever they contained either of ammunition or proviſions, were delivered up to his excellency the lord Cobham.

On the 10th of the ſame month, in the morning, the garriſon marched out, conſiſting of 469 men, (officers included), having had above 300 killed or wounded by our bombs. The place, it is ſaid, coſt us but two officers, and three or four men killed. There were in the town about ſixty pieces of large iron cannon, which the enemy abandoned, and theſe they nailed and damaged as much as their time would give them leave; and in the citadel were forty-three pieces, of which fifteen were braſs, and two large mortars, beſides above two thouſand barrels of powder, and ſeveral cheſts of arms, amounting in the whole to about 8000 muſquets; all which ſtores and braſs ordnance were lodged there from on board the ſhips that were to have viſited Great Britain in the preceding ſpring, and the very troops that gave up Vigo were part alſo of thoſe corps which were to have been employed in that expedition; ſeven ſhips were ſeized in the harbour, three of which were fitting up for privateers, one of which was to carry twenty-four guns; the reſt were trading veſſels [m].

Vigo being thus taken, the lord Cobham ordered major-general Wade to embark with a thouſand men on board four tranſports, and to ſail to the upper end of the bay of Vigo; which he accordingly did on the 14th, and, having landed his men, march-

[l] This relation was publiſhed in the London Gazette, dated Whitehall, October 2, 1719.

[m] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 686. Annals of king George, vol. vi. p. 55. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 604. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxvii. p. 579.

ed to Ponta-Vedra, which place ſurrendered without oppoſition, the magiſtrates of the town meeting them with the keys.

In this place were taken two forty-eight pounders, four twenty-four pounders, ſix eight pounders, and four mortars, all braſs, beſides ſeventy pieces of iron cannon, two thouſand ſmall arms, ſome bombs, *&c.* all which, except the twenty-four pounders, were embarked, and major-general Wade returned with his booty and troops to Vigo on the 23d [n].

The next day the lord Cobham, finding it would be impoſſible for him to maintain his ground any longer in Spain, ordered the forces to be embarked, as likewiſe the cannon, *&c.* which being done by the 27th, he ſailed that day for England, where he arrived the 11th of November, having loſt in the whole expedition about three hundred of his men, who were either killed, died, or deſerted [o].

There is yet another expedition, of which we muſt take ſome notice before we ſhut up the tranſactions of this year, and it is that of Sir John Norris into the Baltic. Things had now changed their face in the north; the Swedes, ſince the death of their king, were become our friends, and the great deſign of ſending this fleet was to protect theſe new friends againſt our old allies the Ruſſians. The queen of Sweden was extremely well pleaſed on the receiving ſo ſeaſonable a ſuccour. In the beginning of September Sir John Norris, with his ſquadron joined the Swediſh fleet, and on the 6th of the ſame month arrived at the Dahlen near Stockholm, where her majeſty's conſort, the late king of Sweden, did him the honour to dine on board his ſhips [p]. This junction of the Engliſh and Swediſh fleets broke all the meaſures of the Czar Peter the Great, who had ruined the Swediſh coaſt in a cruel manner, but was now forced to retire with his fleet into the harbour of Revel [q].

[n] M. de St. Philippe memoires pour ſervir a l'hiſtoire de l'Eſpagne, tome iii. p. 409. [o] Columna roſtrata, p. 311. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1719, p. 387. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 885. [p] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 680. Anna's of king George, vol. vi. p. 25. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxvii. p. 390.

[q] The Czar had more than one Engliſh admiral in his ſervice, and they honeſtly repreſented the riſk he ran of ſeeing the naval force, which was the creature of his own brain, and which he nurſed with ſo much care, ſtrangled, as ſoon as brought forth, by an unequal conteſt with a Britiſh fleet, which he might avoid without any diſhonour.

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The lord Carteret, now earl of Granville, was then ambaſſador at Stockholm, and, in conjunction with Sir John Norris, laboured aſſiduouſly to bring the conferences at the iſland of Ahland to a happy concluſion; but the Czar not being at that time diſpoſed to think of pacific meaſures, they could not prevail; ſo that, about the middle of September, the conferences broke up. All this time the fleet continued near Stockholm; but the winter ſeaſon coming on, and there being no reaſon to fear any farther attacks on the Swedes, as the Danes had accepted his Britannic majeſty's mediation, Sir John Norris thought of returning home, and accordingly ſailed from Elſenap on the 27th of October, with a large fleet of merchantmen under his convoy, and ſafely arrived at Copenhagen on the 6th of November, where he was received by his Daniſh majeſty with all imaginable marks of diſtinction and eſteem. It muſt indeed be allowed, to the honour of this worthy admiral's memory, that, whatever views the miniſtry might have at home, he conſulted the nation's glory abroad, and, by preſerving the balance of power in the north, rendered the higheſt ſervice to his country. On the 12th of the ſame month the fleet ſailed from Copenhagen, and on the 17th met with a dreadful ſtorm, which damaged ſeveral ſhips, but deſtroyed none. Towards the cloſe of the month they arrived ſafe, and on the laſt day of November Sir John came to London, after having managed with great reputation, and finiſhed with much expedition, an enterprize which, in leſs able hands, would either have brought diſcredit on our naval power, or involved the nation in a bloody war; but by his ſteady and prudent conduct they were both avoided, and a ſtop put to thoſe troubles, which for many years had embroiled the north[r].

His majeſty returned from Hanover about the middle of November, 1719, and the parliament met the latter end of the ſame month, when there were very warm debates upon the ſubject of the Sicilian expedition; where many great men, and good patriots, thought our fleet had done too much for the Germans, and too little for themſelves. On the other hand, the friends of the miniſtry maintained, that their meaſures were

[r] Ledi rd's naval hiſtory, vo'. ii. p. 884. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. ii. p. 589. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxvii. p. 681.

right; that the giving Sicily to the emperor, and Sardinia to the duke of Savoy, would effectually fix the balance of power in Italy, and free us, and the reſt of Europe, from the apprehenſions created by the mighty naval power of Spain.

It is not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, my buſineſs, and to ſay the truth, the compaſs of this work will not allow me to enlarge much upon it, if an inquiry into the politics of thoſe times was more ſo than it is; but thus much I think is to be ſaid, in juſtice to Sir George Byng; that the queſtion does not at all reſpect his behaviour, ſince the merit of an officer conſiſts in executing his orders, for which alone he is anſwerable, and not at all for the rectitude of thoſe orders. If this be not allowed, we muſt never hope to be well ſerved at ſea, ſince the admiral who takes upon him to interpret his inſtructions, will never want excuſes for his management, be it what it will; and if this propoſition be once granted, Sir George Byng muſt be allowed to have done his duty, as well as any admiral ever did; for to his conduct it was entirely owing that Sicily was ſubdued, and his Catholic majeſty forced to accept the terms preſcribed to him by the quadruple alliance. He it was who firſt enabled the Germans to ſet foot in that iſland; by him they were ſupported in all they did; and by his councils they were directed, or they had otherwiſe been again expelled the iſland, even after the taking of Meſſina. As warm debates were there about our proceedings in the Baltic, which, whether they were right or wrong, ought not to affect the character of the admiral, who punctually executed his inſtructions, and performed all that was, or could be, expected from him; neither was this denied by ſuch as oppoſed the miniſtry, and whoſe ſentiments were at this time over-ruled in parliament[s].

On the 2d of December, the naval ſupplies for the enſuing year were ſettled. 13,500 men were allowed for the ſervice of 1720, and the ſum of 4 l. *per* month as uſual, granted

[s] It is a great misfortune in this country, that in all party-diſputes, in which the only real object is power, political, and ſometimes religious ſyſtems are adopted, and maintained with ſuch plauſibility on both ſides, that an honeſt inquirer is hard put to it to find, and when he has found, runs the hazard of being abuſed, if he ventures to declare for TRUTH.

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for that purpoſe; 217,918 l. 10 s. 8 d. was given for the ordinary of the navy, and 79,723 l. for the extraordinary repairs. Soon after a demand was made for a conſiderable ſum, expended in the neceſſary ſervice of the laſt year, beyond what was provided for by parliament; and after great debates, in which thoſe then in oppoſition took great freedoms, a vote was obtained on the 15th of January, for 377,561 l. 6s. 9½d. in diſcharge of thoſe expences. In the beginning of the month of February, the king of Spain acceded to the quadruple alliance [t]; and, as a conſequence thereof, a ceſſation of arms was ſoon after publiſhed, which was quickly followed by a convention in Sicily for the evacuation of that iſland, and alſo of the iſland of Sardinia; and thus the houſe of Auſtria got poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Sicily by means of the Britiſh fleet. But, what return the imperial court made Great Britain for theſe favours, we ſhall ſee in its proper place. About the ſame time, a meſſenger diſpatched by the then lord Carteret, from Stockholm, brought the inſtrument of the treaty of friendſhip and alliance concluded between his majeſty and the crown of Sweden [u].

The Czar of Muſcovy remaining ſtill at war with that crown, and having entered into meaſures that, in the opinion of our court, were calculated to overturn the balance of power in the north, it was reſolved to ſend Sir John Norris once more with a fleet of twenty men of war under his command, into thoſe ſeas. The deſign of this was, to ſecure the Swedes from feeling the Czar's reſentment, or from being forced to accept ſuch hard and unequal conditions as he might endeavour to impoſe. The better to underſtand this, it will be requiſite to obſerve, that the Swedes had made ſome great alterations in their government, not only by aſſerting their crown to be elective, but by making choice of the prince of Heſſe, conſort to the queen their ſovereign, for their king, on her motion and requeſt; notwithſtanding the claim of the duke of Holſtein, her ſiſter's

[t] Lamberti, tome x. append. p. 59, 60, 61. together with his Catholic majeſty's act of acceptation. [u] Annals of king George, vol. vi. p. 98. Hiſtorical regiſter, for 1720, p. 5. Salmon's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 94. Lamberti, tome x. append. N°. 10.

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ſon, to the ſucceſſion. This young prince the Czar was pleaſed to take under his protection, and propoſed to the Swedes, that if they would ſettle the crown upon him, his Czariſh majeſty would give him his daughter, with the provinces conquered from Sweden, by way of dowry; but, in caſe this was refuſed, he threatened to purſue the war more vigorouſly than ever, and for that purpoſe began to make very great naval preparations [w].

As our old league with Sweden was now renewed, the Britiſh fleet, on the 16th of April [x], ſailed for the Baltic; in the beginning of the month of May they were joined, on the coaſt of Sweden, by a ſquadron of ſhips belonging to that crown; and, on the 24th of the ſame month, being near the coaſt of Ahland, they were joined by ſeven Swediſh men of war more, under the command of admiral Wachmeiſter; the 26th it was reſolved, that the fleet ſhould proceed towards the coaſt of Revel; which ſaved the Swedes from feeling at that juncture any marks of the Czar's diſpleaſure. In the mean time, our miniſter at the court of Denmark having prepared that monarch for an accommodation with Sweden, lord Carteret, who was our miniſter at Stockholm, negociated, and brought to a happy concluſion the treaty of peace between the two crowns, under our mediation, and went afterwards to Copenhagen to preſent it to his Daniſh majeſty, of whom he had an audience on the 29th of June 1720, for that purpoſe.

His lordſhip continued for ſome time after at the Daniſh court, where he was treated with unuſual marks of eſteem and reſpect, by a prince who was allowed to be one of the wiſeſt crowned heads in Europe, and who, as a ſignal teſtimony of his favour to that accompliſhed ſtateſman, took a ſword from his ſide, richly ſet with diamonds, to the value of five thouſand pounds, of which he made a preſent to his lordſhip [y].

[w] Mr. de la Motray's travels, vol. ii. chap. xiv. He was upon the ſpot in the conferences on the iſle of Ahland. [x] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 695. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 887. Annals of king George, vol. vi. p. 188. [y] Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. ii. p. 617. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1720, p. 241. Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 700. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxix. p. 36, 158.

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The ſeaſon for action being over, Sir John Norris, on the 8th of September, ſailed with the ſquadron under his command to Stockholm. The new king of Sweden did him the honour to dine with him on board his ſhip, accompanied by Mr. Finch, the Britiſh envoy, and the Poliſh miniſter prince Lubomirſki, and other perſons of diſtinction; and his excellency ſoon after returned with the ſquadron under his command to England [z]. The Czar bore this interpoſition of ours very impatiently, and his miniſters did not fail to impute it wholly to the intereſt which his majeſty, as a German prince, had to compromiſe affairs with Sweden, with relation to the acquiſition he had made of the duchies of Bremen and Verden. However, thus much is very certain, that whatever benefit his majeſty, as elector of Hanover, might draw from the protection afforded to Sweden by the Britiſh fleet, this was a meaſure, as things then ſtood, entirely correſponding with the Britiſh intereſt; and we had often interpoſed in the very ſame manner under former reigns, to prevent ſuch conqueſts in the north as might be fatal to a commerce, upon the proper carrying on of which, in a great meaſure, depends almoſt all the other branches of our trade. The inſinuations, therefore, of the Czar had no great weight at the time, either with us, or with other powers, as appears by the conduct of Pruſſia and Denmark, both making ſeparate treaties with Sweden, notwithſtanding all the expoſtulations, remonſtrances, and even threatenings of his Czariſh majeſty to prevent it [a]. Neither is it at all impoſſible, that the very dread of that exorbitant power, to which that ambitious monarch aſpired, might contribute as much to their taking that reſolution, as any other motive whatever [b].

His majeſty having ſpent the ſummer in his German dominions, returned to Great Britain in the month of November; and the parliament meeting on the 8th of December following, the proceedings of the whole year were laid before that auguſt

[z] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 888. Salmon's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 103. [a] Lamberti, tome x. append. N°. 11, 12. Rouſſet, tome i. p. 373. Le droit public de l'Europe, chap. viii. p. 99.

[b] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 711. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. ii. p. 619.

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aſſembly; in which it was inſiſted upon, that the money iſſued for the ſea-ſervice had produced all the deſired effects; and that, as peace had been ſettled by the force of our arms in the Mediterranean a few months before, ſo it was highly probable that the very terror of our arms would cauſe the troubles of the north to ſubſide in a few months to come. Upon theſe ſuggeſtions a conſiderable naval force was aſked for the next year; and though there was a good deal of oppoſition, and a great many bold ſpeeches made, yet in the end the point was carried; and, on the 19th of December, the houſe of commons reſolved, that 10,000 men be allowed for the ſea-ſervice, for the year 1721, at 4l. a man *per* month, for thirteen months: that 219,049l. 14s. be granted for the ordinary of the navy; and 50,200l. for extra-repairs for the ſame year[c]. This proviſion being made, it was reſolved to ſend Sir John Norris, and rear-admiral Hopſon, with a ſquadron of thirteen men of war of the line, beſides frigates and bomb-ketches, into the Baltic, to put an end to theſe diſputes, which had already coſt our allies ſo much blood, and ourſelves ſo large a proportion of treaſure, and which it was thought could not be ſoon ſettled any other way.

The Czar having ſtill in view the reduction of the Swedes to his own terms, was very early at ſea with a large fleet, and, deſigning to ſtrike a terror into the whole Swediſh nation, he ravaged their coaſts with incredible fury, to give it the ſofteſt name, committing ſuch cruelties as were ſcarce ever heard of amongſt the moſt barbarous nations; yet the Swedes kept up their ſpirits, and depending on our protection, did not take any haſty meaſures, but inſiſted on certain mitigations, which by this firmneſs they at laſt obtained. In the middle of the month of April, Sir John Norris ſailed from the Nore, and towards the latter end of the ſame month arrived at Copenhagen, where he was received with all imaginable marks of eſteem[d]; ſoon after he continued his voyage for the coaſt of Sweden, where he was joined by a few Swediſh ſhips. His appearance in thoſe ſeas, and with ſuch a force, produced greater conſequences

[c] Hiſtorical regiſter for 1721, p. 24, 25. [d] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii p 889. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxx. p. 715.

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than were expected from it; for the Czar doubting his own ſtrength, and fearing, upon the loſs of a battle, that his whole naval force would be deſtroyed, as he had ſeen of late to be the caſe of Spain, he began to be more inclinable to a peace, which was concluded at Neiſtadt, upon the thirty-firſt of Auguſt [e].

This treaty having ſettled the Czar's rights to the conquered provinces, and ſecured to the Swedes various immunities and privileges, in order to bring them more readily to conſent to ſuch terms as they would have otherwiſe thought hard, ſatisfied in ſome meaſure both crowns. Sir John Norris continued all this time with his fleet in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, in order to give weight to the negociations of Mr. Finch; and the peace being ſigned and ratified, he took leave of the Swediſh court, and ſailed for Copenhagen, where he arrived in the beginning of the month of October; and on the 6th of the ſame month, returning home, arrived ſafely at the Nore on the 20th [f], leaving the north in perfect quiet, and all its powers under a juſt ſenſe of the ſeaſonable interpoſition of Great Britain, in favour of that balance of power in thoſe parts, which is of ſuch high conſequence to the tranquillity of Europe in general, as well as the particular advantage of each of the monarchs thus (not without much difficulty) reconciled.

At home, the diſputes and uneaſineſs which had been occaſioned by the execution of the South-ſea ſcheme, kept the nation in a high ferment, and put the court under a neceſſity of altering its meaſures, and making ſome changes in the adminiſtration; among which, we may reckon the great alteration of the board of admiralty, which took place in the month of September, when his majeſty was pleaſed to order letters patent to paſs the great ſeal, conſtituting the right honourable James, earl of Berkley, Sir John Jennings, John Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Eſqrs. Sir John Norris, Sir Charles Wager, and Daniel Pulteney, Eſq; commiſſioners for executing the of-

[e] Lamberti, tome x. append. N°. 15. Rouſſet, tome i. p. 327. Le droit public de l'Europe, chap. viii. p. 103. [f] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 726. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 650, 653. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxxi. p. 599.

fice of lord high-admiral of Great Britain, &c[g]. This appointment gave the moſt general ſatisfaction at that time; and it muſt be allowed by all who were well acquainted with their characters, that the board was never better ſettled than by theſe gentlemen, four of whom were as great ſeamen as any in this age; and the other three as well acquainted with the buſineſs of the office, and the duties of their poſt, as any that ever filled them.

The parliament met on the 19th of October, and on the 27th of the ſame month, the houſe of commons granted 7000 men for the ſervice of the ſea, for the year 1722, at the uſual rate of 4l. a man *per* month; and on the 2d of November, they reſolved, that the ſum of 218,799 l. 4s. 7 d. be granted for the ordinary of the navy for the ſame year[h]. This was a very moderate expence, and very agreeable to the ſituation of our affairs at that time, which had not been a little diſordered by the large diſburſements into which we had been drawn for many years paſt. It was not long, however, after this grant was made, before a new ſquadron was ordered to be got ready, conſiſting of thirteen very large ſhips, which ſquadron was to be commanded by Sir Charles Wager, and rear-admiral Hoſier. The deſtination of this armament was never certainly known; but the moſt probable account that has been given, is, that it was intended to chaſtiſe the Portugueſe, for an inſult offered by them to Mr. Wingfield and Mr. Roberts, two gentlemen of the factory at Liſbon, whoſe goods they ſeized, impriſoned their perſons, and even went ſo far as to condemn them to be hanged, upon a very trifling pretence[i].

The caſe was this: There is a law in Portugal, which forbids the exportation of any coin whatſoever out of that kingdom, upon pain of death: but it was a law never inſiſted upon, and therefore to be thought obſolete, and, by cuſtom, in a manner repealed; which conſtruction was juſtified by the tranſporting gold coin from Liſbon to other countries almoſt every day, and in ſuch a manner, as the court could not be ignorant of it.

[g] Hiſtorical regiſter for 1721, p. 28. Oldmixon. Salmon's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 114.

[h] Hiſtorical regiſter for 1722, p. 10, 12.

[i] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 889. Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 719.

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What induced the Portugueſe miniſtry to venture upon ſuch an ill-timed ſeverity, is not well known; but the vigorous meaſures taken by our court, were certainly the propereſt methods that could be taken, to hinder their proceeding to execution. At the ſame time, our miniſter ſtated the caſe of thoſe gentlemen in the faireſt and fulleſt light, obſerving to the king of Portugal, that of all nations in Europe, the Engliſh leaſt deſerved to be thus uſed, becauſe they took the largeſt quantity of the manufactures of Portugal, in exchange for their own, of which laſt the Portugueſe alſo exported a great deal. That the balance of trade in our favour had been, and muſt be, always diſcharged in gold, and that conſequently theſe ſevere proceedings, if not remitted, muſt not only produce an immediate rupture between the two nations, but alſo hinder all commerce between them for the future. By degrees theſe repreſentations were attended to, the merchants releaſed, their goods reſtored, and the whole affair was amicably adjuſted. Upon this, our naval armament was laid aſide, and the mutual intereſt of the two nations, after this explanation, being better underſtood, the harmony between them was effectually reſtored, and this unlucky interruption of it buried on both ſides in oblivion.

We may, from this inſtance, diſcern, how dangerous a thing it is, in any ſtate, to ſuffer theſe ſleeping laws to remain virtually, and yet not actually repealed, ſince, in certain conjunctures, there never will be wanting a ſort of enterprizing men, who will endeavour to make their advantage of ſuch penal ſtatutes, diſguiſing their private views, under a ſpecious pretence of purſuing the public good. As, on the other hand, we cannot avoid obſerving, that the beſt way to ſecure juſtice to our ſubjects abroad, is always to keep up a conſiderable maritime force at home, that it may be known to all nations, with whom we have any dealings, we are always in a ſituation to exact a ſpeedy and ample ſatisfaction for any inſults that are offered to our merchants, as believing it but equitable to employ in favour of our commerce, that power which is the reſult of it; which never can be attained, but by encouraging an extenſive trade, and which never can decay or decline, if we do not ſuffer our neighbours to interfere therein to our prejudice, by not applying timely and effectual remedies upon their firſt invaſions. But

to return from theſe ſalutary cautions, to the thread of our narration.

The pirates in the Weſt Indies, which had received ſome check from the vigorous diſpoſitions of governor Rogers, and other commanders in thoſe parts, began to take breath again, and by degrees grew ſo bold as even to annoy our colonies more than ever. This was owing to ſeveral cauſes; particularly to the encouragement they had met with of late from the Spaniards, and to the want of a ſufficient force in the North American ſeas [k]. The merchants, finding themſelves extremely diſtreſſed by a grievance that increaſed every day, made repeated repreſentations, upon this head, to the government; upon which, freſh orders were ſent to the officers of the navy cruizing on the coaſt of Guinea, and in the Weſt Indies, to exert themſelves, with the utmoſt diligence, in cruſhing theſe enemies to mankind; and theſe injunctions had at length the deſired effect. There was among theſe pirates, on the coaſt of Africa, one Roberts, a man whoſe parts deſerved a better employment; he was an able ſeaman, and a good commander, and had with him two very ſtout ſhips, one commanded by himſelf, of forty guns, and one hundred and fifty-two men; the other of thirty-two guns, and one hundred and thirty-two men; and to complete his ſquadron, he ſoon added a third, of twenty-four guns, and ninety men: with this force, Roberts had done a great deal of miſchief in the Weſt Indies, before he ſailed for Africa, where he likewiſe took abundance of prizes, till in the month of April, 1722, he was taken by the then captain, afterwards Sir Chaloner Ogle.

Captain Ogle was then in the Swallow, and was cruizing off Cape Lopez, when he had intelligence of Roberts's being not far from him, and in conſequence of this he went immediately in ſearch of him, and ſoon after diſcovered the pirates in a very convenient bay, where the biggeſt and the leaſt ſhip were upon the heel ſcrubbing [l]. Captain Ogle taking in his lower tier of guns, and lying at a diſtance, Roberts took him for a merchantman,

[k] Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 724. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 890.

[l] See captain, afterwards admiral, Ogle's letter to the lords of the admiralty, containing an exact relation of this tranſaction, dated Swallow, in Cape-coaſt road, Africa, April 5, 1722, in the hiſtorical regiſter for 1722, p. 344—347.

and

and immediately ordered his conſort Skyrm to ſlip his cable, and run out after him. Captain Ogle crowded all the ſail he could to decoy the pirate to ſuch a diſtance, that his conſorts might not hear the guns, and then ſuddenly tacked, run out his lower tier, and gave the pirate a broadſide, by which their captain was killed; which ſo diſcouraged the crew, that after a briſk engagement, which laſted about an hour and a half, they ſurrendered. Captain Ogle returned then to the bay, hoiſting the king's colours, under the pirates black flag with a death's head in it. This prudent ſtratagem had the deſired effect; for the pirates, ſeeing the black flag uppermoſt, concluded the king's ſhip had been taken, and came out full of joy to congratulate their conſort on the victory. This joy of theirs was, however, of no long continuance; for captain Ogle gave them a very warm reception; and, though Roberts fought with the utmoſt bravery for near two hours, yet, being at laſt killed, the courage of his men immediately ſunk, and both ſhips yielded. Captain Ogle carried theſe three prizes, with about one hundred and ſixty men that were taken in them, to Cape Coaſt-caſtle, where they were inſtantly brought to their trials. Seventy-four were capitally convicted, of whom fifty-two were executed, and moſt of them hung in chains in ſeveral places, which ſtruck a terror in that part of the world, as the taking ſeveral pirates in the Weſt Indies, towards the latter end of the year, did in thoſe ſeas [m]. But theſe ſucceſſes were far from putting an end to the miſchief; ſo that it was found neceſſary ſoon after to ſend ſeveral ſhips of war to the northern colonies and Jamaica, where by degrees they extirpated entirely this dangerous crew of robbers.

As this year was very barren in naval tranſactions, I think I am at liberty to take notice of an event that otherwiſe might ſeem of too little importance to be recorded. The caſe was this: The government had intelligence, that the emiſſaries of the pretender were very buſy in carrying on their intrigues at ſeveral foreign courts, and that, for the greater expedition and ſecurity, they had fitted out a ſhip called the Reſolution, which then lay in the Mole of Genoa. It was in the midſt of autumn when this intelligence was received; upon which orders were immediately

[m] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 724. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 891.

diſpatched

diſpatched to the captains of ſuch of our men of war, as were cruizing in the Mediterranean, to ſeize and poſſeſs themſelves of this veſſel, which they accordingly did in the beginning of the month of November [n]. But it ſo happened, that moſt of her officers were at this juncture on ſhore, which obliged Mr. Davenant, his majeſty's envoy extraordinary to that republic, to demand them of the ſenate and ſtate of Genoa; but the ſenate were either ſo unwilling, or ſo dilatory in this affair, that the perſons concerned had an opportunity, which they did not miſs, of making their eſcape; and though they were a little unlucky in loſing their ſhip, which was a pretty good one, yet they were very fortunate in ſaving themſelves, ſince, if they had been taken, they would have been treated as rebels, or perhaps conſidered as pirates, as ſome people were in king William's time, who acted under a commiſſion from king James II.

The parliament having met on the 9th of October, the houſe of commons, on the 24th of the ſame month, granted 10,000 men for the ſea-ſervice, at four pounds *per* man *per* month, for the year 1723; and, on the 29th, they reſolved, that 216,388l. 14s. 8d. be allowed for the ordinary of the navy, for the ſame year [o]; and ſoon after the king was pleaſed to promote Sir George Walton, knight, to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, in the room of admiral Mighels, who was appointed to ſucceed Thomas Swanton, Eſq; lately deceaſed, as comptroller of the navy; and admiral Littleton dying the fifth of February, rear-admiral Strickland ſucceeded him as vice-admiral of the white; the other admirals taking place according to their ſeniority [p].

The naval tranſactions of this year were, as I have already hinted, very inconſiderable; for though ſome great ſhips were put into commiſſion, and there was once a deſign of fitting out a fleet, yet it was very ſoon after laid aſide. But that we may not ſeem to paſs by any thing that has the ſmalleſt relation to the ſubject of this work, we ſhall take notice of an account re-

[n] Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tom. lxxiv. p. 132. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 891. Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 734.

[o] Hiſtorical regiſter for 1722, p. 336.

[p] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 734. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1723, p. 8, 12. Salmon's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 132.

ceived

ceived about this time of an extraordinary hurricane at Jamaica, ſaid to be the moſt remarkable that ever happened in that iſland; which account, as it is in itſelf equally curious and remarkable, ſo it is the more valuable, becauſe not to be met with elſewhere [q].

" To Sir H. S. Bart.

" Dated at Port-Royal in Jamaica, Nov. 13, 1722.

" Since my laſt to you, the affairs of the iſland are altered " infinitely for the worſe. This change has been made by a " moſt terrible ſtorm that happened the 28th of Auguſt laſt; " the damage which Jamaica has ſuffered by it is too great to " be eaſily repaired again. Abundance of people have loſt " their lives by it, in one part or other of this iſland; ſome of " them were daſhed in pieces by the ſudden fall of their houſes, " but the much greater part were ſwept away by a terrible in- " undation of the ſea, which being raiſed by the violence of the " wind to a much greater height than was ever known before, " in many parts of the iſland broke over its ancient bounds, " and of a ſudden overflowed a large tract of land, carrying " away with an irreſiſtible force, men, cattle, houſes, and, in " ſhort, every thing that ſtood in its way.

" In this laſt calamity, the unfortunate town of Port Royal, " has had, at leaſt, its full ſhare. And here I confeſs myſelf " at a loſs for words to give a juſt deſcription of the horror of " that ſcene that we the afflicted inhabitants ſaw before our " eyes. When the terror of the ſea broke in upon us from all " quarters with an impetuous force, conſpired with the violence " of the wind to cut off all hopes of ſafety from us, and we " had no other choice before us, but that diſmal one of periſh- " ing in the waters if we fled out of our houſes, or of being

[q] Hurricane, which the French write Ouragan, is a word, in the language of the Caribbee Indians, expreſſing a violent tempeſt, in which the wind veers from one point of the compaſs to another. It is preceded firſt by a dead calm, the ſun or moon very red, then a ſtrong weſt wind. When this ſhifts to the north, the hurricane begins, continues ſhifting weſtward, till it come to ſouth-eaſt, and there ſtops. The bounds of theſe dreadful ſtorms are from July 25, to September 8, O. S. but in general Auguſt is looked on, in America, as the hurricane month.

" buried

" buried under the ruins if we continued in them. In this " fearful ſuſpence we were held for ſeveral hours, for the vio- " lence of the ſtorm began about eight in the morning, and did " not ſenſibly abate till between twelve and one, within which " ſpace of time the wind and ſea together demoliſhed a conſi- " derable part of the town, laid the churches even with the " ground, deſtroyed above one hundred and twenty white in- " habitants, and one hundred and fifty ſlaves, beſides ruining " almoſt all the ſtorehouſes in the town, together with all the " goods that were in them, which amounted to a conſiderable " value.

" We had at Port-Royal two very formidable enemies to " encounter at the ſame time, *viz.* the wind and the ſea; the " ſituation of the place, it being at all times ſurrounded with " the ſea, rendering it more expoſed than other places, to the " fury of that boiſterous element; our defence againſt the ſea, " conſiſts in a great wall, round all along on the eaſtern ſhore " of the town, the ſide upon which we apprehend moſt dan- " ger. This wall is raiſed about nine feet above the ſurface of " the water, and may be about ſix or ſeven feet broad. And " for theſe twenty years paſt (for ſo long the wall has been " built) it has proved a ſufficient ſecurity to the town. But, in " this fatal ſtorm, the ſea ſcorned to be reſtrained by ſo mean " a bulwark; for the wind having, as I obſerved before, raiſed " it very much above its ordinary height; it broke over the " wall with ſuch a force, as nothing was able to withſtand. " Two or three rows of houſes that were next to the wall, " and ran parallel with it, were entirely taken away, among " which was the church, a handſome building, and very ſtrong, " which was ſo perfectly demoliſhed, that ſcarce one brick was " left upon another.

" A conſiderable part of the wall of the caſtle was thrown " down, notwithſtanding its being of a prodigious thickneſs, " and founded altogether upon a rock, and the whole fort was " in the utmoſt danger of being loſt, the ſea breaking quite " over the walls of it, though they are reckoned to ſtand thirty " feet above the water. This information I had from the cap- " tain of the fort, and other officers, that were in it during the " ſtorm, who all told me, that they expected every minute to

" have

" have the fort washed away, and gave up themselves and the " whole garrison for lost. In the highest streets in the town, " and those that are most remote from the sea, the water rose " to between five and six feet; and at the same time the cur- " rent was so rapid, that it was scarce possible for the strongest " person to keep his legs, or to prevent himself from being car- " ried away by it. In these circumstances we were obliged to " betake ourselves to our chambers and upper rooms; where " yet we ran the utmost hazard of perishing by the fall of our " houses, which trembled and shook over our heads to a degree " that is scarce credible. The roofs were for the most part " carried off by the violence of the wind, and particularly in " the house to which mine and several other families had beta- " ken ourselves, the gable end was beaten in with such a force, " that a large parcel of bricks fell through the garret floor into " the chamber where we were, and had they fallen upon any " of us, must infallibly have beaten out our brains; but God was " pleased to order it so, that not a soul received any hurt.

" There was, the morning on which the storm happened, a " good fleet of ships riding in the harbour of Port-Royal, most " of which had taken in their full freight, and were to have " proceeded home in a few days, had they not been prevented " by this terrible storm, which left but one vessel in the har- " bour, besides four sail of men of war, all which had their " masts and rigging blown away, and the ships themselves, " though in as secure a harbour as any in the whole West " Indies, were as near to destruction as it was possible to be, " and escape it. But the most sensible proof of the unaccount- " able force of the wind and sea together, was, the vast quan- " tity of stones that were thrown over the town-wall; which, " as I observed before, stands nine feet above the surface of " the water, and yet such a prodigious number were forced " over it, that almost an hundred negroes were employed for " near six weeks together to throw them back again into the " sea, and some of those stones were so vastly big, that it was " as much as nine or ten men could do to heave them back " again over the wall.

" I am ſenſible this part of the relation will ſeem a little " ſtrange; but yet I doubt not of obtaining your belief, when " I affirm it to you of my own knowledge for a certain truth.

" But Port-Royal was not the only place that ſuffered in the " ſtorm: at Kingſton alſo great damage was done; abundance " of houſes were blown quite down, and many more were ſo " miſerably broken and ſhattered, as to be little better than " none; abundance of rich goods were ſpoiled by the rain, the " warehouſes being either blown down or uncovered. But " they had only one enemy to encounter, *viz.* the wind, and " were not prevented by the ſea from forſaking their falling " houſes, and betaking themſelves to the ſavannahs or open " fields, where they were obliged to throw themſelves all along " upon the ground, to prevent their being blown away; and " yet, even in Kingſton, ſome perſons were killed, amongſt " whom was a very worthy gentlewoman, the wife of the re- " verend Mr. May, miniſter of the town, and the biſhop of " London's commiſſary; ſhe was killed by the fall of their " houſe, as ſhe lay with her huſband under a large table, who " had alſo the misfortune of having his own leg broke. All " the veſſels that rode in the harbour of Kingſton, which were " between forty and fifty ſail, were either driven on ſhore or " overſet and ſunk. Abundance of the men and goods were " loſt, and one could not forbear being ſurpriſed to ſee " large ſhips, with all their heavy lading in them, thrown quite " up upon the dry land; and nothing could afford a more diſ- " mal proſpect than the harbour did the next day, which was " covered with nothing but wrecks and dead bodies.

" At Spaniſh Town nobody indeed was killed, but a great " many had very narrow eſcapes, ſome families having ſcarce " quitted their houſes before they fell down flat at once, with- " out giving any warning. The king's houſe ſtands, indeed, " but it is all uncovered, and the ſtables, coach-houſes, *&c.* " are quite demoliſhed. The river, near to which the town is " ſituated, ſwelled to ſuch a degree as was never before known; " and I was aſſured by the miniſter of the place, Mr. Scott, it " roſe full forty feet perpendicular above the ordinary mark, " and did incredible damage to the eſtates that lay bordering " upon it. From other parts of the country we had very me-

" lancholy

" lancholy accounts of the great loſſes they had ſuſtained, and " particularly at Old Harbour, a village built at a little diſtance " from that ſhore; the ſea made ſuch haſte to devour, as moſt " unexpectedly to intercept many poor creatures before they " had time to make their eſcape, and almoſt forty poor ſouls " periſhed all together in one houſe; and whilſt they only " ſought ſecurity from the wind, expoſed themſelves to be de- " ſtroyed by the ſea, from whence, when they firſt fled, they " apprehended no danger. In Clarendon and Vere pariſhes " great miſchief was done; in the latter the miniſter, Mr. " White, had his leg broke by the fall of the houſe where he " was, not to mention ſeveral perſons that were killed outright.

" But I ſhould quite tire out your patience, ſhould I under- " take to give you a particular account of the damages that " were done by the ſtorm in all parts of the iſland. It ſhall " therefore ſuffice to ſay, that the damage which the trading " part of the iſland has ſuſtained, by the loſs of their ſhipping " and goods, is not to be valued; and, on the other hand, it " is impoſſible to ſay how deeply the planting intereſt has ſhared " in this common calamity, by the loſs of dwelling-houſes and " ſugar-works, and many other ways. And, in ſhort, had the " fury of the ſtorm laſted much longer, the whole iſland muſt " have been one general wreck, and nothing but final and uni- " verſal ruin could have enſued[r]."

There remains but one thing more to be mentioned within the compaſs of this year, and that is, the perplexed ſituation of affairs on the continent making it neceſſary for his majeſty to viſit his German dominions, he embarked on board the Carolina yacht on the 3d of June, arrived ſafely in Holland on the 7th, and continued his journey by land to Hanover, where he remained during the reſt of the year 1723; at the cloſe of which Sir John Norris, with a ſmall ſquadron of men of war was ſent to eſcort him from Holland; and he returned ſafely to St. James's on the 30th of December[s].

[r] Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 362, contains an account of this dreadful calamity, by Sir N. Lawes, then governor.

[s] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 742, 747. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 673, 676. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 891, 892.

The parliament, which had been farther prorogued, on account of the king's ſtay abroad, was now ſummoned to meet on the 9th of January; and care was taken in the mean time, to regulate whatever had relation to foreign affairs, in ſuch a manner as that his majeſty might aſſure both houſes, in his ſpeech from the throne, that, through his aſſiduous application to buſineſs while at Hanover, all affairs had been adjuſted, ſo that moſt of the courts of Europe were, at that juncture, either in a favourable diſpoſition towards us, or at leaſt in no condition to create in us any apprehenſions on account of their armaments or intrigues.

In this ſtate they continued for about two years, that is to ſay, till a little before the treaty of Hanover, which was concluded there on the 3d of September, 1725 [t]. It is ſufficiently known to every body, this alliance was concerted in order to prevent the bad effects that were apprehended from the treaty of Vienna; in which, (at leaſt it was ſo ſuggeſted) there were many things dangerous to the trade of England, and the ſucceſſion of the royal family; but this, however, the late emperor Charles VI. abſolutely denied, and took a very ſtrange as well as extraordinary meaſure, which was to appeal from the judgment of the king and his miniſtry to that of the people of this nation, for whom he profeſſed the warmeſt gratitude, and the higheſt eſteem [u]; however, there was no great ſign of this in the proclamation, publiſhed ſome time after, for prohibiting any of the goods and manufactures of Great Britain from being imported into the iſland of Sicily, of which we had ſo lately, and at ſuch a mighty expence to ourſelves, put him in poſſeſſion.

The year 1726 opened very inauſpiciouſly: his majeſty embarked on board the Carolina yacht, at Helvoetſluys, about one in the afternoon on new-year's-day, with a fair wind at north-eaſt, and ſailed immediately. But, about ſeven the ſame evening, a moſt violent ſtorm aroſe, with hail and rain, which ſo ſeparated the fleet, that only one man of war, commanded by captain Danſie, kept company with the king's yacht, on board of which was Sir John Norris. The tempeſt continued ſo high,

[t] Lamberti, tom. x. append. No. xxiii. Rouſſet, tom. ii. p. 189. Le droit public de l'Europe, chap. vii. p. 72. [u] Rouſſet, tom. iii. p. 349, where the reader will find the reſident Palm's memorial, dated March 13, 1727.

and

and the ſea ſo boiſterous, for about thirty-ſix hours, that the whole fleet was in the utmoſt danger. The third, in the morning, the yachts and men of war were near Dover; and one of the yachts, with ſome of his majeſty's attendants, entered the river; but it was thought more adviſable that his majeſty ſhould land at Rye, where he arrived about noon; and on the 9th, in the evening, he came from thence to his palace at St. James's, in perfect health [w].

On the 20th of January the parliament met, and the king made a very remarkable ſpeech from the throne [x], in which he took notice of the critical ſituation of affairs in Europe, and of the meaſures he had taken for ſupporting the honour of his crown, and preſerving the juſt rights of his people. When this ſpeech came to be debated in the houſe of commons, very warm things were ſaid, by thoſe who were then in the oppoſition, againſt the plan of the Hanover alliance, which, though it was alſo diſliked by many of the miniſters here at home, yet was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by others, and even by them, in that debate [y].

It has been generally ſaid, and I believe with truth, that the ſecretary of ſtate, then abroad with his majeſty, was the ſole, or at leaſt the principal adviſer in that affair, which gave a new turn to our politics, and engaged us in a ſcheme for humbling the houſe of Auſtria, which we had ſo long and even ſo lately ſupported, and in the ſupport of which we have been ſince alſo engaged at an expence, that might certainly have been ſpared, if this ſcheme had not taken place; ſuch fluctuations there are in modern policy, and ſo dearly do whole nations pay for the intrigues, caprices, and errors of particular men! But to proceed.

On the 26th of January the houſe of commons reſolved, that ten thouſand men be employed for the ſea-ſervice, for the year 1726, at 4 l. a man *per* month for thirteen months. The 23d of February they reſolved, that 212,381 l. 5 s. be granted for

[w] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 773. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 691. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxxx. p. 211. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 893. [x] Chandler's debates, vol. vi. p. 349.

[y] The point in the treaty of Vienna, which chiefly affected the maritime powers, was the confirmation of the Oſtend company.

the

the ordinary of the navy for the ſame year[z]. But this proviſion, as the affairs of Europe then ſtood, being not thought ſufficient, his majeſty held it requiſite, on the 24th of March, to ſend a meſſage to the houſe of commons[a], importing, that he found it abſolutely neceſſary to augment his maritime force, and hoped he ſhould be enabled, by the aſſiſtance of parliament, to increaſe the number of ſeamen already voted and granted for the ſervice of this year, that he might be thereby enabled not only to ſecure to his own ſubjects the full and free enjoyment of their trade and navigation, but in the beſt manner to prevent and fruſtrate ſuch deſigns as had been formed againſt the particular intereſt of this nation, and the general peace of Europe. Upon this meſſage there was a very warm debate, which iſſued in an addreſs from the houſe to his majeſty, deſiring, "That he would be pleaſed "to make ſuch an addition to the number of ſeamen already "voted, and to concert ſuch other meaſures as he in his great "wiſdom ſhould think moſt conducive to the ſecurity of the "trade and navigation of this kingdom, and to the preſervation "of the peace of Europe, aſſuring his majeſty that they would "effectually provide for, and make good, all ſuch expences and "engagements as ſhould be entered into for obtaining thoſe "great and deſirable ends[b]."

The adminiſtration had all things now in their own power, and were at full liberty to act as they thought fit; but, before we proceed to what they did, it will be reaſonable to take a view of what was then looked upon as the ſcheme of our enemies. This I think the more reaſonable, becauſe hitherto it has never been done, at leaſt in a clear, intelligible way, ſo that a reader of common capacity might underſtand it. As ſoon as the courts of Vienna and Madrid apprehended that their views were croſſed, and the ends propoſed by their conjunction utterly diſappointed by the counter-alliance at Hanover, they immediately reſolved to have recourſe to farther negociations, in order to increaſe the number of their allies; and, when they found themſelves ſufficiently powerful, they deſigned to have reſorted to open force.

z Hiſtorical regiſter for 1726, p. 51, 70.

a Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 783. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 695.

b Chandler's debates, vol. vi. p. 370.

With

With a view to render this ſcheme effectual, the emperor began to execute projects in the north, in which he met at firſt with ſome extraordinary ſucceſs. The Czarina Catherine, dowager of the Czar Peter the Great, had conceived a diſtaſte to the Britiſh court, and had, by ſome people about her, been drawn to believe it might prove no difficult matter to overturn the government in Britain. The ſame ſcheme had been propoſed and countenanced at the Imperial court by ſome of the miniſters, as the empreſs-dowager informed the king; and, on the credit of that information, his majeſty mentioned it in his ſpeech. The Spaniſh court readily adopted that or any other expedient which might procure them Gibraltar, and facilitate their acquiſitions in Italy, then and long after the great objects of their policy [c].

Thus the Hanover alliance, originally contrived for the ſecuring that electorate, proved the means of bringing it into ſome degree of danger, and perhaps the ſame cauſe will hardly ever fail to produce the ſame effects; whence it is evident, that, the leſs ſhare we take in the affairs of the continent, the leſs the preſent royal family will be expoſed to ſuch attempts; and therefore a wiſe miniſtry will be ſure to inform their maſter, that purſuing the real and acknowledged intereſts of Great Britain will conciliate all the powers of the continent except France, and that attempts to aggrandize his electoral dominions will always create him enemies, diſturb the peace of Germany, and affect the balance of Europe.

I have already obſerved, that the miniſtry at home were by no means the authors of the Hanover alliance, though they looked on themſelves as obliged to ſupport it; and therefore, as ſoon as they were acquainted with the ſchemes formed by the allies of Vienna, they ſet about diſappointing them with all their force. In order to this, they did not much truſt to their good allies the French, or to the ſlow aſſiſtance of the Dutch, but choſe the ſhorteſt and moſt expeditious method poſſible, of helping themſelves, with which view it was reſolved to ſend a ſtrong fleet into the Baltic to awe the Czarina, to bring round another power, and to keep ſteady a third. It was likewiſe thought re-

[c] Rouſſet, tome iii. where the principal public papers regarding theſe political diſputes may be conſulted.

quiſite

quiſite to have another ſtrong ſquadron on the coaſt of Spain to intimidate his Catholic majeſty, and to render his efforts, if he ſhould make any againſt Gibraltar, ineffectual; and, to ſum up all, as they very well knew that money was not only the ſinews of war, but the great bond of friendſhip, at leaſt among ſtates and princes, they determined to ſend a conſiderable force to the Indies, in order to block up the galleons, as the ſhorteſt means of diſſolving the union between their Imperial and Catholic majeſties, being ſatisfied, that, if the former could not receive his ſubſidies, the latter could never rely upon his aſſiſtance: ſuch were the plans on both ſides at this critical juncture!

The command of the fleet intended for the Baltic was given to Sir Charles Wager, vice-admiral of the red, who had under him Sir George Walton, rear-admiral of the blue. The ſquadron they were to command conſiſted of twenty ſhips of the line, one frigate, two fire-ſhips, and one hoſpital-ſhip. His final inſtructions having been given to the commander in chief, he on the 13th of April, 1726, hoiſted his flag on board the Torbay, a third rate man of war, at the Nore[d]. He was ſaluted thereupon by all the ſhips lying there, and returned their ſalutes with one and twenty guns. About an hour after, Sir George Walton hoiſted his flag on board the Cumberland, at her mizen-top-maſt head, and ſaluted the admiral with nineteen guns, and was anſwered with ſeventeen. The 14th, Sir Charles delivered out a line of battle, and a rendezvous for Copenhagen road, or the Dablen, near Stockholm, with ſailing inſtructions. The 17th in the morning, the fleet weighed, and ſet ſail from the Nore. On the 23d of the ſame month, the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Copenhagen; and on the 25th, Sir Charles preſented his majeſty's letter to the king of Denmark in cabinet-council, dined with his Daniſh majeſty the ſame day, and entertained the then prince royal of Denmark on board his own ſhip the next. On the 6th of May, the fleet under the command of Sir Charles Wager anchored near Stockholm.

The very next day Stephen Pointz, Eſq; his majeſty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary, accompanied by Mr. Jackſon,

[d] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 784. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 893.

his

his majeſty's reſident, came on board the admiral. The 8th, Sir Charles went up to that city with them; and on the 10th, had an audience of the king of Sweden, in the preſence of ſeveral of the ſenators, to which he was introduced by Mr. Pointz. Sir Charles delivered a letter from the king his maſter to his Swediſh majeſty, by whom he was very graciouſly received[e]. The 14th of the ſame month the ſquadron of Daniſh men of war ſailed from Copenhagen for the iſland of Bornholm, in order to join the Britiſh ſquadron. Theſe ceremonies over, Sir Charles Wager ſailed with his ſquadron to the iſland of Narignan, within three leagues of Revel. There, on the 25th of May, captain Deane, who had been on board the Port-Mahon, nearer in with the ſhore, returned on board the Torbay, and brought the admiral an account, that he had ſpoken with a Lubecker that came five days before from Peterſburgh, whoſe maſter informed him, that there were ſixteen Ruſſian men of war in the road at Cronſlot, with three flags flying, *viz.* lord-admiral Apraxin, vice-admiral Gordon, and rear-admiral Saunders; that a great number of gallies were in readineſs, of which but twelve were at Cronſlot, and the reſt at Peterſburgh, or Wyburgh[f].

The admiral took the firſt opportunity of ſending his majeſty's letter to the Czarina, incloſed in a letter to her admiral Apraxin, in which letter his majeſty expoſtulated very freely with her on the ſubject of her armaments by ſea and land, and on the intrigues which her miniſters had lately entered into with the agents of the pretender[g]. It is ſaid, that the Ruſſian court was very much nettled at this appearance of a Britiſh fleet upon their coaſts, and was inclined to have come to extremities, rather than endure it. But vice-admiral Gordon very wiſely repreſented to the council, that the Ruſſian fleet was in no condition to venture an engagement with that of Great Britain; upon which orders were given for laying it up, and for ſecuring, in the beſt manner poſſible, both it and the gallies from being inſulted. In the month of July prince Menzikoff, who was then prime mini-

[e] Hiſtorical regiſter for 1726, p. 195, 326. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxxx. p. 549, 656. Salmon's chronological hiſtorian, vol. ii. p. 165.
[f] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 895. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 697. [g] See the king's letter and the empreſs's anſwer in the hiſtorical regiſter for 1726, p. 198.

ſter, coming to Revel, mutual civilities paſſed between him and Sir Charles Wager; and his highneſs, to ſhew his regard to the Engliſh officers, frequently invited them to his own table[h].

The Britiſh fleet, while in this ſtation, was joined by a Daniſh ſquadron, commanded by rear-admiral Bille, and remained before Revel till the 28th of September, when, having received certain intelligence that the Ruſſians would not be able to attempt any thing that year, he ſailed for Copenhagen, and from thence home, arriving ſafely at the Gunfleet on the firſt of November[i]. It muſt be allowed that Sir Charles Wager performed, on this occaſion, all that could be expected from the wiſdom and ſkill of an Engliſh admiral; ſo that this expedition effectually anſwered its end, which ought to be conſidered as an honour to his memory, whether that end ſhall be thought right or wrong; for that is a mere political diſpute, which neither can, or ought to affect the character of the admiral in the leaſt.

The fleet that was ſent to the coaſt of Spain, was commanded by Sir John Jennings, and conſiſted of nine large men of war, which were afterwards joined in the Mediterranean by ſeveral ſhips that were cruizing there. The admiral ſailed on the 20th of July from St. Helen's; and, on the 3d of Auguſt, entered the bay of St. Antonio, which alarmed the Spaniards exceſſively, who immediately drew down a great body of regular troops towards the coaſt. When the fleet firſt entered the bay, ſome pieces of cannon were fired at the foremoſt ſhips; but the governor of St. Antonio preſently ſent an officer to Sir John Jennings to excuſe it, and to aſſure him it was an act of indiſcretion committed by the governor of the fort, without orders. On the 25th of the ſame month the fleet arrived at Liſbon, and was received there with all poſſible marks of reſpect; and Sir John Jennings having received a meſſage from the king of Portugal, intimating that he would be glad to ſee him, the admiral

[h] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 896. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1726, p. 329. Mottley's life of the empreſs Catherine, vol. ii. p. 183, 187. [i] Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 698. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxxxi. p. 590, 591.

landed,

landed, paid his compliments to his majeſty [k], and then returning on board his ſquadron, ſailed from the river of Liſbon for the bay of Bulls, near Cadiz, where he was treated with great diſtinction, and had all the refreſhments he deſired ſent him, by order of the Spaniſh governor.

He cruized for ſome time after off Cape St. Mary's, in order to wait for the ſhips that were to join him. On the 7th of the ſame month rear-admiral Hopſon, with four Britiſh men of war, came into the river of Liſbon, and one of the ſhips having loſt her main-yard, and another having her fore-maſt damaged, the rear-admiral applied to our miniſter, brigadier Dormer, who immediately obtained an order from his Portugueze majeſty, for furniſhing every thing that was neceſſary out of his naval ſtores. The 9th, his majeſty's ſhips the Winchelſea and Swallow, which ſailed ſome time before from the Downs, came into the entrance of the river Tagus, and the next day proceeded to join Sir John Jennings.

It would be needleſs for me to enter into a farther or more particular detail of the motions of this ſquadron, which ſoon after returned to Spithead [l]. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that it anſwered perfectly the ends propoſed by it; alarmed the Spaniſh court to the higheſt degree, obliged it to abandon the meaſures then taking to the prejudice of Great Britain, and gave ſuch ſpirits to the party in Spain which oppoſed thoſe dangerous councils, as enabled them to triumph over all oppoſition. The duke de Ripperda, who had been lately prime miniſter, the very man who had negociated the treaty of Vienna, by whoſe intrigues the two courts had been embroiled, took ſhelter, at the time of his diſgrace, in the houſe of the earl of Harrington, then colonel Stanhope, and our miniſter at Madrid; and though he was taken from thence by force, yet the terror of a Britiſh ſquadron upon the coaſt, prevailed upon the Spaniſh court to lay aſide all thoughts of proceeding againſt him capitally, which they before intended, for betraying to the Britiſh miniſtry thoſe very deſigns that occaſioned the ſending of this

[k] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 898. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1726, p. 329. 330. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxxxi. p. 221, 345.

[l] Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 698. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 899. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxxxi. p. 590.

fleet; and he ſoon after made his eſcape from the caſtle of Segovia, and retired hither as to the only place of ſafety, from the reſentment of his Catholic majeſty [m]. Such were the events that attended the expedition of Sir John Jennings on the coaſt of Spain: let us proceed to the tranſactions in the Weſt Indies.

As the execution of all the great deſigns formed by the Vienna allies, depended entirely on the ſupplies that were expected from the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, our miniſtry thought they could not take either a wiſer or a bolder meaſure, than ſending a ſquadron into thoſe parts to block up the galleons, and ſo prevent them from receiving thoſe ſupplies. A ſquadron was accordingly ordered to be equipped for that purpoſe, the command of which was given to Francis Hoſier, Eſq; rear-admiral of the blue, an excellent officer; but what his inſtructions were, I am not able to ſay, as having no better authority to proceed upon than bare conjectures. He ſailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, 1726; and though he had a very quick paſſage, yet the Spaniards had previous notice of his deſign, by an advice-boat from Cadiz, ſo that before he reached the Baſtimentos, the treaſure which had been on board the galleons, and which that year conſiſted of about ſix millions and a half ſterling, was fairly carried back to Panama, on the other ſide the Iſthmus. On the 6th of June vice-admiral Hoſier anchored within ſight of Porto Bello; upon which the governor ſent to know his demands [n]. The vice-admiral anſwered, with great prudence and temper, that he waited for the Royal George, a large South-ſea ſhip, then in the harbour, which had diſpoſed of all her cargo, and had a very large ſum of money on board. The Spaniards, in hopes of getting rid of ſo troubleſome a gueſt, haſtened her away; which, I think, was the greateſt ſervice this ſquadron performed. With reſpect to the blocking up of the galleons, that was ſo much magnified here at home, it was really a dream, for his remaining there three weeks, was

[m] Memoirs of the duke de Ripperda. Hiſtorical regiſter for the year 1727. Tindal, Oldmixon, and other writers.

[n] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 899. Hiſtorical regiſter for 1726, p. 330. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxxxi. p. 442.

time

time ſufficient to put it out of their power to return for that ſeaſon; and, therefore, his continuing there ſix months, as he did, till his ſquadron, that had been the terror, become the jeſt of the Spaniards, was altogether needleſs. A little before Chriſtmas he weighed, and ſailed for Jamaica, after ſuch a loſs of men, and in ſo wretched a condition, that I cannot prevail upon myſelf to enter into the particulars of a diſaſter, which I heartily wiſh could be blotted out of the annals, and out of the remembrance of this nation [o].

It happened very luckily for him, that there were at that time in the iſland of Jamaica, a great number of ſeamen out of employment, ſo that in two months time his ſquadron was once more manned, and in a condition to put to ſea; which he did, and ſtood over to Carthagena, where he was able to do little or nothing; for the Spaniards had by this time recovered their ſpirits, and began to make repriſals, ſeizing the Prince Frederic, a South-ſea ſhip, then at La Vera Cruz, with all the veſſels and effects belonging to that company, which admiral Hoſier did indeed demand, but to no purpoſe. He continued cruizing in thoſe ſeas, and ſome of his ſhips took ſeveral Spaniſh prizes, moſt of which were afterwards reſtored; and in this ſituation things continued till the vice-admiral breathed his laſt, on the 23d of Auguſt, 1727. But that, and what followed, being without the limits of this work, I have nothing farther to ſay of this expedition, which, whether well or ill concerted at home, was undoubtedly executed with great courage and conduct by this unfortunate commander, who loſt his ſeamen twice over, and whoſe ſhips were totally ruined by the worms in thoſe ſeas, which created a mighty clamour at home, and was, without doubt, a prodigious loſs to the nation.

The Spaniards, intending to ſhew that they were not intimidated by theſe mighty naval armaments, proceeded in the ſcheme they had formed, of attacking the important fortreſs of Gibraltar; and towards the cloſe of the year 1726, their army, under the count de las Torres, actually came before the place. Our miniſtry at home having had previous intelligence of this

[o] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 900. Oldmixon. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxxxii. p. 99.

deſign,

deſign, ordered a ſmall ſquadron to be got ready at Portſmouth in the month of December; and on the 24th, Sir Charles Wager, having hoiſted his flag on board the Kent, as ſoon as the wind would permit, ſailed, in order to join rear-admiral Hopſon, for the relief of that garriſon, which he performed very effectually in the ſucceeding year [p].

The parliament met on the 17th of January, 1727, and on the 23d of the ſame month the houſe of commons came to a reſolution, that 20,000 men ſhould be allowed for the ſea-ſervice, at the uſual rate of 4 l. a-month *per* man; and on the firſt of the next month, they voted 199,071 l. for the ordinary of the navy [q]. The firſt uſe made of theſe extraordinary ſupplies was, to ſend once more a fleet into the Baltic, where, it was ſaid, the Czarina was preparing to attack the Swedes; and afterwards to proceed to the execution of deſigns which have been formerly mentioned. On the 21ſt of April, captain Maurice, commander of the Naſſau, was appointed rear-admiral of the white ſquadron, and captain Robert Hughes, commander of the Hampton-Court, rear-admiral of the blue ſquadron of his majeſty's fleet; and captain Rogers was appointed to command the Naſſau in the room of admiral Maurice. They were all three to ſerve under Sir John Norris, who ſailed the latter end of that month, and arrived on the coaſt of Jutland the 8th of May [r], anchored in ſight of Elſineur the 11th; the next day in the road of Copenhagen; the king of Denmark being at his palace at Frederickſburgh, Sir John, with the lord Glenorchy, his majeſty's miniſter at that court, waited on his Daniſh majeſty, and was extremely well received. But while he was employed in this expedition, that event fell out, which puts a period to our labours.

This event was the death of King GEORGE I. which happened at his brother's palace, in the city of Oſnaburgh, June the 11th, 1727, about one in the morning, in the thirteenth

[p] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 802, 805. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 709. Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 901. Hiſtorical regiſter for the year 1727, p. 120. Mercure hiſtorique et politique, tome lxxxii. p. 236, 351, 383, 566. [q] Hiſtorical regiſter for 1727, p. 78, 80. [r] Lediard's naval hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 905. Tindal's continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 709, 710. Oldmixon, vol. ii. p. 805.

year

year of his reign, and in the ſixty-eight of his life[s]. To ſpeak without flattery, his majeſty was a prince of great virtues, and had many qualities truly amiable. He was very well acquainted with the general intereſt of all the princes in Europe, and particularly well verſed in whatever related to German affairs, with reſpect to which he always acted as a true patriot, and a firm friend to the conſtitution of the empire. As to his conduct after his acceſſion to the Britiſh throne, his miniſters were intirely accountable for it; for he conſtantly declared to them, that his intention was to govern according to the laws, and with no other view than the general good of his people. He was allowed, by the beſt judges of military ſkill, to be an excellent officer. He was very capable of application, and underſtood buſineſs as well as any prince of his time. In his amuſements he was eaſy and familiar, of a temper very ſenſible of the ſervices that were rendered him; firm in his friendſhips, naturally averſe to violent meaſures, and as compaſſionate as any prince that ever ſat upon a throne.

[s] Hiſtorical regiſter for 1727, p. 172. Mercure hiſtorique & politique, tom. lxxxiii. p. 39. London Gazette of June 15th, 1727. M. da la Mottray's travels, vol. iii. p. 277, where there is a diſtinct account of his majeſty's death, from baron Fabrice, who attended him.

A LIST

A List of the English Navy, as it ſtood at the Acceſſion of George II.

Rates.	No of Ships.	Men.	Guns.	Swivels.
I.	7	5,460	700	
II.	13	8,840	1,170	
III.	16	8,320	1,280	
	24	10,568	1,680	
IV.	24	37,600	1,440	
	40	17,200	2,000	
V.	24	4,800	960	
	1	155	30	
VI.	1	140	22	
	28	3,580	560	
Fire-ſhips	3	155	24	
Bombs	3	120	16	16
Store-ſhip	1	90	20	
Sloops	15	990	78	78
Yachts	7	260	64	
Ditto, ſmall	5	29	26	6
Hoys	11	87	12	2
Smacks	2	4		
Long-boat	1	2		
Buoy-boat	1			
Lighter	1	3		
Hulks	9	159		
Total	283	64,514	10,082	

END of VOL. III.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM